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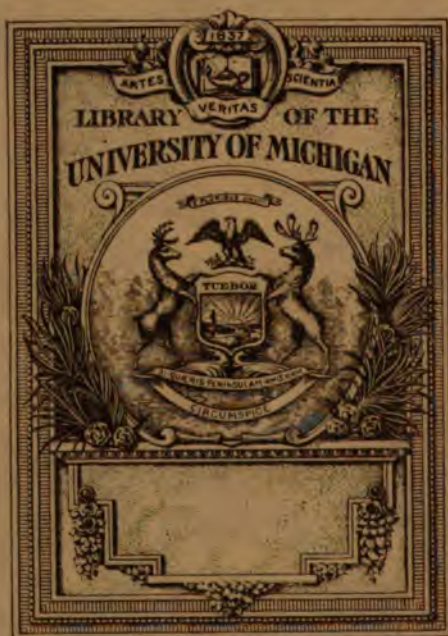
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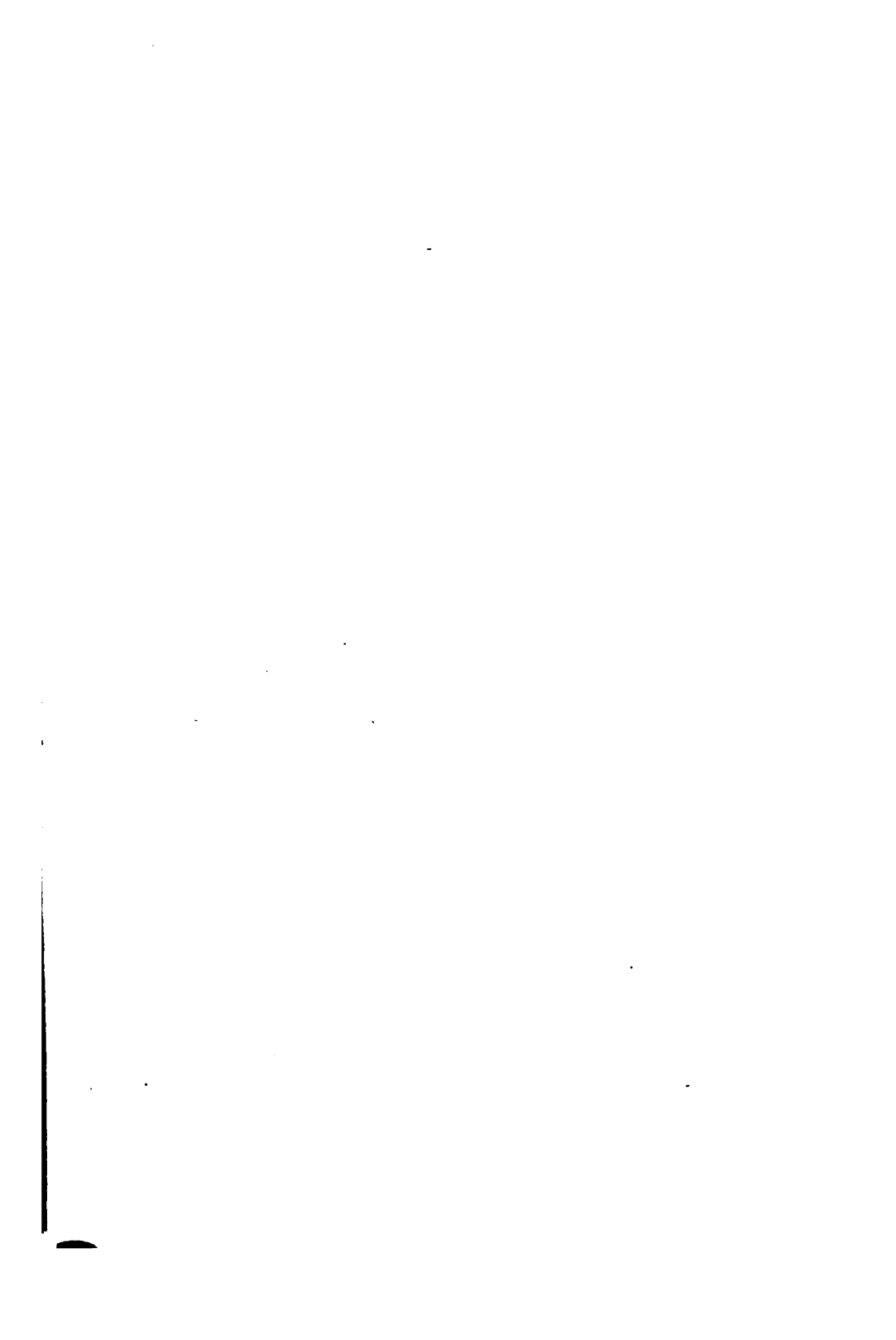
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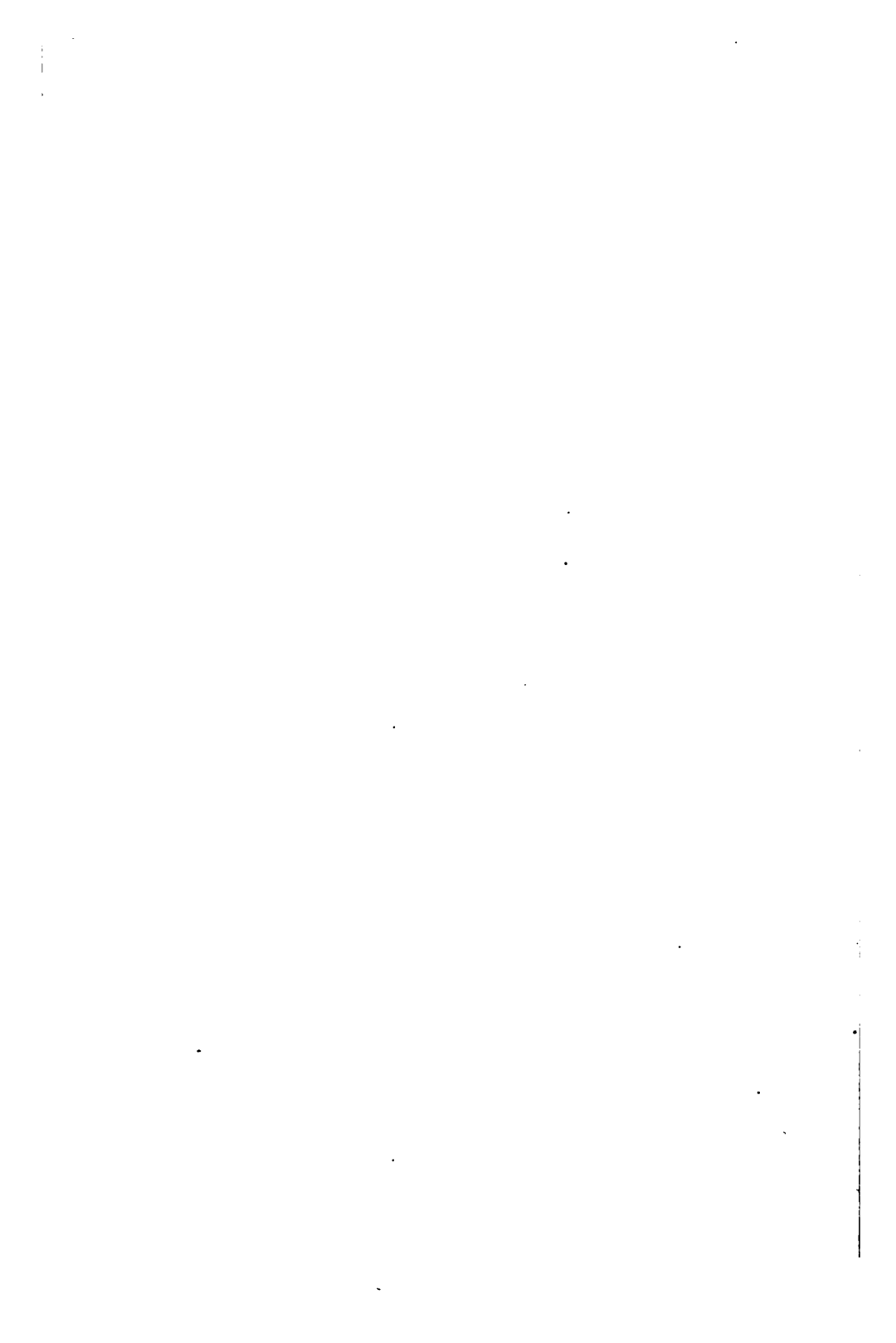
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THE  
OFFICIAL REPORT  
OF THE  
CHURCH CONGRESS  
HELD AT  
FOLKESTONE, OCTOBER, 1892.



**ADENEY & SON,**

ESTABLISHED 1774.

UNDER THE HIGHEST PATRONAGE.

**Clerical and General Tailors,**

**16, SACKVILLE STREET,**

**PICCADILLY,**

**LONDON, W.**

THE  
OFFICIAL REPORT  
*Church of England*  
OF THE  
CHURCH CONGRESS,

HELD AT FOLKESTONE,

ON OCTOBER 4TH. 5TH 6TH, AND 7TH,

1892.



EDITED BY THE REV. C. DUNKLEY,

*Vicar of S. Mary's, Wolverhampton.*



London:  
BEMROSE & SONS, LIMITED, 23, OLD BAILEY;  
AND DERBY.

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1892.

# **The Church House,**

*Dean's Yard, Westminster, London, S.W.*

## **THE BUSINESS HOUSE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.**

**President**—THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

**Vice-Presidents**—THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, K.G.; THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

**Bankers**—Messrs. COCKS, BIDDULPH & Co., 43, Charing Cross, S.W.  
Telephone No. 3219. : : Telegraphic Address—"PANANGLIC," LONDON.

### **THE PERMANENT BUILDINGS.**

The Council have decided to proceed at once with the erection of the first portion of the permanent building, viz. :—The Great Hall, with offices, &c., attached to it, **AND THE WORK HAS NOW BEEN COMMENCED.** The cost will be in round figures about £40,000, towards which about £30,000 have been subscribed or promised. TEN THOUSAND POUNDS are needed at once to enable the Council to complete this part of the scheme free from debt and without delay.

### **THE PURPOSES OF THE CHURCH HOUSE.**

(1) The Church House is intended to be the "Business House" and official "Headquarters" of the Church of England. It forms a centre which is in touch with Church work in every diocese and parish, and from which new philanthropic and religious movements may emanate, and round which they may easily group themselves.

(2) It will afford accommodation for the meetings of Convocation and the House of Laymen, and also for the various committees in which the main work of Convocation is done.

A Hall, capable of seating 1,200 people or more, is now being erected for great Church meetings.

(3) It centralizes and strengthens Church work and Church organization by providing suitable offices for, or having telephonic communication with, the numerous Church Societies which are now disconnected and scattered all over London.

(4) It strengthens the union between the Church at home and the Church abroad, and forms a Home to which English-speaking Churchmen from all parts of the world may turn when they come back to this land. At the Church House they can leave their addresses, and to it they can have their letters sent.

(5) It is an information bureau—a centre to which people may go for information on every matter concerning the Church—its history, its work, its property, and its laws.

(6) There is a valuable Reference Library, which, it is hoped, will eventually contain all the best works in Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature.

(7) Members of the Corporation have free use of the Library, Reading Room, Writing Room, &c.

### **CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.**

Membership of the Corporation may be acquired by persons of either sex (being members of the Church of England or of any Church in full communion therewith) by an Annual Subscription of at least One Guinea; Life Membership by a Donation in one sum of at least Ten Guineas.

Communications should be addressed to the Secretary, SYDNEY W. FLAMANK, Esq., Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.; or to the Organizing Secretary, the Rev. J. A. BETTS, Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.

## P R E F A C E .

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**Q**UALLY a few words are necessary by way of introduction to the papers, addresses, and speeches delivered at the Thirty-second Meeting of the Church Congress, held at Folkestone, and herein published. Each paper, address, or speech, has (with two or three exceptions) been revised by its author, and the whole has undergone careful scrutiny at the hands of the Official Reporter and the Editor.

The responsible and onerous work of editing the Official Report has, for the eleventh year in succession, been entrusted to me. I hope it has been done to the satisfaction of the Congress Committee and the subscribers. The revision of nearly 700 pages of closely printed matter within three weeks, or thereabouts, in the midst of the busy working life of an incumbent of a parish of over 8,000 souls, is no light matter. But what under less favourable conditions would be an impossible task, has been rendered, not possible only, but agreeable, by the Publishers, Messrs. Bemrose and Sons, Limited, whose most careful and accurate work has more than lightened, has reduced to a minimum, my own labours. I am not less indebted to Mr. C. Basil Cooke, the Official Reporter, whose practised hand and competent staff have furnished the Publishers with full and correct *copy* of all speeches. My acknowledgments are also due to the readers and speakers, who have given us much assistance particularly by their promptitude, otherwise the publication of the Report must have been delayed.

One or two knotty questions have arisen during the progress of these pages through the Press. For example, a claim to withhold a paper, prepared and read on the invitation of the Subjects' Committee, from publication in the Official Report, has been satisfactorily dealt with. The Editor's decision was

adverse to the claim, and after some correspondence it was courteously and generously accepted by the writer.

Reports of meetings at Dover and Shorncliffe, though arranged by the Congress Committee and held in connection with the Congress, are not included in the Report. In this matter we have followed the practice of former years. An unwilling and unavoidable absence from the Folkestone Congress disqualifies me from commenting upon the special features of this year's meeting. I conclude, therefore, by commending **to the** blessing of Almighty God the Church Congress of this **year**, and the following account of its proceedings.

C. DUNKLEY,  
EDITOR.

*S. Mary's Vicarage,  
Wolverhampton,  
7th November, 1892.*

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# Church Congress, A.D. 1892.

## THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

### Patrons :

The Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of York.

### President :

The Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

### Vice-Presidents :

### CLERGY :

The Most Rev. the Lord Archbishop  
of Armagh  
The Lord Bishop of Winchester  
The Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells  
The Lord Bishop of Bangor  
The Lord Bishop of Carlisle  
The Lord Bishop of Chichester  
The Lord Bishop of Ely  
The Lord Bishop of Exeter  
The Lord Bishop of Gloucester and  
Bristol  
The Lord Bishop of Hereford  
The Lord Bishop of Lichfield  
The Lord Bishop of Lincoln  
The Lord Bishop of Liverpool  
The Lord Bishop of Llandaff  
The Lord Bishop of Newcastle  
The Lord Bishop of Norwich  
The Lord Bishop of Oxford  
The Lord Bishop of Peterborough  
The Lord Bishop of Ripon  
The Lord Bishop of Rochester  
The Lord Bishop of S. Albans  
The Lord Bishop of S. Asaph  
The Lord Bishop of S. David's  
The Lord Bishop of Salisbury  
The Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man  
The Lord Bishop of Southwell  
The Lord Bishop of Truro  
The Lord Bishop of Wakefield  
The Lord Bishop of Worcester  
The Lord Bishop of Clogher  
The Lord Bishop of Cork  
The Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe  
The Lord Bishop of Killaloe  
The Lord Bishop of Kilmore, Elphin,  
and Ardagh  
The Lord Bishop of Limerick

The Lord Bishop of Tuam  
The Lord Bishop of Aberdeen and  
Orkney  
The Lord Bishop of Argyle and the  
Isles  
The Lord Bishop of Brechin (Primus)  
The Lord Bishop of Edinburgh  
The Lord Bishop of Glasgow and  
Galloway  
The Lord Bishop of Moray and Ross  
The Lord Bishop of S. Andrews  
The Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness  
The Bishop of Bedford  
The Bishop of Beverley  
The Bishop of Colchester  
The Bishop of Coventry  
The Bishop of Derby  
The Bishop of Dover  
The Bishop of N. and C. Europe  
The Bishop of Guildford  
The Bishop of Leicester  
The Bishop of Marlborough  
The Bishop of Nottingham  
The Bishop of Reading  
The Bishop of Richmond  
The Bishop of Shrewsbury  
The Bishop of Southwark  
The Bishop of Swansea  
The Bishop of Saskatchewan and  
Calgary  
The Bishop of Trinidad  
Bishop Barry  
Bishop Beckles  
Bishop Bromby  
Bishop Chambers  
Bishop Cheetham  
Bishop Hale  
Bishop Hobhouse

Bishop Jenner  
 Bishop Macrorie  
 Bishop Marsden  
 Bishop Mitchinson  
 Bishop Cramer Roberts  
 Bishop Staley  
 Bishop Smythies  
 Bishop Speechly  
 Bishop Tufnell

The Worshipful Chancellor Espin  
 The Very Rev. the Dean of Canterbury  
 The Very Rev. the Dean of Rochester  
 The Ven. the Archdeacon of Ely,  
 Permanent Secretary  
 The Ven. the Archdeacon of Maidstone  
 The Rev. the Chaplain-General

**LAITY :**

The Rt. Hon. Marquis of Dufferin and  
 Ava  
 The Rt. Hon. Earl Amherst  
 The Rt. Hon. Earl of Cranbrook  
 The Rt. Hon. Earl Nelson  
 The Rt. Hon. Earl of Radnor  
 The Rt. Hon. Earl Stanhope  
 The Rt. Hon. Earl Sondes  
 The Rt. Hon. Earl of Winchilsea  
 The Rt. Hon. Viscount Hardinge  
 The Rt. Hon. Lord Northbourne  
 The Rt. Hon. Lord Sackville  
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 Major-General Lord William Seymour  
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L. Hardy, Esq., M.P.  
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 Major Kirkpatrick  
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 J. H. Monins, Esq.  
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## EXHIBITION BUILDING,

TUESDAY MORNING, 4TH OCTOBER, 1892.

### THE MUNICIPAL RECEPTION.

THE Congress was formally opened by a Reception in the Exhibition Building of The Most Rev. the President and the members of the Congress. There was a large attendance of clergy and laity. The Most Rev. the President was received on arrival by the Mayor of Folkestone, Lt.-Col. Stephen Penfold, and members of the Corporation, with whom were the Recorder of the Borough (Mr. Lewis Coward), the Parliamentary Representative of the District (Sir E. W. Watkin, Bart.), and the Town Clerk (Mr. W. G. S. Harrison).

#### LT.-COL. STEPHEN PENFOLD, The Worshipful the Mayor of Folkestone.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, MY LORDS, REV. SIRS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—As the Chief Magistrate of this most historic and ancient borough of Folkestone, a member of the Cinque Port of Dover, I have the honour to welcome you, and on behalf of my fellow-townsmen to offer you a cordial and affectionate greeting. We deem it a great honour that Folkestone should have been selected as the place for holding the Church Congress of 1892, and we trust that the selection may be beneficial to the borough—religiously, morally, and socially; and that our salubrious air and delightful scenery may, in their turn, be beneficial to you. But, my Lord Archbishop, whilst we deem it an honour, and rightly so, that Folkestone has been chosen, its selection is not altogether unfitting when I remind you that Folkestone has a most ancient connection with Church history. Over 1200 years ago, Eadbald, sixth King of Kent, through the instrumentality of one of your Grace's predecessors, viz., Laurentius, the successor of Augustine in the See of Canterbury, built several churches in Kent, and notably upon the site where our parish church now stands, built the first church in Folkestone, dedicated it to S. Peter and S. Paul, and gave it to his daughter Eanswythe, who became the abbess of a religious community. Eanswythe has ever been considered Folkestone's patron saint, and her image and superscription have for centuries adorned the Mayor's seal. To such of you who follow antiquarian research much matter of interest will be found in connection with our borough and our parish church of SS. Mary and Eanswythe. This is not a time nor an occasion for a long address, sufficient let it be for me to say that no efforts have been spared by us to render your anniversary memorable, and we have spared neither time nor expense for your comfort. To the various churches, which eloquently testify to the good work performed by the clergy of Folkestone, and to our parish church, which will be an enduring monument for all time to the Christian zeal and untiring energy of our Vicar, we are now about to repair, and I trust that your Congress, individually and collectively, may be under the guidance and the protection of the Most High.

#### The TOWN CLERK

READ the following address from an elegantly illuminated copy, which was afterwards handed to the President—"To his Grace the Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. May it please your Grace: We, the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Folkestone, in the county of Kent, being the Council for the Borough, in accordance with a Resolution passed unanimously in Council assembled, respectfully offer to your Grace and to the Church Congress

## *The Municipal Reception.*

of 1892, a most hearty and cordial welcome on this the first visit of the Congress to Folkestone; and it is our hope and trust that in every respect the reception of your Grace and of all the members of the Church Congress, both individually and collectively, will be most cordial and happy, and that the inhabitants will do everything in their power during your stay for the comfort of your Grace and of all the members of the Congress, and thus give earnest proof and appreciation of the place of meeting of the Church Congress at the present time. Sincerely do we wish the Church Congress God-speed in carrying out its high design and most important objects; and it is with much earnestness we hope that the meetings and services which will be held under the recognition and approval of your Grace, may be divinely blessed and be productive of much spiritual and temporal benefit.

"We have the honour to be, My Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and the lords and gentlemen present at this meeting, your most obedient servants,

"(Signed)

STEPHEN PENFOLD, Mayor.

"W. G. S. HARRISON, Town Clerk.

"Given under our Corporate Seal at our Town Hall of Folkestone, the 26th day of September, 1892."

### The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT.

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CORPORATION—You have truly said, that this is not an occasion for a long address to be delivered, and, as I shall have a long address to deliver at an hour not very distant, I shall best consult both your feelings and my own if I endeavour to throw into a single sentence our exceeding gratitude—for no other word can express the feelings which I have already heard upon the subject—for the Reception which the Mayor and the Corporation and the whole of the distinguished borough under their government are giving to the Congress; and I am sure that if that is the feeling to-day, it will be largely multiplied by the end of the week. We have all of us heard with what zeal, with what energy, and with what skill the arrangements have been conducted, and with what earnestness, particularly yourself, Mr. Mayor, and the Corporation, have thrown yourselves into all the complications which upon such an occasion are sure to occur. And it is a great delight to us to be assured upon our arrival here that everything is, like your sea this morning, most placid and smooth. Folkestone is a place at which many people from both sides arrive with a certain degree of anxiety. And it is a satisfactory reflection to many English travellers, when they look over towards France, to see its delicate outline, and between, nothing but a floor of marble. This is the condition of mind in which we are assured that Folkestone is going to receive us. Our errand is an errand of peace and quietness. We shall bring with us no gales which will disturb that unruffled surface. But, in all seriousness, Mr. Mayor, though playful language is often the only expression of feeling which one can resort to, I can assure you that what I have endeavoured to cast into this light form is a very deep feeling in the minds of all of us. We are most thoroughly grateful to you for all your kindness, for the warmth with which we were invited, and for the warmth with which the announcement of our coming was received; and we reciprocate, and we endeavour to deepen in every one of our hearts, those high and noble wishes which you have expressed, and that reverence with which we feel we ought to gather together to debate the various and important religious and social questions which come before us. We ever trust to do it in that spirit on which you have so gently and so beautifully touched—a spirit of the deepest devotion to Him who, we believe, calls us together to serious deliberation, as well as upon other most solemn occasions.

A DEPUTATION, representing the Nonconformists of Folkestone and district, then came forward.

### The Rev. A. J. PALMER, Congregational Minister.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERRURY, MY LORDS, REV. SIRS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—Ever since we learned that you had graciously accepted the invitation of our Mayor and the Vicar to hold the Congress of 1892 in Folkestone,



we have looked forward to your visit with the keenest interest, and in approaching you to-day we desire, on behalf of many Nonconformists in this district, to acknowledge the distinction which you have conferred upon the inhabitants of this town by honouring us with your presence, and to offer you a cordial and affectionate welcome. Bearing in mind the courteous, frank, and friendly spirit which breathed through the proposals of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury for Home Re-union, and the Re-union Conferences lately held at Grindelwald, we have a growing conviction that the distinctions between various Christian communions are not impassable barriers, but rather as hedges of roses and honeysuckle, across which we can shake hands and wish one another God speed in the name of the Lord. We believe profoundly in the supreme virtue of charity, the bridge of love which connects in brotherhood without confounding in thought divergent principles. One of the noblest features in modern Church life is the prominence given to this grace, and the joyous thrill of unity which stirs the undercurrent of religious forms and beliefs. If we could prove that all religious differences are of little moment, we should not have helped the cause of true charity, but should rather have annihilated one of the regions in which she finds her hardest work, and in which she has won victories which have crowned her with the greatest glory. Charity, we submit, says: "Great as the differences may be, let us not suspect each others' sincerity; let us pray that by the grace of the same Almighty kindness we may reach that land where we shall study eternal truth without sin to dim the eye or warp the judgment, and where we shall reverse many an opinion and forget many an alienation." Charity looks for what is excellent in those who differ from her, as well as in those who hold her own tenets, and finds it because she looks for it. In welcoming you here to-day, we hesitate not to say that we greatly appreciate the brilliant erudition of your scholars, many of whose works adorn the shelves of our libraries and shed new light upon old and familiar truths; the ability of your clergy, whose mental and spiritual force gives intensity to their words; the beauty of your services, the vast extent of your many-sided and unparalleled activity, and the part you are taking in all the moral and social movements of modern times. Far apart as we may sometimes appear to be, the distance between us is but a measurable stream in comparison with the gulf which separates us from those who question the Deity, the Atonement, and the Crown Rights of the Son of God. "Let an attack be made," says the greatest living Nonconformist preacher, "upon the fundamental doctrines of Christianity; the Churchman is ready with his answer, the Nonconformist with his;" and I find in this instantaneous and complete reply, coming, not from one, but from *all* quarters, a noble and sensible answer to the charge that the Church of Jesus Christ is divided, and there is no cohesion amongst its atoms. It is said that the great principles on which religion rests have been touched by the spirit of the age, and are melting away, and there can be no doubt that our attitude to Christian truth is very different to that of our fathers fifty years ago. Have you watched the sunlight on the sea at evening? Now shooting rays of crimson and gold, now one intense flush, now the waters answer the blue of the sky, now darkens into grey, now is fretted into a thousand dimples; now the tips of the tiny breakers are crested by the toying wind; in one quarter of an hour these and many changes no words can express shall have chequered the scene, and made the whole surface hardly for two consecutive moments the same, and yet the sun shines steadily on, and the sea pauses not in its ebb and flow. Many and varied as may be the clouds of human opinion which play across the surface of the history of thought, through them all God is working, and by them all God is leading to His own end, the removal of the things that are shaken, that the things which cannot be shaken may remain. In face of all the problems and doubts of this age, we join with you without faltering of intellect, and without shame of heart, in affirming our unwavering attachment to those great principles which are not new, and which cannot grow old, not which we have found out, but which have found out us—the life-blood of our liberties, the heart and lungs of the great body of Christian truth, the basis of England's greatness, the crown of England's glory. England is our joint inheritance. Very little have any of us done to make it what it is, but it is in the power of us all, Churchmen and Nonconformists, to hand it on at least unimpaired in its integrity as the sanctuary of liberty, progress, and religion. We are ready to stand by your side in the crusade against class-hatreds, national pride, commercial depravity and greed of gain, intemperance and lax morality, and in helping to solve the problems which grow out of the relation of landowner and tenant, capital and labour, the needs of the poor and the duties of the rich, problems

which grow out of the contrast between the haves and the have-nots. And surely in succouring the helpless and reclaiming the erring, in lifting the veil from the spirit that has been darkened, in laying merciful hands upon those we have too long passed by, in preaching the gospel of hope to the men and women of to-day, there is a common platform on which we can all meet, work for every moment of the most protracted life, and every energy of the most philanthropic nature. Gentlemen, our hearts plead that the cloud may break in a shower of blessing upon your assembly, that in your midst the sound of the King's royal feet may be heard, that the Holy Spirit may guide you in all your deliberations, that thrilling words may go from this hall that shall arouse the courage and win the love and constrain the enthusiasm of multitudes throughout the land, and that the meetings of this great Congress may contribute to the glory of God, the spiritual advantage of all whom you represent, and the highest interests of the land you love so well.

### The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT.

MR. PALMER, and all ministers and brethren who are joined with you in this address to us here to-day, we thank you, to begin with, for one of the most striking and important addresses that will be listened to in this Congress. We thank you exceedingly for having given us, not a general welcome, but for having gone into particulars about the things that are nearest to the hearts of all of us. We thank you for the touching and beautiful prayer which, in spirit, breathes through the whole address that you have delivered to us, the prayer that God Almighty will make brethren to know each other, and sister hearts to cleave to each other in this world as well as in the world to come. For your welcome to this place we have to thank you more than the Congresses of time past; and we have heard—I do not know whether I am justified in doing more than just touching on it—that you have yourselves made graceful arrangements, by which you might have a Churchman for your mayor on this occasion. (Cheers.) That is a touch of kindness and of tenderness which will go to all hearts. We thank you—though we scarcely dare to do so—for working into this address of welcome words about ourselves, and about our work, which we should never have dared to utter in our Congress or elsewhere. A spirit of humble submission to Him who must give the rain which blesses the work, both of Paul and of Apollos, who must give all the increase, would, I hope, prevent our opening our lips upon many of those other topics upon which you have spoken so truly and so warmly. There is no doubt of the fact that in this present age there is breathing amongst all religious men of every standing and every profession, what I venture to call, after considering the subject in the light of past history, a sincerer, more touching, and—to use your own word—more affectionate desire for unity than we can mark in any of the ages that are past. God in His own time has brought to perfection the yearnings that have started up in many places; here He has worked a great burst of missions; there He has worked a great stroke of reformation far and wide; and we should be, indeed, very mistrustful of all that we believe of Him, if we did not think that this yearning for unity which is in your hearts, which is in our hearts, which is in all religious hearts, would in God's time—and I would believe at no distant time—have its consummation. You have been putting into full and clear words for us the noble motto which a great Father of the third century used to sum up what he held to be the spirit which should pervade the whole Church. He knew that it was impossible for all men to think alike, but he held that all men might love alike, and he summed up in something like these words, what the aim of all Christians ought to be, "*In unitate spiritus, diversa sentire.*" It was impossible that men should not think differently, but it was quite possible, for all that, that their hearts should be united. You, sir, have to-day given us a beautiful pledge—and one which we thoroughly trust in—that your hope and aspiration is not that you may do your work by spoiling ours, but that we shall march as one army against our threefold enemies. If we forget their existence we are in their power. If we forget the blood by which we are sanctified we lose ground. I believe that we are all marching together to fight under one banner against sin, the world, and the devil.

The Archbishop, the Bishops, and other members of the Congress, then formed into processions to the various churches in which services had been arranged.

# THE SERMON

BY

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF CHRIST  
CHURCH, OXFORD

(DR. FRANCIS PAGET),

PREACHED IN

THE PARISH CHURCH, FOLKESTONE,

ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4TH, 1892.

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“ Then thought I to understand this ; but it was too hard for me, until I went into the sanctuary of God.”—*Psalms* lxxiii. 15, 16.

THE sight which was before the Psalmist is often to be seen ; and it is always likely to seem strange. For, the divorce between goodness and welfare in the lives of men ; the failure of witness to God's justice in a world that is upheld by His power ; this is what thoughtful and religious men are called to face in every age. A common phrase owns that it is so ; for when we speak of “ poetic justice ” we imply that in the actual events of human life, between the limits of any fragment of it, much will be left unbalanced, unrewarded, unavenged. And still this sight, although it is so ancient and familiar, does not wholly lose its power to surprise and challenge and distress us. It has reserves of strangeness ; and no account of it is always sure to be immediately and thoroughly satisfying in the moments of its urgency. Every man, with the toil of his own soul, must either solve the problem for himself, or really appropriate and take into his own life some solution of it which is put before him. And every man should be prepared to find that his solution, true as it may be, and sincerely as he may believe it, is yet at times less pacifying or triumphant than he hoped it would be. He may not need to change or qualify it ; but he may greatly need to deepen, purify, reanimate his own sense of it, as he hears afresh, in the increase of experience and sympathy, the hard denial that is tossed up from the disorder of a sinful world against the righteousness and omnipotence of God.

Now, the recurrence and pressure of this problem tasks with a crucial demand the faculty of judgment. The grace of clearness and strength in judgment ; the power and the will to see things truly, plainly, and steadily ; to see them with an ample view of their manifold relations, and with a constant recollection of the immensity of that which is not seen or dreamt of ; to see them with an equal eye for light and shade—this may do much to help a man when the strangeness and misery of the world's confusion breaks upon him, when his feet are almost gone, and his treadings have well-nigh slipped. For he is then in danger of being either bewildered by surprise, or dulled by acquiescence ; of either staggering from his faith in God through distress at the sights he sees, or else, through the account he gives of them, receding from his hope for men ; of losing either his patience or his ardour. It is the soberness and vigour of good judgment that he needs. And as the Psalmist owns how nearly he had failed when this strain came on him ; so he tells us where he regained the calmness and courage and humility that belong to judging rightly :—" My heart," he says, " was growing bitter, and a pang went through my reins. So foolish was I, and ignorant ; even as it were a beast before Thee."—" I mused on this, to understand it, but it was too hard for me, it was labour and trouble in mine eyes, until I went into the sanctuary of God."

Let us try, then, to think this morning of the presence of God as the school of a right judgment ; of communion with God as the means of growth in that high grace whereby frail, erring men may come to view with some justice of insight the movements and problems and controversies, the hopes and fears, the promises and opportunities and dangers of the age in which they have to play their part. We are here at the outset of much conference and debate ; and questions are about to be raised, and difficulties brought forward, such as need the most strenuous and persevering efforts of well-trained minds. It seems in season to be thinking over the character and conditions of that rare faculty which gives to the deliberations of men value and dignity in the eyes of others, and the hope of some result which, partial and delayed and indirect as it may be, will yet prove real and fruitful in the end, when God looks down to hallow it in His Own manifold and everlasting work.

I.—But first let us remind ourselves how rare a thing is any high degree of the faculty of judgment. It may be, perhaps, more common than the very finest forms of literary or artistic excellence ; but it is surely rarer than such a measure of genius as suffices to secure a recognized place among the poets or painters of a generation. There are more men whose works one can praise than there are whose judgment one can trust. There are many, indeed, whose decision on any point within the sphere of their especial business or study we, from outside that sphere,

may gratefully accept as not likely to be bettered for some while. And even in regard to the conduct of life, in the sphere of judgment, there are many whose counsel it would be impossible to set aside without uneasiness or distress, many whom we must feel to be incomparably wiser judges than ourselves, many who will always enable us to see, more justly than by ourselves we could see, some aspects of a case. But there are very, very few from whom we get that higher, deeper, broader help which it is the prerogative of true excellence in judgment to bestow; help to discern, through the haste and insistence of the present, what is its real meaning and its just demand; help to give due weight to what is reasonable, however unreasonably it may be stated or defended; help to reverence alike the sacredness of a great cause and the sacredness of each individual life, to adjust the claims of general rules and especial equity; help to carry with one conscientiously on the journey towards decision all the various thoughts that ought to tell upon the issue; help to keep consistency from hardening to obstinacy, and common sense from sinking into time-serving; help to think out one's duty as in a still, pure air, sensitive to all true signs and voices of this world, and yet unshaken by its storms. Yes, it is rare indeed, such help; and one's whole heart goes up to God in thanks and praise for those with whom one finds it; and it is as they are taken from one that something like the chill of autumn falls on life, and the real severity, the trial and strain of it, is felt in deepening loneliness and silent fears.

II.—It hardly can seem strange that excellence in judgment is thus rare if we go on to think of the manifold discipline that it needs. (a) For we cannot deny that even physical conditions tend at least to tell on it; and most of us may have to own that there are days on which we know that we had better distrust the view we take of things. It is good counsel that a man should, if he has the chance, reconsider after his holiday any important decision that he was inclined to make just before it; that he should appeal from his tired to his refreshed self; and men need to deal strictly with the body and to bring it into subjection, not only lest its appetites grow riotous, but also lest it trouble with moods and miseries of its own the exercise of judgment. (b) And then, with the calmness of sound health, or the control that a strong and vigilant will can sometimes gain over the encroachments of health that is not sound, there must also be the insight and resourcefulness of learning; that power to recognize and weigh and measure and forecast, which comes of long watching how things move; the power that grows by constant thoughtfulness, in study or in life; the distinctive ability of those who, in Hooker's phrase, are "diligent observers of circumstances, the loose regard whereof is the nurse of vulgar folly." (Hooker, "Ecclesiastical Polity," V. I., 2.) It is a true note of

good judgment that is touched at the beginning of Mr. Browning's picture of the old Pope, keen and strong and wary, as he sets his mind to work on the foul crime of Guido Franceschini, and disengages the sheer facts from all confusion and disguise :—

“ Like to Ahasuerus, that shrewd prince,  
I will begin—as is, these seven years now,  
My daily wont—and read a history  
(Written by one whose deft right hand was dust  
To the last digit, ages ere my birth)  
Of all my predecessors, Popes of Rome.

“ Have I to dare? I ask, how dared this Pope?  
To suffer? Such an one, how suffered he?  
Being about to judge, as now, I seek  
How judged once, well or ill, some other Pope;  
Study some signal judgment that subsists  
To blaze on, or else blot, the page.”\*

It is a high prerogative of the real student of history, that power to summon from the past the very scenes and issues, achievements and disasters, unverified alarms and swift reversals, which may point to the real import of the present and correct its misplaced emphasis. (c) And then once more, beyond all physical and intellectual conditions, are the moral qualities and habits, without which even able men blunder so strangely. For round the seat of judgment there are specious counsellors, who read our perverse desires before we own them to ourselves, who know exactly the rate of swerving from justice which will suit and gratify without shocking us, whose suggestions really seem reasonable enough, till, as it were, the searchlight of an honest, contrite heart is turned full upon them. No knowledge of the world will guard right judgment in a man who lets ill temper have its way with him; no warnings from history or experience will pierce the smoky fog of wilful sullenness; no fineness of discernment will be proof against the steady pressure or the sudden onsets of ambition. And what shall we say of vanity as an assessor in the work of judgment? Surely, brethren, many of us might describe, with the help of humiliating recollections about our own folly, some stages of defective sight which are like milder forms of that blindness, that loss of all sense of humour and fitness and proportion, which belongs to a well-settled satisfaction with one's self.

III.—A slowly strengthened mastery over moods and prejudices; the ready and well-ordered riches of an accurate and thoughtful mind; the integrity and courage and simplicity of the pure in heart; these are the favouring conditions and safeguards which, by God's grace, through discipline and diligence, men may prepare for the welcome, the fostering, the exercise of the faculty of judgment. And yet, even when all these are

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\* “Poetical Works of Robert Browning,” Vol. X., pp. 64-5 (Ed. 1889).

ready, there is something needed still. It is a great and rare thing for a man to observe patiently and to interpret justly what this world discloses as it moves upon its course. But there is another disclosure that he needs, if in the multitude of sorrows, in the cloudy and dark day, in the terror by night, he is still to hold the course to which God calls him. Only by a light that is not of this world can we surely see our way about this world ; only in the strength of thoughts that are higher than our thoughts can we "think and do always such things as be rightful." In God's light do we see light ; and for all our discipline and care we shall lose our way if we try to find or keep it in forgetfulness of Him and of His Self-revealing. Sooner or later it will come home to us, by His mercy, that we must strive to bring our souls into His presence and to hold them there, if we would hope to "see life steadily and see it whole."\* We too may set our minds, as the Psalmist set his, to think out and understand the hard things that the experience of life presents to us ; we may perhaps fancy that we do understand them ; and we may even deal with them successfully for a while ; but presently we too shall find that they are proving too hard for us, until we go into the sanctuary of God. For it is there, in the most adequate consciousness of His presence, that, in the power of the Holy Ghost, our weak and sinful souls can reach—it is there that the faculty of judgment gradually gains its freedom, its illumination, and its strength. It is not only that those who seek with contrite hearts that awful, holy Light must needs have striven to put away the sins that darken and bewilder counsel. It is far more than this. It is that in the stillness and simplicity of drawing near to God through Jesus Christ our Lord, and in the passiveness and intense listening of the soul, conscience may speak to us with penetrating clearness of the height, the majesty, the tranquillity of justice ; of its home, in the very nature of God ; of its work, sure as His will ; of its exactness, absolute as His perfection ; of the silent and immediate certainty with which all the false estimates and verdicts of mankind are set right before "the Judge of all the earth ;" of the solemnity of that appeal which, spoken or unspoken, reaches Him from every age, and is written down and cannot be erased : "O our God, wilt Thou not judge them?" "The Lord look upon it, and require it," "Thou art the helper of the friendless," "Thou art set in the Throne that judgest right ;" and of our heavy responsibility for every exercise of the power given us from above, to judge and act, in whatsoever sphere, as His vicegerents among men. And then, as conscience thus speaks out her witness to the supreme and everlasting royalty of justice—the soul is also strengthened in the presence of God by a deeper

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\* Cf. M. Arnold's *Poetical Works*, p. 2 (Ed. 1890).

sense of the power that is on the side of justice—the power that can wait, but not fail ; that may use this means or that, but all for one unalterable end ; the power which is behind the patience of Almighty God, and which we forget when we grow restless and fretful at His tarrying, and misread the little fragment that we see of His vast purpose in the world. But, above all, more moving to our hearts, more responsive to our need, than any thought which we can grasp of His power and His justice, there comes to us, as we watch and pray in the sanctuary of His presence, the distinctive disclosure of the faith of Jesus Christ. Brighter than the most glorious dawn that ever lit the expectant hills, there grows before the eyes that gaze on Him the light that changes all things ; the light that lives on earth, and shall live while earth lasts, in the fact that God the Son was crucified for us ; the light that glows in every life that takes its character and strength from Him ; the light that wheresoever men may meet it, howsoever it may find its way into their hearts, brings God's great demand upon them, and tells them why He made them, what He would have them be, what is the true meaning of their lives, what is indeed His will for all men, and the calling and capacity of all ; even the light of that central and pervading truth that He, the Righteous Judge, the Lord of all, so loved the world : that He is love. *Sic Deus dilexit mundum* :—it is as we read those words above the Cross of Christ, as some fresh conviction of their certainty comes home to us, and some gracious increase out of the infinite fulness of their meaning fills our hearts, that we learn our true lessons about human life and about the part that we are meant to bear in it. Much may still be dark and strange to us, and the questions that are always rising round us will need our utmost care, and we may often make mistakes in thought, and word, and deed ; but the real, inner bewilderment, the fatal blundering of the soul can hardly be when we think of men and deal with them as, one by one, the distinct and unforgotten objects of that love which we ourselves have known in its astounding forbearance and condescension and inventiveness and glory. There is some sure light in the perplexity of this world, some hope even in its worst disasters, something steadfast through its storms, something still undefeated by its sins ; since it is the scene where God, Whose Love can only be measured by the Cross, is seeking, one by one, in countless, hidden ways, the souls of men, if here He may but begin to draw them ever so little towards Himself, that hereafter He may prepare them to be with Him where He is.



# THE SERMON

BY

THE REV. J. E. C. WELLDON, M.A.,

PREACHED IN

CHRIST CHURCH, FOLKESTONE,

ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4TH, 1892.

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"And it came to pass, when our enemies heard that it was known unto us, and God had brought their counsel to nought, that we returned all of us to the wall, every one unto his work."

"They which builded on the wall, and they that bare burdens, with those that laded, every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon. For the builders, every one had his sword girded by his side, and so builded."—*Nehemiah* iv. 15, 17, 18.

It will not, I trust, seem wrong that at this inaugural service of a Church Congress, which possesses an unusual importance, not so much in itself, perhaps, or in the sphere of its deliberations, as in the office and person of its President, I should venture with much respect to lay before you some few thoughts—such as are not alien, let me hope, from the character of this holy place—upon the position of the Church of which we all are members. For it is in the nature of such a Congress to fix men's minds upon the Church. It is a witness to her sustained and continued vitality. It is a review of her corporate forces and functions. It awakens a consciousness of solidarity among her members in many fields at home and abroad. And by the range of subjects proposed for the consideration of her members, it exhibits the multiplicity of her interests, which are wide as human nature itself. Dealing as she will in the present week, not with the souls of men only, or with the speculations of their intellects, but with their physical needs and activities, it is hardly too much to say that she may claim, as her own, the motto—*Humani nihil a me alienum*.

A Church Congress may be looked upon in two lights—as relative to the life either of the Church or of the nation. It is an ecclesiastical event, but it is also in some sense national.

Of the benefits accruing to the Church from the Congresses which have now been held in unbroken series for a period of over thirty years, two are so striking and, I think, so encouraging, that it may be permitted me to state them, even in a sermon. One is the gradual pacification of sentiment which has taken place among the representatives of different schools of thought in the Church. Men who would not perhaps have met but for the Congress have met there; they have looked each other in the face, they have listened to each other's voices; what was a mere name has become to them a person; and so it has happened that meeting has tendered to mutual understanding, and understanding to sympathy, and sympathy to respect. And the second result is the sensible realization of the dignity belonging to the Church as a body. It is difficult, perhaps, for one whose life is spent from day to day in humble, though most holy, duties, and amidst circumstances, it may be, of isolation, opposition, or discouragement, to realize that he is a representative of a vast historical society. But at the Church Congresses the confederated moral and intellectual powers of the Church have been brought into play. In a word, they who have met as brother Churchmen on the common impartial platform of their Churchmanship have gone home with a sincerer respect for one another, and a more deeply rooted faith in their Church.

But it would be an error, or at least a limitation of view, to think of the Church Congress simply as affecting the relation of Churchmen to their Church. She is the Church of Churchmen, but she is also the Church of the nation. Not by political establishment only, but by historical continuity, she asserts her national character. And I cannot hold that a Church Congress fulfils all its duty unless it asks the question—What is the Church doing—is she doing all that she might do—for the nation? Is she conscious and mindful of her national vocation? Is she felt to be a national power? Brethren, the time is opportune, unless I am mistaken, for facing this question in a spirit of serious hopefulness. One dark shadow which has long rested upon the Church is at length, it may be hoped, passing away. Perhaps that shadow, though it must be regretted by pious minds, could hardly have been dispelled at an earlier date. It was an almost inevitable result of the two co-ordinate revivals of spirituality—the Evangelical and the Tractarian—which breathed new life into the dry bones of the Church in the first half of the present century, that the struggle for recognition, as soon as it had been successful, should be merged in a struggle for pre-eminence. Strength of feeling is hard to reconcile with sympathy. Toleration is a virtue readily preached by the weak; but the vigorous and victorious are slow to practise it. It is no wonder, then, that the Church should have been rent by party spirit. But the very appeal to courts of law, while it has laid

a heavy reproach upon the faith and charity of Churchmen, at least has served to set the Catholic life of the Church in signal contrast to the sectional or personal interests of her members.

To-day, for the first time in the history of the Church since the litigation in the case of Mr. Gorham, there is reason to hope that in the providence of God the way has been opened by a memorable judgment for a mutual toleration of parties. If only that judgment be accepted—Heaven grant it may be!—in the spirit of that most valuable of clerical endowments, viz., a sanctified common sense, it may prove the means of giving peace within the borders of the Church, of preserving and consecrating her energies for the national good, and of setting the hands and hearts of her clergy free for their sacred task of ministering to the poor and needy, rebuking, consoling, and delivering human souls, and establishing Christ's kingdom upon earth. Yet it is a time, if full of hope, not free from anxiety. The spiritual regeneration of the Church, begun in faith and tears nearly a century ago, has accomplished but a part of its work when a storm has burst upon her. She is wounded in head and heart. She is impeded in the rebuilding of her wall, partly by the infidelity, or, to speak more accurately, the sense of religious insecurity, which tends to withdraw so many of the subtler minds and more sensitive consciences of to-day from her professed and regular service; partly, too, by the short-sightedness—I will use no harsher word—of men who do not see that in the face of the enemy it is time to close up the ranks, and not to spend upon the poor quarrels of Christians among themselves funds and energies which are needed, and were never needed more than to-day, for the relief of misery and the bitter warfare with sin. So it is; but is it a reason for despondency? Is the Church to lose heart because she is attacked? Look at history. The record of the past is the encouragement of the future. The voice of the first Christian century calls to the last. When has the Church shone with the brightest light of faith and love? When has she won her proudest victories on the earth? Was it when men said "Peace," and "All is well"? No, no; it was when she was weak that she was strong; when she was persecuted that she was triumphant; when she was torn with schisms within that she beat down opposition without; when her soldiers knew not how they should hold their ground for an hour at home that they planted the Cross on new heights all over the world.

Is not the story of Nehemiah's rebuilding of the sacred city a parable of the Church's duty? Let me remind you of the precise historical moment to which the text of my sermon relates. Nehemiah had made good progress in the work which Artaxerxes had commissioned him to perform. It was not now at its beginning; it was half done. "So we

built the wall," it is written, "and all the work was joined together unto the half thereof; for the people had a mind to work." It seemed as if within a brief space the people of God would be gathered again to their beloved and venerated home. But the Samaritans would not let them alone. Who these Samaritans were is not entirely clear; perhaps they were pagans, enemies of the faith of the Jews; perhaps adherents of it in a form more or less corrupt; or probably, as I imagine, they were both; but, at all events, they had not much in common except hostility to the rebuilding of the wall. That was what excited annoyance in their minds. "It came to pass, that when Sanballat, and Tobiah, and the Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites, heard that the walls of Jerusalem were made up, and that the breaches began to be stopped, then they were very wroth, and conspired all of them together to come and to fight against Jerusalem, and to hinder it." Brethren, there are Samaritans—I can hardly call them "good Samaritans"—now as then. Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the Ammonite, are not altogether unknown figures at the present time. But Nehemiah's is an inspiring example. He was engaged upon a work which was political as well as religious, and he did not intermit it for a moment. He pursued it with a calm intrepidity. He committed it in prayer to God. The only difference which he made in the face of opposition was that the builders could not give themselves unreservedly to the work of building; they were obliged to defend themselves at every turn against attack, they "wrought," as it seems, with their "swords girded by their sides," every one with one hand labouring at his work, and with the other, if the need were, holding a weapon. Brethren, the Church of England will prove unworthy of her vocation if for any fear of foes within or without her she abandons the rebuilding of her wall. Nothing less than the reunion of the people within the city of God can satisfy her prayerful ambition. Her national duty is independent of the relation in which she may stand by political sanction to the State. It is not the conception of the Church which is at issue in the controversies of the day; it is rather the conception of the State.

Let me try to clear up this point. The conception of the State which has prevailed in the civilized world until recent times springs from two historical sources. As so often happens, one of these sources is Hellenic, the other Hebraic. They are the parents of the modern State. The world has learnt from the political philosophy of the Greeks, especially of Aristotle, to look upon the State as a voluntary association of human beings, formed, not only or chiefly for the sake of making life possible or easy, but for the sake of making it noble.\* Not life, but a good

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\* Aristotle, "Politics," Book I., chapter 2.

life, not to live, but to live well, is the object of the State as so conceived. But at the same time the world has learnt from the theocracy of the Jews the truth, which S. Paul so often attests in his Epistles, that the State no less than the Church is a Divine institution, and that "the powers that be are ordained of God," and (unless in circumstances wholly extraordinary) possess a title to the loyal obedience of citizens.

There is another conception of the State which finds its advocates to-day. It is sometimes realized in young and rapidly expanding communities. It is defended on the ground of convenience; not of dignity or virtue, but of convenience. It lowers, and is meant to lower, the office of the State as an instrument in the cause of human good. A distinguished writer, who has exhaustively treated of the Constitution of the United States of America, describes the conception of the State which he thinks he observes there in these words:—"The State is not to Americans, as to Germans or Frenchmen, and even to some English thinkers, an ideal moral power, charged with the duty of forming the characters and guiding the lives of its subjects. It is more like a commercial company, or perhaps a huge municipality, created for the management of certain business, in which all who reside within its bounds are interested, levying contributions and spending them on this business of common interest, but for the most part leaving the shareholders or burgesses to themselves."\*

It is evident, I think, that speculations upon the attitude of the State towards religion must assume shape and colour according as one or the other of these contradictory conceptions of the State is held to be true or desirable. If it is not in any sense the function of the State to regard the moral welfare and progress of its citizens, it may not unreasonably leave religion alone. No doubt there is a certain danger that, when the State has divested itself of its sacred character, its laws and institutions will lose the binding authority with which religion has hitherto invested them; they will be felt more and more to rest on force alone, and force may command obedience (although perhaps only precariously), but it cannot command respect. This, however, is the affair of the State. But if it is right to conceive of the State as a moralizing and elevating power, as aiming at the greatest good of the greatest number of its citizens, and as seeking in any degree to make vice difficult for them and virtue easy, then (whatever practical difficulties may occur) it does seem unreasonable to maintain that the State, while necessarily concerned with morals, is forbidden to concern itself with the one most powerful motive to morality—viz., religion.

And this argument gathers strength from the "spirit of the

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\* Bryce, "The American Commonwealth," Vol. III., p. 472.

age," which clearly tends towards a large and philanthropical view of the State. The doctrine of *laissez faire*, so zealously preached half a century ago, is already out of date. The most beneficent legislation of recent years, as in the Colliery and Factory Acts, the Acts relating to the Housing of the Poor, the Education Acts, is all a testimony to the function of the State as a power that elevates society, and, if need be, elevates it at the cost of controlling individual liberty. Nor is it doubtful, I suppose, that the State in the exercise of the same beneficent function, will soon be invoked to pass measures for regulating the hours of labour, for securing a fair payment to industry, and for diminishing the temptations to drunkenness. Well, then, if this be the true, as it is the high, view of the State, it follows that religion is to the State a matter of deep interest. Never was a time when the Church possessed a nobler opportunity of serving the State. And here the spirit of those who built the wall of Jerusalem befits the restorers of the Church of England. With one hand they "wrought in the work;" with the other they "held a weapon."

Brethren, it were idle to deny that we, as Churchmen, may need the sword (you will not suppose I am speaking literally) as well as the trowel. Without a word of provocation or menace, we will defend our spiritual inheritance.

We will defend our creed. There are truths we cannot part or palter with for any gain. To sacrifice them is to sacrifice our very life. To degrade the Church to a mere humanitarian institution is to deny her the character of a Church at all. She is the oracle of Divine verities. Better a thousand times that she should suffer any worldly humiliation than that she should compromise the Divine Personality of the Lord Who bought her with His blood.

We will defend our ecclesiastical system. The attempt to "dissolve" the Church "into its original and constituent atoms,"\* to convert her Catholic organization into an aggregate of independent congregations, to impugn the necessity of her orders and the validity of her sacraments, would in our eyes be an act of sacrilege.

We will defend our endowments. They were the gifts of pious souls for the service of God. Who will say that they are not well used? or that, if there be any misuse of them, it may not be remedied? or that they are more than sufficient for relieving the ever-present weight of human suffering, sorrow, and sin?

Yes, and we will defend our sanctuaries. If it were ever proposed again—as once it was in an evil hour—that the churches, aye, and the cathedrals too, should be "nationalized"—*i.e.*, be

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\* "The Radical Programme," p. 158.

vested in the hands of a secular authority, and liable to be turned at any time to secular purposes—then indeed would such a proposal, in the words of an eminent living statesman, “bring the country nearer to civil war than the opponents of the Church would conceive.”\*

We will bear “our swords” then “girded by our sides,” as we go back to our work of building the city of God. Only let us never forget that the sword may not be used save in self-defence, or in defence of duties and sanctities dearer than ourselves. Let us never forget that the true end of the Christian Church lies not in fighting, but in building, in edification. We must be lovers of peace and patience. We must gladly put back our sword into its scabbard. “And it came to pass, when our enemies heard that it was known unto us, and God had brought their counsel to nought, that we returned every one of us to the wall, every one unto his work.”

But in what spirit, with what hope, shall we work? What aim shall we set before ourselves as members and ministers of the National Church?

Brethren, the age is practical; it is utilitarian. It demands that its institutions should be useful. No institution, least of all a Church, in these days can live by history alone. It is not enough that it should have satisfied the needs of the past; it must satisfy the needs and aspirations of the present. It must justify its existence in the eyes of living men and women.

It is well to look hard facts in the face. There is no doubt that establishments of religion are not now taken for granted, as they once were. And although political alliance with the State is but an accident in the history of the Church, and is not of her essence or integrity, yet, as it affects the life not of the Church only, but of the nation, it is worth while to consider, before it is too late, on what conditions a Church may hope, at this time of day, to enjoy a national recognition.

It appears to me then that a Church, if she is to remain the one established Church of the nation, must fulfil one of two definite conditions.

She may conceivably be co-extensive with the nation; she may include within her pale, not merely formally or theoretically, but in positive fact, all, or an overwhelming majority, of the citizens; the members of the State may be also members of the Church. This was the case in the Jewish Commonwealth; it was practically the case in the nations of Europe before the Reformation. But it is a condition of things which may be a dream or a prayer; it is not, and apparently will not be, realized in the modern world.

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\* Duke of Devonshire at Accrington, 1885.

But I imagine that a Church, especially one whose roots lie deep in the national history, may legitimately remain in established connection with the State, although she is not co-extensive with it, if she is felt to be a powerful national force, and to be so in virtue of her establishment, to play a great and salutary part in the life of the nation, to exercise a stimulating and elevating influence upon national morals, and upon the whole, when agreements and differences are viewed in their right proportion. to express with adequate reality the national aspirations after truth and unity in religion. When this is the case, the function of the Church is in some sense comparable to that of the Throne, which is accepted as an expression or symbol of the national life in its political unity, even by persons who may be theoretically opposed to monarchical government. In such a case the national gain of recognizing religion in the economy of the State is felt to preponderate over the drawback of associating one particular form of Christianity, to the exclusion of others, with the State. This is, I think, an intelligible position; it implies that the State, if it is careful of religious liberty, is at the same time not indifferent to religion; it is the ground upon which an Anglican Churchman, with perfect loyalty to his own religious convictions, may yet support the Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

But if it is a sound position, the consequences which result from it are evident. They affect the character of the Church. They enlarge the borders of her ministry. She must never think of the Church only, but of the nation. She must never permit herself to forsake the good of the nation for any advantage to a portion or sect of it, even to Churchmen. It will be a greater gain in her eyes if all the citizens of the State are made better Christians than if some of them are made better Churchmen. And she will never rest until the largest possible number of citizens are brought, in spiritual sympathy and practical philanthropy, into harmony, if not into union, with herself. This is the rebuilding of "the walls of Jerusalem, which were broken down." This is the restoration, the re-establishment (if I may call it so), of the Church. All that has been done in the present century to "lengthen her cords and strengthen her stakes," is only an earnest of what shall be done in the years to come. "So built we the wall; and all the wall was joined together unto the half thereof; for the people had a mind to work." Is it hopeless—is it impossible—to complete the wall?

Brethren, a preacher can only try, and all the more if his experience be limited, as mine has been, to submit his judgment upon so great a question as this to the mind and conscience of the Church. Yet you will forgive me if I specify three characteristics which would seem to be proper, I had almost said vital, to the Church as a national institution.



Firstly, she must exhibit a broadly liberal and tolerant spirit in her theology.

To say this is not to say—God forbid !—that she must submit herself to latitudinarian views of Holy Scripture. But it is to say that she must cultivate a generous sympathy with all who are of the faith, or on the borderland of faith. She must have a quicker eye for agreements than for differences. She must look to the beliefs in which Christians are at one rather than to the beliefs about which they are divided. She must seek to minimise, not to magnify, points of controversy. She must render it easy, and not difficult, for men to unite with her in the offices of devotion and charity.

There is no other way in which she can fulfil her national duty. If she were the Church of Ritualists only, or of Evangelicals only, she could not be the Church of the nation. If she should care only (although she will care primarily) for such citizens as call themselves Churchmen, her function would not be national, but sectional.

It has been the weakness of the Church of England in the past that she has shown, or has been permitted to show, so little capacity for adapting her formularies to the progress of Christian thought. She has appeared to remain stationary while the minds of her members have been moving and expanding. It is time that her liturgy should be harmonized with her theology. But at least to insist upon this or that shade of doctrine, this or that phase of ceremony, as if it were or could be vital, when the great issues of the faith are not at stake, is to court the ridicule of the world. Litigation upon the ritual of divine service may exalt the estimation of an archbishop, but it degrades the estimation of a Church. I have pleaded for a wise and sympathetic spirit among the rival parties of the Church. Suffer me to plead for it yet more earnestly in the relation of the Church to those men and women who stand outside her pale, yet on its very borders, to whom belief is so hard a thing at the present day, and yet so beautiful, so precious, who would believe if only they could, and are ready to take part in the works of Christian charity, hoping and praying for more light, clinging to such faith as still is theirs :—

*“Tendentesque manus ripæ ulterioris amore.”*

But most of all would I plead for it as the true attitude of the Church to all who, from faults of hers or of their own in the present or past, are estranged from her visible communion, but who “love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.”

That such comprehensiveness of sympathy as I am speaking of has its practical limits, I know well. It is limited partly because definiteness of doctrine or ritual, although it may alienate souls that do not assent to it, yet upon such souls as do accept it

it is capable of exercising a vivifying and unifying influence, partly too, and still more positively, because the faith revealed by Christ is not a mere nebular hypothesis; it cannot be frittered away or watered away into nothingness, it is a strong scheme depending upon the eternal verities of human sinfulness and divine redeeming love.

It is true, and the Church may never lose sight of the truth; but I say advisedly that it must be the object of a National Church to associate with herself—nay, if it be possible, to incorporate in herself—all the religious and Christian sentiment of the nation which is not excluded by some insuperable obstacle. For the attainment of this object much will depend upon the sympathetic courtesy of her clergy, more perhaps than upon the language of her Prayer-book. It is scarcely too much to say that the clergy will in the next twenty years hold in their hands the future of the National Church. If it is to be war, and only war, between the Church of England and the religious bodies which exist outside her pale, no event would seem more certain than that some day the turn of her enemies will come, and the walls of the Holy City will be broken down. May God of His mercy avert such a doom!

But I pass to a second characteristic of the National Church. She must exercise a powerful influence upon the social questions of the day.

The spirit of the day is social; it tends to be socialistic. Questions affecting the life of the people are in the air. Their economical and domestic condition is or will be a principal subject of public interest. The politics of to-day assume a nobler colour from the consideration of such matters as the housing of the poor, the encouragement of thrift, temperance and purity, the spread of education, the inculcation of a humane and merciful spirit—may I not say, not only towards women and children and the weak members of society, but towards those lower animals whose claim upon the Church and upon all mankind is, I rejoice to see, to be recognized at this Congress?—and the solution of the many intricate problems arising out of the relations of labour and capital, poverty and wealth.

What a sphere it is, then, which opens before the Church! She may not enter the arena of political warfare. She belongs not to one political party, but to all parties. It were a mistake for her clergy to become politicians, most of all to become politicians of one school. But where politics merge themselves in morals it is her duty to speak, and to speak boldly.

I do not know that the civic function of the Episcopate, and therefore in its measure of the clergy, has ever been more wisely stated than in the well-known letter of the late Prince Consort to Bishop Wilberforce:—

“A bishop (he says) ought to abstain completely from mixing

himself up with the politics of the day, and, beyond giving a general support to the Queen's Government, and occasionally voting for it, should take no part in the discussion of State affairs. But he should come forward whenever the interests of humanity are at stake, and give boldly and manfully his advice to the House and country (I mean questions like negro emancipation, education of the people, improvement of the health of towns, measures for the recreation of the poor, against cruelty to animals, for regulating factory labour, etc.)"\*

In such a mission the Church will not lose respect by boldness; she is more likely to lose it by timidity. If she will speak the truth, and will speak it always and to all classes, if she will stand forth as the champion of justice and equity, she will have her reward in the affectionate gratitude of the people, who will own that her service to society is such as she, and none besides her, can render. She is, as it were, the conscience of the nation; and how can she show in a purer light, how can she better express the spirit of her Master, than by drawing the sundered classes of the nation nearer together and saying, in the pause of embittered conflicts, "Sirs, ye are brethren?" There have not been wanting examples of recent days—two such examples will at once occur to your minds—in which a Bishop of the National Church, using his sacred office for the people's good, has been permitted under God to work a ministry of reconciliation in an hour of ruinous commercial warfare. "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

But higher still I lift my eyes. I see the Church taking the lead in the great movements of national progress. I see her controlling and inspiring the moral sense of the nation, as it swells with new ideals. I see her, not now in the rear, but in the van of the causes of liberty, humanity, knowledge, temperance, purity, which appeal from the present to the future. I see her winning the love and gratitude, not of the rich only, or the powerful, or the fortunate, but of the toilers in cellars and garrets of great cities, of the poor, the ignorant, the afflicted in all the land; of young men and maidens and little children saved by her ministries from sin and want and shame. And I think, if that is so, the English nation will not lay a despoiling hand upon the national Church.

Lastly, the Church, as the Church of the nation, must repose a frank trust in the democracy. She was the first democracy; and I sometimes think she will be the last. The ideas of equality of right or station in the modern world spring from the equality of human souls which she first taught. "All souls are Mine," says the Almighty. Is not this the germ of democracy?

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\* Sir Theodore Martin's "Life of the Prince Consort," Vol. II., p. 233.

Why should the Church not trust the people? To think lightly of them, as ignorant and prejudiced, is to think lightly of the Lord's first disciples. But let the Church trust the people, and they will trust her. Where is it now that she is weak? It is where her clergy have not shaken off the spirit of class, but look for deference and respect without altogether deserving it, and do not enter into perfect sympathy with the poor. And where is she strong? It is where her clergy speak as men to brother-men, asking no respect or reward, but living and labouring as brothers of the poor in many a dark, desolate alley, and often laying down their lives for their Master's sake. Those are the men—is it too much to call them martyrs of a late age?—saviours of their Church, as drawing to her the people's hearts, who have learnt and taught the lesson of democracy. May we all, my brethren, learn it too!

Such, then, it seems to me, are the conditions characteristic of a national Church—liberality of thought, philanthropy of endeavour, democratical sympathy of spirit. But do I urge them merely as rules of secular wisdom? Do I say only at the opening of this Congress that without them the Church will forfeit her *prestige*? Nay, it is as being harmonious with the will of the Divine Head of the Church that they appeal to my heart, and will, I doubt not, appeal to yours.

For is not His the broad simplicity of the faith? Is it not the boon of reformed religion that it makes the offer of salvation to every soul of man, not upon a multiplicity of hard terms, as in the Roman Church, but in the very language in which the Saviour offered it to His first converts? "Follow Me." "Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me." "Believe Me that I am in the Father and the Father in Me." What need we more than this?

And is not His the social philanthropy? He "went about doing good." His teaching, His life is the fountain-head of all reforms that in eighteen centuries have softened and hallowed the world. Nor can anyone doubt, whatever he may think of His Person, that the hope of regenerating mankind lies, now as ever, in the spirit of His Gospel.

Is not His, too, the sympathy with the weak things of earth? He was the friend and associate of the poor. He based His Church upon their voluntary affection. Even in the worst days of infidelity, as at the French Revolution, men have not denied the democracy of His example.

Brethren, I have tried to set before you the nature of the work which the Church of England, as I conceive, is called to do for the nation. It is not her whole work, but it is a vital part of it. It is demanded of her by her national character. You may not agree with the means suggested, but at least you will agree with the object. It is to make the

**Church of the nation national. In that hope we will begin the meetings of this Congress. We will set about the rebuilding of our wall. When it is finished, the people will return to the city. They will come with rejoicing and thanksgiving. It will be a day to be much remembered, like the day when Nehemiah dedicated anew the wall of Jerusalem. "On that day they offered great sacrifices and rejoiced; for God had made them rejoice with great joy . . . so that the joy of Jerusalem was heard even afar off."**

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# THE SERMON

BY

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF  
PETERBOROUGH,

(DR. MANDELL CREIGHTON,)

PREACHED IN

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, FOLKESTONE,

ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4TH, 1892.

"Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another; and the Lord hearkened, and heard it."—*Malachi* iii. 16.

THE permanent importance of the writings of the Jewish prophets, viewed as contributions to human literature, lies in the fact that they pursued the study of conduct and character as a science. Before each generation they held up the conception of an immutable law which regulated human life, and they applied this law to the special phases of man's development which they saw around them. Each of them in his own day fought his own way by God's help to a clear conception of righteousness as the aim of life, righteousness which man could not find in himself, but had to discover in God, righteousness which, once apprehended, absorbed all else and gave a meaning to the disjointed activities of the world's struggles. The perpetual burden of their message is to set forth clearly what man was as they saw him in the actual world, and what he might be if he would only enter upon the heritage which God had prepared for him. Though their strains were lofty, though they pointed to an order of things which could never be realized, still their aim was practical and their method was scientific. It began from the real facts around them. It was always in strict relation to current affairs. Neither virtue nor vice was idealized. There was a full appreciation of what was really being done. But the object was to set forth the full meaning of passing events, to show the goal towards which prevailing tendencies of thought

and action inevitably led, to strip off disguises, to remove plausibilities which had no real contents, to insist that men should think things out and see the direction in which they were drifting. Their object was to apply to life the method of strict science. "Life," they said, "is concerned with conduct and character. Conduct must be either right or wrong; character must be either good or bad; tendencies must be judged by their ultimate results. Let us see what your life comes to when judged by the best we know." They applied scientific principles, and so reached the end of science, which is simplification, the reduction of the manifold things which appear into classes which are marked by common qualities.

None of the prophets are more directly and obviously practical than is Malachi, the last of the prophetic order. His dialectic deals remorselessly with flimsy pretexts, and brings men face to face with principles. The form of his utterances is new. He discards rhetoric and states his propositions with all their force. Then he pursues the objector, and by a series of questions and answers shows him that his excuses are unavailing. In an age of religious indifference and moral decay he tries to arouse men by appealing to their intelligence rather than to their imagination. His incessant cry is, "Think things out; see whither you are going." He has a deep sympathy with those whom he addresses, for he has shared their difficulties. There had been a time when he too was a captive, oppressed by the myriad voices of the world, and enervated by its din. But he had thought over them and analyzed them, till he had succeeded in reducing them to two strains only of articulate utterance. There was the bold speech of practical or theoretical rebellion against God, repeating, with wearisome monotony, though in different forms, "It is vain to serve God; and what profit is it to us that we have kept His ordinance? We call the proud happy." And there were the soft accents of those who feared God and encouraged one another in obedience to His laws. There was nothing more; in these all else was mixed. All human activity, and all the principles which inspire it, come at last to these two ultimate elements—the pride of the natural man rejoicing in his own strength, and the humble confidence of those who seek their strength in God. The prophet had learned that the roar which rose loudest was that of material effort which was engaged in making the best of things as they appeared. Loud as it was, its contents were always the same, repeated more or less buoyantly and confidently; sometimes the mutterings of indifference, sometimes the shout of triumph, but always reducible to a common formula. Such, however, was not the case with the speech of those who feared God. It was various, though quiet and simple. They spake, and the Lord hearkened. By a bold metaphor the prophet proclaims that every shade of meaning in the speech of

the faithful received the attention of the Most High, every utterance of faith was recorded in heaven's chancery.

How different is this conception of the meaning of the world from that which passes current. Men admire the fertility of human inventiveness, the ingenuity displayed in the formation of new theories of life, the versatility of open-mindedness which is unfettered by principle, the beauty of the idealized passions of the natural man. How rich is the activity which is fostered by boldly taking things as they come and making the best of them without prejudice. It appeals to man's courage and venturesomeness. It fascinates by the apparent largeness of the field which it opens out. "Any line of thought or action," men say, "is fruitful of results, provided it be pursued far enough. All contributions made to the discovery of man's relations to the world are useful." Against this unbounded freedom of endeavour stands in apparent contrast the monotony of the life which is founded on the law of God. It seems beset with restraints, "cribbed, cabined, and confined." It is sombre and uniform, without room for bold experiment. Is it not true that at the present day there is a tendency to regard the religious life as unadventurous, contributing but little to the promise of the future? Indeed, it is often praised because it maintains existing institutions till others are ready to take their place. It is well that the old world should go on in humdrum ways, because it supplies needful harbours whence bands of explorers set out in quest of new continents.

Is this so? Are the activities of the present day so essentially different from those of all previous times? Has it not been the boast of each generation that it is on the point of solving the difficulties that beset the past, and that a new era is just beginning? Look at the days of Malachi. It is an historical commonplace to say that it was an age of indolence and indifference. But the men of Malachi's time did not think so. Their words were stout. Their improvements on the past were numerous. They rejoiced that they had emancipated themselves from old prejudices, religious and social alike. Their objects are still objects of popular pursuit—the relaxation of the bonds of family life, and the adaptation of religion to motives of convenience. The spirit of the age was widely spread, for it affected the priests, who were willing to remodel the requirements of ancient ritual so as to suit the prevailing taste. There was a sense of much activity, and a consciousness of great progress. It is always so. All times of which we have records have been stirring times, in the sense that they were fruitful of changes, or of the suggestions of change. But we only pay heed to such results of man's activity as were in accordance with principles, which we recognize as sound because they are of permanent application to the facts of human nature and of human life. How many crises and



epochs have passed away and left no trace behind them save what we gather from a solitary voice which protested against the unreality of misguided energy, and was stirred to set forth with resolute simplicity those eternal truths which men are prone to forget. The voice of the prophet is always raised to the same purpose. He warns men that, though the pictures in their kaleidoscope seem always to be changing, they constantly recur. The forms assumed by the desires of the natural man may vary, but their basis is monotonous. The attempts to deck selfishness with various trappings do not alter its features. It is to no purpose to propound manifold ideas if all alike are destitute of firm foundation. A cry repeated in varying phrases does not on that account gain in truth or meaning. The appearance of variety in the efforts of those who despise God's law is all a delusion. The reality is essentially the same.

Is it, on the other hand, true that the life of the righteous is sombre, and that their utterances are uniform and lacking in versatility? It is true that their message is simple in itself; but it is capable of infinite applications. It is true that their life is regulated by law; but for that very reason it can work effectually. The results of patient industry are more valuable than the projects of rash endeavour. Gradual expansion is safer than forcible extension. More ingenuity is exercised in steadily improving the business of an established firm than in floating a new company by plausible misrepresentations. But it may be noticed that the cleverness of an impostor is constantly exciting popular wonder, whereas the ability of the regular man of business is only recognized by few. Yet the methods of fraud are really simple; it is only the credulity of its victims which is manifold. On the other hand, the methods of honest industry are varied, and are capable of infinite variation. Malachi found it easy to condense the multitudinous utterances of those who spoke against God. He could not condense the utterances of those who feared Him. They spoke, and the Lord hearkened. Each faltering sentence proceeding from a pious soul has an inherent and distinctive value. It is worthy of a place in the archives of heaven.

At all times of the world's history the duty of those who would honour God has been beset by the same difficulties. Round them has surged the roar of the world; they have felt the need of learning to discriminate the meaning of its tones. Nothing has helped them more than that quiet converse one with another which, both in public and private, is our object in the coming days. Our conference is not to promote any organized action, or to accomplish any definite end. It merely reproduces on a large scale that quiet speech one with another which is a part of the Christian life, a necessary function of the Christian Church in the accomplishment of its work of testimony for God. It is not

enough that there should be a regular ministry, stated services, and organized teaching. These are necessary in the first place ; but besides these there is room likewise for the free utterances of the faithful people, be they many or be they few. There have been times—there may be times again—when such converse has been of supreme importance, when a faithful remnant has separated itself for a time from the world, and has kept alive the principles or the organization of the spiritual life. It was by mutual exhortations that such a remnant in Malachi's days learned to hold fast the truth amidst a generation sunk in spiritual sloth. They taught one another to discern what was eternally right, and uphold it in their own lives whatever others might do around them. They strengthened one another to be faithful to the belief in a divine order. They inquired how they might best labour to make it manifest in its beauty and its power. These and such like topics God wills that man should discuss, and He takes pleasure in their discussion. The sole qualification that He demands is a sense of responsibility and an appreciation of His sovereignty. They that feared God and believed that He ruled the world spoke to some purpose. How much easier should speech be to us who have received the full revelation of the love of God made manifest in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. With larger faith comes quicker perception. The boundaries of the spiritual world and the operation of spiritual forces are infinitely clearer to us than they were to the Old Testament saints. We have more to say ; we have more points of attachment to the human heart ; we have a new spiritual power to speak with boldness and force. But the value of our speech depends now, as of old, upon its motive. Not through its ingenuity or its cleverness will our speech be precious in God's sight, but through its sincerity. And unless our speech be precious before God, it will not be useful to man. It is the heart, and not the head, whose accents will edify the faithful or convince the gainsayer. He who has fought his way through the smaller world of sense into the larger world of God, he only, by telling the plain tale of a pioneer, will encourage others to follow in his steps. Behind words stands character ; behind the speaker we unconsciously seek the man. It is the man and character which inspire confidence. We follow the leader in whose courage and sincerity we feel that we may trust. No man can allure to brighter worlds who does not also lead the way. Let us pray that absolute sincerity and unswerving purity of intention may characterize all the utterances which go forth among us.

But if the speech of faith was precious before God for its sincerity, it was also precious for its variety. The prophet could state in simple terms the burden of the world's chorus ; he could not condense the contents of the chant of the righteous. They spoke one to another. Each man had a message which came

from his own individual experience, and the Lord listened separately to each. There was a magnificent variety of subtle tones and delicate shades of meaning in the speech of the godly. It was like a vast orchestra in which each instrument played its own part so as to produce a perfect harmony. Only in relation to God does man find his true individuality. The world aims at progress through outward mechanism, and demands that mankind, viewed as classes, should take their place in the vast machine. Its highest end is outward organization, and its utmost promise to the individual is increase of leisure, in which only he may be free. God knows the varying gifts which He bestowed upon His creatures, the varying conditions in which they were developed, the helps or hindrances which each has met, the power which he had to use to overcome them. All this, and much more than this, has gone to make up character, which is the resultant of the forces operating on the individual life. The speech which man directs to God expresses every incident in the complicated process, and contains a brief record of a soul's progress. It is as imperfect as he is who utters it. It cannot go beyond the poor contents of his heart ; but it is of worth so far as it shows the work of God in restoring the image of Himself, defiled by sin, but not obliterated, so far as it testifies to the creative power of God's Holy Spirit. Because the Christian knows that God has dealt, and is dealing, with him ; therefore, he feels himself to be, indeed, a man, and is conscious of a dignity and a value, as a Christian, which he can have on no other ground. He has something to say of his very own, something that no other man but he has the means of saying. It may not be of much value. God knows ; but he must say it all the same. The utterances of Christians may lack emphasis or finish, but they cannot lack variety or originality, for they spring from the direct consciousness of an individual life. We must expect to find that, though our speech is directed to a common end, the ways that lead to it are divers. If our testimony is to be powerful, it must be so because it rests on the power of profound convictions, rooted in many hearts, and expressed by many tongues in different ways.

We have need to recognize, more fully than we have yet recognized, that God has set forth His truth in the world, but has left each man free to accept it or reject it, and further, to accept it in varying degrees of completeness, and under various outward forms. God has given His revelation, and the Church is the guardian and witness of it. The Divine method has been to make known the truth, and leave it to every man's conscience to seek enlightenment. "Behold, I stand at the door and knock : if any man hear My voice and open the door, I will come in to him and sup with him, and he with Me." Such is the method of the Master ; and His Church has no commission to use any

other method. The Church of England has been careful to observe this limitation. She draws a clear line between the testimony which she is bound to bear to God's will revealed about what is necessary to salvation, and all else, however valuable or useful it may be. She had learned the lesson of the age in which her formularies were revised, the lesson that it was not the overwhelming power of outward organization that would win the world to Christ. She had seen that the massive organization of the mediæval Church was no sooner completed than it fell into ruins. Its excessive demands of submission led to a revolt. Authority was discredited because it was chiefly used for its own preservation. Spiritual life, hemmed in by restrictions, wandered round and round in an ever-narrowing circle, till its vital powers decayed. The great principle of the Reformation in England was the restoration of individual responsibility in the sight of God. The Church of England went back to the Scriptural and primitive conception of her duty—to bear true and constant testimony to the indwelling presence of the Incarnate Lord in the world which He had redeemed, and to keep open the channels which He had left for the supply of His grace to individual souls. That view of the parental relationship which demanded unquestioning obedience on all points was man's way of training, not God's. The fundamental meaning of the change of the sixteenth century was the recognition once more of God's method of dealing with His children. It is sadly true that the Church of England was not always constant to this high conception which she had recovered. The preservation of national unity was a political question to be solved by the State, not by the Church; and under the pressure of difficult problems the State aimed at an outward uniformity of religious observance, till premature insistence on this requirement proved disastrous to Church and State alike. The result is that we inherit a legacy of past mistakes, and must retrieve our fortunes by renewing our hold on our original principle. The Church is an educator of souls. Trained in the truth of her testimony to Christ, strengthened by the grace which her ordinances minister, individual men and women go forth to enlighten the world in which their lot is cast. Organization is valuable because it supplies the definite framework for a system of training, but no wise educator aims at reducing all characters to absolute uniformity of opinion. There is, I think, sometimes a misconception about the meaning of the beautiful collect which is often on our lips, in which we pray for "grace seriously to lay to mind the great dangers we are in by our unhappy divisions." The divisions there referred to threatened to rend asunder the English State; and the prayer is that God would "take away all hatred and prejudice and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly union and concord." It is hatred and malice which make divisions

unhappy ; and this source of unhappiness arises from the evil passions of the natural man, which may gather round even the highest and holiest things. We pray that we may be delivered from them by the realization of our unity in Christ Jesus, Who alone can set men at one. Men may disagree—it is well that they should do so—but without hatred ; they may express different opinions—the world will be all the wiser for them—but without malice. Argument oftentimes brings to light fundamental agreement underlying different modes of thought and expression ; in all cases it should reveal the exact principle from which practical difference begins. Opinions are wrong, not because they are substantially untrue, but because they are one-sided. Free discussion tends by the contributions of many minds to restore the due proportion of the faith, and establishes mutual sympathy, which dissolves prejudice. Now, as of old, the basis of the speech of the faithful must be a common fear of the Lord. Then the Lord hearkens to each of them ; because all words spoken in His name have a value as bearing witness to His power, and have a message to some other human soul.

But the speech of the faithful was quiet and unassuming ; their words were spoken one to another. The world brawled, and its shout waxed loud ; as a triumphant justification of its self-confidence, an enunciation of the principles of its audacity. The faithful did not follow its example. They uttered no counterblast, they set forth no contrary appeal. Instead of raising a protest, they strengthened their testimony. They spoke ; how could they do else ? but it was not to the gainsayer, it was one to another. The world had formulated the results of its experience ; the answer must be founded on the clear exhibition of the results of another experience. So they spoke words of mutual encouragement. They confirmed their own faith and that of each other by frequent interchange of opinions. They discussed how they might in their lives and in their actions appeal quietly to the consciences of those who were now sunk in the sloth of indifference. They felt the weight of individual obligation, and recognized their individual responsibility towards God and their fellows. Their object was to grow in clearness, directness, steadfastness. There had been a time when they looked to the Temple and its services as an adequate expression of the Divine order. Now they saw that the outward and recognized provision for religious teaching must be reinforced by voluntary zeal. They awoke to the consciousness of a mission, and knew that God had called them, even them, to do His work. It is no wonder that their hearts were stirred, and they had much to say.

It is even so with you, my brethren, here and now. Never was it more clearly revealed that God has need of the service of all His children. The Church and its appointed officers, the work of its ministers in every direction, need to be supplemented

by voluntary helpers. As we look back upon the past, we see that the record of the life of the Church of Christ is a record of continual revivals, each one of which broadened its basis and enlisted new recruits in active service. The most splendid period of the history of the mediæval Church was foreshadowed by the dream of Pope Innocent III., who saw the Lateran Basilica tottering and ready to fall, had it not been supported by the shoulders of a poor, miserable man, the mission-preacher, Francis of Assisi. We know full well the misfortunes which befel the Church of England because she could find no room for zeal outside and beyond the appointed ministrations. Again, we have gone back to first principles. If the Church of England respects individual freedom, she thereby emphasizes individual responsibility. Freedom of thought and speech involves energy of action. The Church can find some work for all her members to perform within the limits of her orderly system. That system itself is a Divine heritage, with which she may not tamper, for she holds it in trust. But within it there is ample room for every form of Christian endeavour.

The speech which the prophet commends for our example was called forth by the strain and stress of circumstance, and its objects were entirely serious and practical. The multitude were being led astray by false and foolish cries : how were they to be brought back to truth and wisdom ? Those who felt their responsibility were bound to face the actual facts, and devise practical means of help. The elevation of the national life is the immediate aim of the talk of the righteous. The object of the world's efforts has always been, some way or another, to improve the material conditions of life. The Spirit of Christ has so far wrought upon the world as to make the brotherhood of man a recognized basis of the efforts which are being made in this our day. Whatever discouragement we may feel at times, let us remember that efforts for the good of all men are a testimony to the power of the Incarnation, and have a dignity and nobility which flows from the Lord. But there is a danger that human effort should disregard the source from which its strength is derived ; that it should become self-confident, and so absorbed in details as to forget principles. Human laws and institutions are merely so much mechanism, and depend for their efficacy on the force that moves them. That force is the human will, and man's will is only really strong when it works in accordance with the will of God. The force resulting from the conflict of the selfishness of classes will be too feeble to effect real progress. The world can only advance by united effort which rests on fellow-feeling and mutual goodwill. No nation has ever continued great when it lost the sense of acting under Divine protection. This is the only possible basis of a vigorous national life and fruitful endeavour for the common good. The State may

concern itself with the machinery, the Church is the guardian of the motive power, of national life. This great function the Church can neither resign nor be dispossessed of; it is hers in perpetuity.

I have tried to show you, dear friends, that when we meet as Christians we have each of us something to say and much to learn. May the result of our meeting be to deepen the consciousness of our high duties, and fill us with hope and resoluteness for the future. Above all, may we be led to seek God's grace that we may do our part in the great work which He has committed to His Church—

“Remember, every man God made  
Is different, has some deed to do,  
Some work to work : be undismayed ;  
Though thine be humble, do it too.”

THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
CHURCH CONGRESS,  
HELD AT FOLKESTONE.

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CONGRESS HALL,

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 4TH, 1892.

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At Two o'clock His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury (DR. EDMUND WHITE BENSON) took the Chair as President, and delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

IN addressing to the Congress one brief word of welcome to our diocese, I do not forget that I am myself welcomed to this town of welcomes and farewells. Our Congresses have naturally affected places where men congregate busily, more than even great ecclesiastical centres, or cities grown peaceful in their stateliness. The "smoke and power and din" of manufacture have been dear to the Congress—seats of manufacture or commerce, places thronged for study or for relaxation, now a town awakening to its own needs, now a Church in need of encouragement. It was well we should meet in the place whose name is one of the symbols of half our modern life—the life of motion; passengers and visitors ourselves, with hearts full of thoughts that will not pass.

I remember having been much impressed at that age when inquiry begins by a sentence which declared that the Church needed, and was in quest of "something deeper than had satisfied the last century," in religion. The vague simplicity and power of the phrase, "something deeper," haunted me long. But I do not mention it on that account.



I mention it because the expression caught what was really in the air. It is interesting, but it is true, that within half a century there was a day of expectation, even of yearning, for "something deeper." And as very great and wide subjects have been abundantly before the Church, and as very great changes have come to pass in the Church since then, it seems that a Church Congress ought, of all meetings, to be a meeting in which the signs of that increased depth of religion, if it has deepened, should be visible.

I think we know what that yearning meant if followed to its depth. As heathen nations have felt after God, if haply they might find Him, so Christian Churches have yearned in their time that Christ should be more felt and found in the communion of men and the fields of their activity. What was yearned for was that the Church should bring home a realization that the human had been taken up into the Divine, and that the Divine ought to be like a steadily advancing tide pervading the human. What was yearned for was that Church life should express the Incarnation, if that was the real centre of her teaching and her worship.

Then, has the century got deeper as it has lengthened on? And why ask that here? I ask it because a Congress is not a piece of Church organization, it is not a part of administration, not a field of discipline; again, not a platform for societies, not a committee to take measures, not an inspection to review statistics. It is a voluntary gathering of those who may be presumed to enjoy the spirit and life of the Church as much at least as any. It is the tone, the aims, the hopes, the foreshadowings—it is everything which is not measurable by statistics—which is here considered in its fullest, freest, and often alterable outline; unpractical ideas may be ventilated and exploded here; the solid may be discerned and watched in process of formation.

Accordingly, with one or two exceptions, all the subjects on the programme are in form not fifty years old. The principles are old, the substance itself is often very old—but in form, I repeat, in form the questions are younger than many of us. I have had no part myself in the collecting, selecting, or arranging of them. It is best that they should, as it were, float upward from the constituency. Actual measures belong to other floors, and official persons have other walls within which to press what they find important, whether prominently or in quiet. But the voluntary comers and voluntary promoters should be, and are as far as possible, the authors of the programme of questions

This is what entitles us to expect that the resultant of Congress papers and speeches will indicate the direction, and the deepening, if it is going on, of the Church's thought; will exhibit the Church, first as incorporating the progress of thought at large; secondly, understanding how to communicate her own essential principles to the world of to-day; thirdly, appreciating the strength and extent of the position she has to carry; fourthly, cultivating a deep intelligence of the realities she has to communicate, as they look in the growing light of advancing time. In a word, the Congress, if it has a real function, ought to leave us with quickened perceptions of how the Church bears upon and enters into the life of the world. If when all is over we are disappointed, the disappointments of the Churchman must act on him as the disappointments of a philosopher act on him, to make him wary and resolute. If when all is over we are encouraged, the encouragement is the noblest that can be.

With regard to the subjects, I would further add that the perusal of them is, perhaps, useful, as showing what is really thought to be in the air and what is not. I would add again that most people will view them as moving in rational orbits, and at a natural speed. If any seem otherwise to anyone, he may remember that even comets have their beneficent uses, and do not measurably endanger creation.

I have just indicated four points in which we might learn from this Congress whether the Church is advancing in the way of realizing and strengthening her position towards the world. We take this first.

I.—The Church has certainly had the opportunity of strengthening her teaching and the effect of it by added light upon the *Manner of God's Action*. A new doctrine as to the processes of "nature" is esteemed by physical scientists to be as certain a part of science as the doctrine of gravitation. To us, then, it is a doctrine about the manner of the Divine working—a light upon creation. No unscientific man (who was not a preacher) would expect to be able to refute it, or feel justified in contradicting a scientific theory before mastering it. Deepening ideas within the Church have almost, if not entirely, restrained even preachers from incongruously confronting it with ideas that move in other planes. I have heard the doctrine of original sin stated as overthrowing it and being overthrown by it. Yet doctrines of degeneration and disappearance, of survival, of repair, of development, which wait upon physical evolution, have been recognized as having, in fact, something of a sacramental awe in their correspondence to things spiritual. It is acknowledged that faithless panic is more dangerous

than assault. The attitude of the Church toward science is not now timorous or averse: it is "an earnest expectation of manifestation."

There is another instance in which things once feared as weakening belief in a Divine revelation are yielding confessedly worthier and more consistent ideas of the Divine manner. Criticism, historical and documentary, has found material, detected principles, elicited results unexpected when that yearning for "something deeper" began. Inspired documents, far from being withheld from its range, are precisely those in which it is most vital to know the truth. They lie in that borderland of intensest difficulty which is far more rife with problems for the accurate imagination than things either human or Divine—that dim and beautiful borderland where the finite ascends into heaven. The universality of criticism is the seal of its own trustworthiness, for it is bound to criticize criticism. No criticism can ever be exempt from re-examination. And what is its fruit? Does it really withdraw us from the faith? The most acute and accurate critics in our libraries are among our devoutest believers. Does it disparage the religious basis of social duty? Among them are those who have best solved new social difficulties by the resort to Christian grace.

Certainly, if secular thought and knowledge have grown by the science and criticism of half a century, the discussions here will show that the Church is no less thankful for the wider, calmer, more human and more Divine view vouchsafed her of the *manner* of God's Word and work.

II.—Then secondly, *Communication of the Truth*. The Master's final bidding. Has the Church of His obedience deepened her methods and her scope? Two fields are hers—the unchristianized world, and her own little Christian children. Two agents—Missions and Education.

The question is not, Are more brought in and taught? but, Are they trained in highest methods, to highest issues?

*Missions*.—Regard these as students of history or of Church polity, and we must own that our present organizations and the necessity of pleasing our religious masses are leading us into thin extensions, are not kindling those white-hot foci which wrought the establishment of Christianity and the Church in the past. Collegiate and cathedral centres ever preceded the diffused pastorate, which we now try to set down at once, and that where all is darkest. Again, our present methods make us extremely distrustful alike of our own leaders and of

our own disciples—afraid to trust the former with power, and to brace the latter with responsibility. And yet it was by such confidence in converts, and such reliance on emissaries, that the Apostolic Churches, and the Churches which Christianized ourselves, did all their work. The ancient ways evoked genius, originality, entire sacrifice. Have we found these powers spring in the track of our methods? Have we given them freedom when they appeared? Consequently, do the really great religions of the world give any sign of surrender? But now in our Board of Missions a step has been taken to found such a body of students and enquirers as shall independently look into facts, methods, results, and frankly state them. I see an opening prospect there.

The events of the last day or two forbid me to pass on at once as I intended. Can we leave the subject of foreign missions without recording our emphatic prayer that, whatever be the commercial exigencies (and we well know that there are difficulties which demand statesmanship as well as courage), our country's course shall be so shaped that Christian converts shall not be abandoned to imminent destruction? Uganda is a land which has already drunk the blood of martyrs.

*Education.*—The advance enormous; methods perfect up to their present purpose; the immense teaching body living and working to a standard which few standards rival. And this not in Church schools only. The Bishop of Durham has written:—"I have studied with great satisfaction the general schemes for religious instruction which have been adopted by the School Boards of [six great towns which he names], and what I have learnt of the results of the teaching has been no less satisfactory."

But there are two points on which I confess I desire more certainty, not as regards religious education only, but as regards all education. Have we found out how, and are we able, to impart permanent interest in the interesting and important subjects of which we lay the foundation? Are those subjects, about each of which we are so particular—are they cared for and followed up? Does what has been taught remain? Because it is on this that the answer depends to the question, Are we really educating the people, or only employing the children?

The other point is this, Are we occupying minds, or are we forming characters? The new direction to Her Majesty's inspector to consider the question indicates that the fact is not self-evident. In our public schools themselves what portion of the school life do we look to most for the formation of character?

It is on character infinitely more than on material knowledge that all

which is vital to the power and estate of England turns. It is truth which has made her free.

The noble classical passage of William Law is, perhaps, so familiar that we need revive only a few words of it:—"The youths that attended upon Socrates, Plato, and Epictetus were thus educated. Their everyday lessons and instructions were . . . upon the nature of man, his true end, and the right use of his faculties ; upon the immortality of the soul, its relation to God, the beauty of virtue, and its agreeableness to the Divine Nature ; upon the dignity of reason, the necessity of temperance, fortitude, and generosity, and the shame and folly of indulging our passions. Now as Christianity has, as it were, new created the moral and religious world, and set everything that is reasonable, wise, holy, and desirable in its true point of light . . . one might naturally suppose that every Christian country abounded with schools . . . for the forming, training, and practising youth in such an outward course of life as the highest precepts, the strictest rules, and the sublimest doctrines of Christianity require."

That is a bold, masterly, and Christian outlining of what is meant by the formation of character in the schools of a nation. Do we, as he says, "abound" in it?

All, then, that can give us clearest light on our education, our social, our religious education, our preaching to the masses, the training and organizing of our preachers, the policy of our missions, insight into the prospects and effectiveness of ancient Churches far away, all that can promote peace and forbearance within, all provision of common ground and of common institutions for conference, for deliberation, for mutual help, all the ideals that take solid shape in our fast-growing Church House—yes, all such things will enter this week into our deliberations, and will contribute importantly to our knowledge of *Communication*.

III.—*The Position to be Carried.*—Has our appreciation of the position deepened? Have we understood that neither the plutocrat nor the democrat is any more naturally hostile to the Church than the oligarch or the autocrat, nor more indifferent, nor more favourable? We shall not find artisan ranks in Church unless we preach justice to labour, but they will not be absent because we preach justice and consideration all round—to employers as well as to labourers. Those who know them are not of opinion that selfishness and destructiveness are characteristic of their tone. They have a right to expect that conciliation and opportunity for fair statement should be promoted by the messengers of "peace and goodwill;" that the health, the refreshment,

the rest of the poor should be included in the prayer for the coming kingdom. What the Church did in founding education she may go on to do for the continuance of cultivation in still rising years. What she did for temperance she may do for the White Cross. It may be that the opening of all eyes (as I trust they are opening) may be followed by a rush of unstudied remedies, a flood of disjointed and half-wasted efforts. But they will fall into order. And with deep thankfulness we recognize that it is by broad principles, by the appeal to just compassion, by Christian charity, by the Church bishops using their office, without the least interference in any business of detail, that the two latest, most distressing, and, in one case, most threatening dissensions, have been composed to the benefit of both capital and labour. For they are not two interests, but one. And the best thing we can do is to get their oneness recognized.

In these ways we have had some real resort to the heart of things, and to some degree tried the depth of our principles. It is not by exclusiveness of interests, but by a gain of experience on the part of the clergy; not by separation, but by closer alliance with civil life—(all which is the very notion of the birth, the education, and the citizenship of the English clergymen)—that the beneficence of Christ will be wrought out, and the magnitude of the operations to which He has pledged His Church be realized.

IV.—For herein appears our intelligence or non-intelligence of what is ours to communicate. In details and in quiet more than in talk like this it is seen whether we believe ourselves to possess a good scheme or a grace, a machine or a power, memorials or gifts. The “deeper thing” which our fathers felt after was the realization of the Incarnation; the criterion which S. John pointed out between real and false Christianity is the fact that “Jesus Christ is come in the flesh”—come and not gone—that He is with us.

Without this deep persuasion, not Church Congresses only, but Churches, may come and go, and the world be no richer. The best doctrine (as Hooker says) may be “hungry and unpleasant . . . heartless and hitherto without fruit”—it is where the doctors agree, “where they all speak one thing . . . to whatsoever part they may be thought to incline, touching that whereof there is controversy,” it is there that “their sentences are mere consolation and joy.” Surely we may safely follow the New Testament method of teaching dogma. And there the most accurate truths are not cast down in hard outline,

but each after each is drawn out just as it is wanted for the formation of the Christian character.

What will really make the Church of inestimable value to this nation is, first, the immeasurable contribution of innumerable deepened individual characters; and next, that in all that vast work which in this age can be done only by societies, the societies themselves should not become mere organizations, but should never cease to invoke and to apply the deepest influences. One of the most mystical and most practical of saints says that she was positively hindered by the confessors because they treated all things smoothly and equably, without depth or passion. That may be the case of a Church as well as of a soul.

Bishop Lightfoot says "history is an excellent cordial for drooping courage." And before concluding, I would fain ask whether there has ever been a fairer time than ours for deepening all Church thought and inspiring all our work with spiritual influences? To what age would we transport ourselves to obtain more favourable conditions? Shall we go back a whole century before the Reformation and hear Martin V. asking Archbishop Chicheley whether England could be called a Catholic country at all, because the king stemmed the influx of Roman persons and ordinances, and Chicheley replying that the whole policy of the Roman Church was greed? Or shall we choose a century later when the reactionary Marian years had left it a difficult problem to find, clergy at all, or even competent laymen, to serve the destitute parishes. Or a century later, when the king's ministers held secret negotiations for the replacement of Romanism, and the Test Act was thought the Church's safety, and in the same half century Episcopacy was abolished in Scotland, and in England Papists and Unitarians were excepted from any toleration? Or shall we step into the next century, when ministries came into office or kept their place by bribing with benefices and sees?

Age after age in the past seems darkened by some dominant idea oppressing the energies of the Church. But are we wrong in thinking that our own age is marked in a wonderful way by the desire for truth and justice, by love of work, by compassion for suffering? If the Church has had her share in developing such dominant ideas, so much the better. But in any case this surely is an atmosphere in which she can live and teach and create.

It is the high function of a Congress to stimulate us to realize new acquisitions, to communicate our own fullest certainties, to recognize

the measure of our task, and to understand the living force given us for its accomplishment. More than this it is not within our province to attempt. But this is much. There is great access of light when the thread of opportunity is set glowing through and through with eternal duty.

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## THE RELATION BETWEEN THE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.

### PAPERS.

The Rev. M. F. SADLER, Rector of Honiton, and Prebendary of Wells.

THE authority of the New Testament and the authority of the Church were originally the same. They both rested on the authority of the Apostles.

The authority of the Old Testament need not now be considered, for all believers will agree that the interpretation of any prophecy of the Old Testament, as applying to our Lord, would depend upon its being so-applied by Christ or by the Apostles: thus the application of Psalm cx. to Christ depends upon His own word, and that of Psalm xvi. on the words of S. Peter in his first sermon; and the same applies to the abrogation of the authority of parts of it upon Christians. We should have supposed that such words as "My covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant" would have bound the observance of circumcision for ever on the Christian Church, but the Apostles ruled it otherwise, and there has been an end of the matter with those who accept their word as the word of God.

Now it is instructive, as regards the matter in hand, to note how it was ruled. Not by citing texts, though one text (Amos ix. 12) was cited, but by proving Apostleship. "All the multitude kept silence, and gave heed to Barnabas and Paul, declaring what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles through their means." If it be said that the authority of the Church, apart from the Apostles, was co-ordinate because it is said, "Then pleased it the Apostles and elders with the whole Church," I would humbly suggest that if the Apostles had not spoken very decisively, that, taking into account the state of feeling of the Jewish believers, the decision would, in all probability, have been most disastrous.

This Apostolical authority appears in the New Testament in two forms: Scripture and Paradosis, or, as it is translated, Tradition. It pleased God that all the books of the New Testament should be written by the Apostles, or under their direct supervision; rather, we should say, at their dictation. Of the Gospels, two were written by Apostles, and two by companions of Apostles. One, S. Mark's, according to all antiquity, embodied the teaching of S. Peter; and the other, that of S. Luke, was emphatically S. Paul's Gospel. Of the Epistles, all, except perhaps one, were written by Apostles,



and the one respecting which any doubt can be entertained, that to the Hebrews, is by almost all antiquity closely associated with S. Paul. The Epistles were not included in the Canon because of their divine unction and devotional spirit, as compared with such early Epistles as those of Clement, or Polycarp, or Ignatius, but because they were the productions of the Apostles—men in whom dwelt the Spirit of God for one purpose above all others—the founding and governing of the Church of God.

But now we have to consider the fact that every line of the Apostolical Epistles assumes that each one of the Christian Churches to which it was sent was already instructed in the fulness of the Christian Faith—not merely in the outlines, but in the filling up of such outlines. In no one Epistle do we find the Christian Faith set forth *ab initio*. All assume that those to whom the Epistle was written were well acquainted with it.

Take the Gospel itself. The first of S. Paul's letters contains no account of it, but assumes that long before it had come to them "with power" (1 Thess. i. 5). The Epistle to the Romans begins with a reference to it, but with no full account of it, for it omits all allusion to the Lord's atoning Death. In 1 Cor. xv. we have the fullest account of it anywhere in the Epistles, but, strange to say, we have it described simply because the Corinthian Church had gone counter to its teaching on the Resurrection of the body. It is, then, not the Gospel as a whole, but the Gospel in its bearing on the Resurrection of the body, because some among them had said, "There is no Resurrection of the dead;" so that the place in which the Gospel is most fully described is one in which it comes in, as it were, by the way, and the way not so much of instruction, as of remembrance: "If ye keep in memory what I preached unto you."

Let anyone read the Apostolical Epistles with a view to what I am now saying, and he will see that every one of the doctrinal passages assumes a previous knowledge of the doctrine of which the Apostle is reminding them. And in most cases it would not have been written unless the particular Church had fallen from the truth of the original teaching. Thus, unless the Corinthian converts had offended against the unity of the Church as one body, we should not have had the analogy between the natural and the mystical body which is preserved to us in 1 Cor. xii.; unless they had been unmindful of the original teaching respecting charity, we should not, humanly speaking, have had the divine description in 1 Cor. xiii.; or, unless some of them had denied the Resurrection of the body, we should not have had the wondrous argument respecting the Resurrection in chapter xv.

Again, the most practical application of the truth of the Incarnation, we are tempted to say, in all Scripture, comes in, not directly, but **BY THE WAY**, in Phil. ii.: "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus," etc. This could not possibly have been the first enunciation of so momentous a truth as the equality in nature between the Father and the Son. An opinion touching so closely the honour of the Supreme Being must have been part of the first teaching; it could not come in afterwards in the way of a mere application of some moral truth. They must have been indoctrinated with it from the first, or they would assuredly have asked, "What

new thing is this that we are called upon to believe respecting Jesus Christ?"

We will now advert to certain specific declarations respecting the contents of the original paradosis or deposit. The letters to the Thessalonians teach us that the paradosis contained the truth of the suddenness of the Lord's second advent, and yet that two signs were to precede it—a widespread apostacy, and the revelation of the man of sin; besides this we learn from the same Epistles that the original deposit of Apostolic teaching contained instructions in all holy living. "As ye have received of us how ye ought to walk and to please God, so ye would abound more and more" (1 Thess. iv. 1). Again, when the Apostle warns them against disorderly walk, he characterizes it as not walking according to the traditions which they had received.

We are taught in another Epistle (1 Cor. xi.) that these paradoseis settled such things as the covering of the head in public worship, and to this was attached a sort of doctrinal significance; and that they had received from him that which he had received from Christ Himself by direct revelation, viz., the account of the original institution of the Eucharist, which account, be it remembered, contains a most important addition to that in the two first Evangelists, no other than *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*: Do this for My *anamnesis* or commemoration.

If such matters as these—conduct in church, Eucharistic memorial, danger of eating or drinking unworthily, the Antichrist, the apostacy—are thus mentioned, as it were, by the way, as embodied in the original paradosis, what may not have been contained in it? From the first planting, then, of the Gospel, there was a very large body of Christian teaching in all departments of Christian doctrine; given at the first by the Apostles, and given by them for the purpose of being handed down, so that it should form the first instruction of Christians. When did it cease to be such? When was it intended to be superseded by teaching direct from the New Testament?

There are two very plain statements of the Apostle which teach us that he intended the oral instruction to be permanently handed down, where he says, "The things that thou hast *heard* of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also" (2 Tim. ii. 2); and those other words, "Stand fast, and hold the paradoseis which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our Epistle (2 Thess. ii. 15). So that not only were they to hand down to others the teaching by letter, but that which apparently had never been committed to writing.

How long did this last, so that it should form the staple of the religious instruction imparted to the converts at the time they were baptized? It must have lasted for two or three centuries, side by side with the Scriptures of the New Testament, for it formed the original Apostolic instruction; and the various books of the New Testament came in, not all at once, but, as it were, by separate streams.

Of the seventeen or eighteen Apostolical Epistles, not one was a document containing primary instruction. They were all written to call to remembrance neglected or forgotten truths. We do not find in any one of them an account, in order, of any one Christian doctrine. Take, for instance, the doctrine of Justification by Faith. In the Epistle to the Galatians the Apostle takes it for granted that they had known

the truth respecting it from the first, and had fallen from it. In no one of them is there any account of public worship, though evidently the Apostle did not consider the covering of the heads of the women when attending it as a secondary matter.

And this accounts for the omission of all mention of the Holy Eucharist in all Epistles save one. It has been asserted that if S. Paul attached a high value to the Eucharist he would have mentioned it more frequently. But why did he allude to it at all—even once? Simply because the Church to which he mentioned it had neglected the original teaching respecting it. So that it is a most legitimate inference from this, that all the other Apostolic Churches observed the most holy rite, according to the *paradosis* which S. Paul delivered to them when he founded the Church, and which the Corinthian Church had in some measure neglected, and required to be reminded of.

The oral teaching of the Apostles, then, is the root of what is called the authority of the Church; that is, of authority for dogmas, or teaching, or practices, which are not written in so many words in the New Testament.

The authority of the Church appears in early ages in two forms—in the decrees of General Councils, and in the consent of the early Fathers.

The decrees of Councils (of course I except the publication of such a document as that which is called the Nicene Creed by the first general Council)—the decrees of Councils seem in great part to have been called out by temporary needs, and directed against temporary scandals. The earliest of them, the Nicene, contains many canons, the substance of which can hardly have come down from Apostolic times. Owing to the altered circumstances of the Church, the greater part cannot be now acted upon, so that the principal form in which Apostolical authority, external to Holy Scripture, is valuable to us, is the consent of the earliest Fathers. The field of theological discussion is so very wide that I shall have to confine myself to two matters only: the doctrinal significance of the Eucharist, and its Sacrificial aspect.

I will first cite a well-known passage from Ignatius, at the outside not later than A.D. 116. "Again, they (certain heretics) abstain from Eucharist and prayer, because they confess not that the Eucharist is the Flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father of His goodness raised up again."—(To the Smyrnæans, ch. vii.)

Justin Martyr, about A.D. 140: "For not as common bread or common drink do we receive them, but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made Flesh by the Word of God, hath both Flesh and Blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His Word, and from which our blood and flesh are by transmutation nourished, is the Blood and Flesh of that Jesus Who was made Flesh."—(1 Apol. lxvi.)

Irenæus, A.D. 170: "For the bread, which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly, so also our bodies when they receive the Eucharist are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity."—"Ancient

Heresies," Book iv., ch. xviii., sec. 5.) This latter is, perhaps, the most valuable testimony of antiquity, because it recognizes that after consecration the elements consist of two realities, the bread and wine, and the Body and Blood of Christ. It is absolutely identical with the explanation in our catechism: the outward part and the inner part. I could give, if time permitted, the testimonies of Clement of Alexandria and of Tertullian, but the above are sufficient.

Now, it is impossible to suppose that if the paradoxes of the Apostles had been Zuinglian, or anything in the direction of it, that these Fathers, all of them professing to hold to the Apostolic dictum or deposit, should have so expressed themselves; and it is equally impossible that they should have done so if they held the modern Romanist view.

The application of sacrificial terms to the Eucharist is, amongst primitive Christian writers, absolutely universal.

Thus, in the earliest Father, Clement of Rome, the contemporary of S. Paul: "We ought to do all things in order whatsoever the Lord hath commanded us to perform at stated times, viz., the oblations and liturgies to be celebrated (*τάς τε προσφύρας και λειτουργίας επιτελείσθαι*), and that they should not take place at random or disorderly, but at definite times and hours" (ch. 40).

Ignatius: "There is one Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup into the unity of His Blood—one altar."—(To the Philadelphians, ch. iv.)

Justin Martyr: "And the offering of fine flour, sirs, I said, which was prescribed to be presented on behalf of those purified from leprosy, was a type of the bread of the Eucharist, the celebration of which our Lord Jesus Christ prescribed, in remembrance of the sufferings which He endured on behalf of those who are purified in soul from all iniquity. Hence God speaks by the mouth of Malachi, one of the twelve (lesser prophets), as I said before, about the sacrifices presented by you. 'I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord, and will not accept your sacrifices at your hands; for from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, My name has been glorified among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered unto My name and a pure offering.'"—(Dialogue xli.)

Irenæus: "Again giving directions to the disciples to offer to God the firstfruits of His own created things, not as if He needed them, but that they themselves might be neither unfruitful nor ungrateful, He took that created thing bread, and gave thanks, and said, 'This is My Body'; and the cup likewise, which (also) is part of that creation to which we belong, He confessed to be His Blood, and taught the New Oblation of the New Covenant, which the Church receiving from the Apostles offers to God throughout all the world."—("Against Heresies," iv., ch. xvii.)

Time will not permit to dwell on other matters on which the testimony of the original paradoxes was undoubted—as the essential Godhead of Jesus, and the Apostolicity of the most primitive liturgical norm, diocesan episcopacy, and the continuance of confirmation. When the leading writers of the Reformation period—I instance, particularly, Cranmer and Ridley—appeal to the primitive Fathers, as those by whom they desire to be guided in their doctrinal utterance, it is not a matter of sentiment, but of common sense, for the earliest writers had means of ascertaining

the mind of the Apostles, which we have not. Now, if these Apostolic utterances were, though unwritten, the inspired declarations of the Holy Spirit, it is a very serious matter to neglect any means of knowing them. We are not, of course, slavishly to follow one witness, or two, but we are to endeavour humbly and prayerfully to ascertain their consent or agreement; and if we find them to be all but unanimous on certain matters, then we have the satisfaction of knowing that we have done our best to ascertain the mind of God on some of the deepest mysteries of the faith.

Then we must remember that if we surrender or make light of these earliest witnesses to the teaching of the Apostolic paradosis, there are others who are alert to push them aside by late mediæval authorities, so that this matter of antiquity, *i.e.*, the consent of the earliest ages, is with us a matter of self-defence, particularly, I need hardly say, from attacks on the Romish side. If we have to do with Romish controversialists, it is simply treason to the truth of God to make light of the consent of the first ages.

Another matter connected with this great subject requires a word or two of notice. What is the authority of the decrees or canons of particular Churches? Particular branches, even of the Anglican Church, which assume a sort of quasi-independence, are very numerous; we have only to mention the Church of England itself, the Irish Church, the Church in the United States, in Canada, in South Africa, and in Australia. It is clear that none of these bodies are likely to make canons, or impose articles which are contrary to Scripture; but it is quite certain that if any member of a local Church dislikes any canon imposed by it, he will declare it to be contrary to Scripture. The thirty-fourth Article seems to take the common sense view of this matter: "Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may fear to do the like), as one that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren."

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If a number of persons belonging to our communion were to be asked, "How is it determined for you what in matters of religion you are to believe and to do?"—some would answer, "I receive my directions from the Bible;" others, "I receive mine from the Church." The adherent of the Church would be ready at the same time to speak with the utmost deference of the Bible: with more hesitation, and probably not without a cautious definition of the Church to safeguard the admission, the adherent of the Bible would admit that we owe much to the Church. To the Protestant, the Bible has primary and absolute authority, and the Church holds a strictly subordinate place; to the Catholic, the authority of the Church comes first, and the Church is the keeper and interpreter of the Bible.

There is a third answer that may be given to the question I have supposed to be asked, representing what I should venture to call a more excellent way. A Christian may fitly profess, "I look to the living God as the source of the directions I receive for thinking and doing. His teaching has come, and still comes, through various channels; but I am bound to think of God Himself as the one supreme Teacher and Director, who keeps the instruction of His children in His own hands, and uses agents and methods according to His will."

Such a profession of faith would be pushed aside by many with a feeling of impatience. They would admit with due solemnity that God is the supreme Teacher and Director: but the practical question, they would promptly urge, is how He makes His mind known. "He Himself is out of our reach in heaven; where is His oracle on earth? If God's teaching is to be of any use to men, there must be some instructor on earth to whom they may go as to God's delegate." And some virtually say, "The Bible is *our* representative of God;" and others, "The Church is *our* representative of God." But is not God making it clear to us in this age, that He will have no power or person or thing to be a substitute for Himself, either to the conscience of Christendom or to the conscience of the individual Christian? If people will object that it is not practical to refer to God in heaven as our Teacher and Director, is it at all more practical to appeal to the Bible or to the Church? Whilst men were asserting for the Bible an exclusive infallibility, seekers after truth and reality have been led on to scrutinize this substitute for God, with the result that the priceless volume which has been deified by the Protestant world can no longer be worshipped as an infallible idol. The Bible seems to be failing us in these days, because it has been used as God will not have it used. Is it practical, again, to make *the Church* an oracle? Let us leave to the Roman Catholic the comfort he enjoys in having a Pope to give infallible utterances: but we Anglicans, if we depend on the living Voice of the Church for infallible direction, have a hardly soluble problem confronting us in the question where we are to find that Voice, and through what organ it is to be heard. Till there is more agreement amongst us as to the mouth by which the Church speaks, we do not gain much by holding that the Church speaks with infallible authority.

If we have any ear for what the living God is saying, we shall hear Him warning us in these days with an emphasis which compels us to listen, that there is no infallibility for us except in Himself, and that He will tolerate no substitute for Himself in the region of spiritual apprehension. It is an awakening lesson, if we have faith for it. In the light of this teaching, we shall see that the first step in considering the authority of the Bible, and that of the Church, and the relation between the two, is to have done with the assumption of any infallibility inhering in either. What, then, is the Bible? and what is the Church? Not substitutes for God: but instruments through which we believe, agencies used for our instruction and discipline by the one infallible Instructor.

There can be no merit or piety in blinding ourselves; it cannot be disloyal or irreverent towards God to look with as searching a gaze upon the Bible and the Church as upon the natural creation. The more searchingly we consider them, so long as it is with a reverent faith in

God, the more likely we are to understand and appreciate their designed value and power, and their appointed functions. The Bible, it is evident, is not in form a manual of faith and practice; it is a collection of various kinds of literature, each piece of which had what seemed at the time of its composition a natural origin—unless we are to except from this statement the Apocalyptic portions of it, which wise Christians have never valued more than a Gospel, or one of S. Paul's letters. According to the old titles, the two volumes of Holy Scripture are the select literature of the two covenants respectively. In various ways they help us to understand the revelation which God gave of Himself, first in the history of the Jewish race, and then in the coming of Christ and His exaltation to His kingdom. The New Testament leaves Christ, the Son of God and Son of man, reigning in the spiritual kingdom newly established for Him in heaven and on earth. The worth of the Bible is in the knowledge which it enables us to gain of God, of Christ, and of the Kingdom. According to our Christian belief, Christ has been reigning since the New Testament volume was closed, and is reigning now; we are subjects in His kingdom. There might, conceivably, be a select literature of this continuing reign of Christ; there is no such collection, and it is not probable that there ever will be; but if there were, it would be another volume of sacred records, and it might be called the Book of the Church. Such an imaginary book suggests to our minds the materials of which it would be composed; and we can see that it would incorporate the institutions and liturgies, the historical crises, and the theology, of the Church. From this point of view, the *antithesis* between the Bible and the Church tends to disappear, and to resolve itself into a succession. The Scriptural books of selected records have been followed in the Divine order by a series and accumulation of records from which no recognized selection has been made. "The Church" often means chiefly this accumulation of sacred institutes of the Kingdom of Christ, the comprehensive tradition of the kingdom, the Christian ministry and sacraments, the history and the religious literature of the Christian ages. By means of the Biblical records, and by means of these various expressions of the Divine mind and will which have been given in the developing of Christ's kingdom, God, we hold, is teaching and training the Christian people of to-day.

What, then, are the authorities to which we owe deference as Christians and members of the Church of England? That authority, I should reply, has the first title to guide us which commends itself to us most impressively, which is backed most strongly by circumstances, which seems for each and at the time to be most charged with the Voice of God, and which promises to bring us nearest to God. In any consideration of the authorities by which we are directed in believing and doing, that which rules us with the most of power and right ought not to be passed by without notice: I mean the authority of parents, including in a subordinate degree—according to the exposition of the Fifth Commandment given us in the Catechism—that of all whom the constitution of society sets over us. It is natural for children to think as their parents do, and to imitate them; and as soon as they begin to know anything about duty, the primeval command teaches them that

they are bound to honour father and mother by rendering to them respect and obedience. The most fanatical Christian would not deny that the child of Mussulman parents ought to begin by trying to be a good Mussulman like his parents. Yet we do not regard parents as infallible. Here, then, we see the Divine principle as to authority in general, and the deference due to it, illustrated. It is not uncommon, nor is it an ungracious sign, for a young child to assume his father to be infallible. But as he grows older, he becomes aware of other authorities which prove his father to be fallible; and when he is well brought up, he is led to believe in a perfect God, whose will he is to find out by all ways that are open to him, and then to obey with absolute submission. The true man, as the child of God, defers to any authority which he finds to be claiming his respect and obedience, until he becomes aware of some other which he feels to be teaching him something better, and which he recognizes as having a superior right over him.

“ Lord, with what care hast Thou begirt us round !  
Parents first season us ; then schoolmasters  
Deliver us to laws ; they send us bound  
To rules of reason.”

English children for many generations have had the Bible held up to them by their parents and teachers as the supreme authority for belief and conduct, and the Bible when they have studied it has won for itself their reverence. They have also been trained to respect the clergyman and the Prayer-book—the clergyman chiefly as expounding the Bible, the Prayer-book as agreeing with the Bible; and the Church of England, represented by the clergyman and the Prayer-book, has been eulogized to them as an eminently Scriptural Church. Of the Church Catholic the Protestant generations have not known much. But Roman Catholics, and of late years Anglo-Catholics, have been trained in their childhood to look up to the Church, chiefly at first in the person of the priest and in the ceremonies of religion, as the authority directing them what to believe and to do. God, we are constrained to say, has been directing Protestants through the Bible, Catholics through the Church. In either case God ought to have been seen from the first as above the Bible and above the Church; but it has been a natural error to make the Bible or the Church a substitute for God, and to appeal to the one and the other as ultimate and infallible guides. Of this error the study of the Bible and of the Church should be the best corrective. The records of the two covenants are throughout bearing witness of God—of God who called out Abraham, and governed and taught Israel, and who manifested Himself in His Son, so that a spiritual kingdom with Christ as its Head might be established for men. Therefore one who is truly taught by the Bible should have his mind possessed by the living God, the one Director and Inspirer of mankind and of men. As the New Testament sets before him the beginnings of the Church, it ought to be profoundly interesting to him to observe how Christ has been ruling His kingdom, and how men have served Him as His subjects, since He was exalted to His throne down to the present time. On the other hand, one who studies the Church is led to think of it as the Bride of Christ, as the Body of which Christ is the Head, as existing to serve and glorify Christ, as the Father's house



in which men through the Spirit dwell with Christ and the Father. What can be so important, then, to one who looks up to the Church, as to know Christ? And how are we to seek the most authentic knowledge of Christ, the Husband and Head of the Church? Obviously it is in the Gospels that He is to be found, and in the rest of that volume which the Church has preserved as its most sacred and precious possession. All the literature of the sacred volume is charged with interest and authority for one who is led through the Church to Christ. So the Bible naturally sends its readers on through Christ of Whom it bears witness to the Church, and the Church naturally excites, through Christ Whom it worships, a profoundly reverent interest in the Bible.

It seems to be natural, also, that religious minds should experience more or less of pain in learning that the writings in the sacred volume have no guaranteed immunity from error, and that the societies on earth representing the ideal Church, the Bride of Christ, form a scene of so much confusion and imperfection. In making these discoveries, some will have a sense of losing their faith. But it is not faith in Christ, faith in the living God, that should be thus lost. Faith in the God of the Bible and of the Church, as in the God of our parents, may be quickened and called higher by discoveries of the fallibility of Bible, Church, and parents. The Bible and the Church have only been of use to us in so far as they have trained us to believe in the living God. And to those who can believe in Him, whilst they see that nothing can rightly take His place in the guiding of His people, all the means He uses for the revealing of Himself will have their appointed honour and value. Deference to parents, deference to the communion in which each is brought up, deference to the Scriptures of the Covenants, deference to the teaching of time, will by such believers be cherished for themselves, and instilled into the young. The last of these authorities is perhaps that in which the Voice of the living God speaks most decisively to each generation. According to an old saying quoted by Lord Bacon, "Truth is the daughter of time." And what is time, but the living God leading His creation onwards? The Bible can uphold no statement, the Church can uphold no doctrinal propositions, against the revelations of time. But whilst time, or the Divine Evolution, is not to be silenced by Church or Bible, it is surely proving itself to be no enemy or scorner of either. Time means what God is doing and saying now, the Church and the Bible present to us what the same God did and said in the days of our fathers and in the old time before them. Not one of these instructors is authorized to teach us mechanically, or is permitted to appropriate our faith to itself. In learning from each, it is necessary that the mind of the Christian and the Churchman should strive to be spiritual and to discern the things that are more excellent, and should listen with filial docility for the heavenly Voice, which alone imparts perfect truth. Whilst the Eternal Spirit uses these outward channels of instruction, He Himself, as Christians are encouraged to believe, speaks directly to the listening ear, and leads by secret guidance the obedient soul. But these spiritual touches cannot be made the basis or material of common agreements as to belief and practice. Only we have this confidence through Christ to Godward—that those

who look up to God with inward humility and teachableness will be led on by His kindly light, and will be enabled to make a profitable use of the methods of teaching which He employs. But the Bible, the Church, and the progress of mankind—each of the three will be an effectual help to us in apprehending what is best and of highest authority in the other two. Working together for our instruction, they will cause us to increase and go forwards in the knowledge and faith of the Father and of the Son by the Holy Spirit; because they are all from the one God who was and is and is to be, and who gives the knowledge of Himself as the prize and crown of our lives.

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The Rev. V. H. STANTON, Fellow of Trinity College, and Ely Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge; Canon of Ely and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop.

THE view of the Bible which many—most, indeed, to some extent—of us Christians of this generation have been learning to take, cannot fail to place the subject of the “Relation between the Authority of the Bible and the Authority of the Church” in a fresh light, and to raise new questions about it. We have become more aware of the human element in the Bible. The Old Testament is the history of God’s education of a nation; it is at the same time the history of a Church. For the people of Israel were a Church as well as a nation, by reason of their very constitution, and the place that religion occupied in their life. It is a history in which throughout good strove with evil, and evil with good. Even the most sacred institutions and exalted characters are no exception. But we are forced to go further than this. It is not only in the subject matter of the history—in the individuals who play their part in it, and the national life—that there is this intermixture. The records themselves, through which it has been handed down to us, are imperfect. God has permitted them to be subject to many chances. They have suffered damage from time. We cannot be sure of the original text. It has probably suffered a certain amount of corruption. In some points the writers of the books comprised may not have had sound means of information, and may have committed errors. We can feel confident as to the broad features, the chief lessons, the general drift, the great principles exemplified, but not as to all the details.

Yet, again, many even of those lives which were epoch-making in the religious history of the world, such as those of Abraham and Jacob and David, became so by reason of spiritual experiences which were, at least in part, analogous to those of some exceptional men during the Christian centuries, and it may be in heathendom. And the advance which was made through each was dependent on what had gone before. Even the teaching of the prophets was conditioned by the same law. Later prophets fed, so to speak, on the inspiration of earlier ones. They re-enforced, enlarged upon, applied in new ways the truths which their predecessors had taught.

With regard, then, to the Old Testament at least, it may be asked, If we have there the history of God’s dealings with the Jewish nation, which is also the Jewish Church, why should not the history of the Christian Church equally make a Bible, and equally contain an authoritative

revelation? The New Testament stands in part on a different footing, for in it we have a revelation absolutely unique—the manifestation of God in the flesh. Yet even here there is, it may be, a certain measure of limitation and imperfection in the human *media* of communication through which the Person of the Christ, as He lived and taught on this earth, and as He is risen and ascended, have been made known to us. We have to observe that all its writers are not primary witnesses; some have only reported what they heard from these. How, then, can we draw any sharp and definite line, somewhere in the Sub-Apostolic, or on the confines of the Apostolic, age, and say that it terminates the period of inspiration? Has not Christ been ever present with His Church, filling His body with His manifold grace?

Now it is important that we should recognize the analogies between the Divine life recorded in Holy Scripture and the continuous life of the Church which make it possible to ask such questions. Spiritual facts, wherever found, speak to us with authority. The basis of all religious authority is the evidence of the Divine Voice speaking, or of the realities of another world, of a Divine and Eternal Order, breaking through and making themselves known to us here below. And this evidence—except to that very limited extent to which our own unassisted, uninstructed intuitions would carry us—comes to us from the perceptions of the presence and mind of God and the Eternal Order by strong prophetic souls, or from the aggregation of such perceptions in more ordinary men and their collective expression. Divine truths are reflected and revealed in the human percipients, and certified through the testimony of word and deed. The facts of spiritual life are not merely interesting in themselves as a subject for the study of the anthropologist—a characteristic of human nature which ought not to be omitted in any complete description of it. They point to other facts, facts of surpassing magnitude, beyond. The Bible is a marvellous collection of these spiritual facts, a great volume of testimony to eternal truths. But just as those whose witness is there embodied judged of the evidence of the Divine things submitted to their conscience and reason, so, again, what they have delivered has to be judged of, and the authentic ring of their testimony recognized, by others. Yet once more, the reception of their testimony as true becomes in turn an additional spiritual fact, of more or of less cogency and authority, according to the number of those who attest, and other circumstances which I cannot now stay to discuss. And if the teaching of the Church needs, as it does, to be tried by the test of agreement with Holy Scripture, virtually the same principle had to be applied to the utterances of each new prophet as he arose. How was the true prophet to be distinguished from the false? One test specially given will come to mind. If the prophet's predictions came true, it might be known that he had a Divine commission to speak. And if this be understood with sufficient largeness, as including the confirmation of the general purport of the prophet's instructions by the subsequent course of Divine Providence and working of the laws of the Divine Government, it was a criterion of great significance. But its employment required time, and often a very long time. And meanwhile the prophet demanded belief and obedience in the present. These could only be accorded on the ground of the harmony between the spirit of his teaching and all former revelations of God's will. Such harmony

between all the parts of a system, and of every fresh statement and application of its principles made by its representatives with all that has gone before, must ever be one of the chief notes of truth. Fundamentally, then, the nature of the authority of the Bible and of the Church would appear to be similar.

Nevertheless, there are important differences which it is very necessary to mark clearly. (1) It is obvious, even on the most superficial consideration, that in the time that has elapsed since the close of the Canon, the conditions have been wanting for supplying a Bible, for making a revelation through a selected literature. Plainly God willed, and by His Providence secured, that it should be possible and should be done, through the Jewish nation and in the early Christian age, and that it should not have been possible afterwards. If we imagine for a moment the Church now undertaking the task of forming an additional Canon of Scriptures, and ourselves taking part in it, we shall see at once how we should be baffled. It is not only the disorganized and divided state of the Church which would stand in the way, though that in itself would be a fatal barrier. Though the literature of the Church is so rich in works of spiritual instruction, we feel that none among them are differentiated from the rest by notes which would warrant their being singled out and placed in such a collection, and invested with the special authority which this would bring.

We go on to observe (2) that the books of Holy Scripture are connected with, and, so to speak, belong to, one another in a remarkable manner. There is a unity and completeness about the volume. We are conscious of it, even before we have sought for its cause. Thus, although the spiritual instruction to be obtained from the lives and utterances of individuals of exceptional saintliness and power of spiritual vision outside the Biblical record may be compared with that of individual characters within it, taken as separate elements, the effect of the actual combination of these, as it exists there, is such as is nowhere else to be found. There is, also, an accent, so to speak, of spiritual originality in the Scriptures. If the later among the sacred writers in part derived what they taught from the earlier, yet the Bible as a whole is a veritable *source* of knowledge and of life both to the Church collectively and to individual believers. And when we inquire into the reason for these characteristics, we discover it to be, above all, the way in which all the Scriptures are grouped round the central fact of the Incarnation. The whole Old Testament leads up to it. There is throughout the dispensation of which it is the product a strong forward movement, a growing preparedness, a deepening yearning, for the coming of the Christ. The whole New Testament, again, sets it forth in manifold aspects. Its writers have come so near to that effulgence of Divine glory, it has so filled their thought, and so shines through them, that necessarily as witnesses to its character and meaning and power they transcend all who, with less opportunities of seeing and handling, have in after times believed. Old and New Testament together form a record so full and so unique, that while this world lasts we shall ever have to go back to it for the principles of all knowledge concerning God's character and will, and the way of salvation. To have perceived this uniqueness in the authority of the Holy Scriptures, to have determined how they were to be circumscribed, to have realized clearly her

own subordinate position, the inferiority and dependence of her own authority, has been the greatest, as it was one of the earliest, of the Church's achievements. Hence—in spite of the fact that all the Church's power of recognizing the Scriptures for what they are, and unfolding the revelation which is made through them, comes from her share in the same spirit which moved the holy men of old, in whose lives and words that revelation is enshrined—her functions may be broadly characterized in the familiar manner as those simply of bearing witness to and keeping Holy Writ, and of interpreting it. That is to say, it is hers to be the living link between that revelation in the past and individual souls everywhere and at all times, to bring it home to them in all its power, to enable them to understand it aright, illuminating the Scriptures from her gathered experience, setting forth to men clearly and in its just proportions “the truth as it is in Jesus,” quickening their knowledge of it through the influence of her own life. The Divine authority of the Scriptures can be regarded as established only as the consequence of a complex testing of their spiritual quality and combined effect and purpose. The critical difficulties to which I have alluded have made this plain, if it was not plain before. This task has been and is ever being performed by the Church; but in no other way could it be accomplished. Again, all reflections upon the relation of the Scriptures to the Revelation made through them, must tend to show that only by means of the whole Church can that Revelation be set forth with even approximate symmetry and completeness.

Such, then, is the authority of the Church in relation to the Scriptures. While none who take a sound view of the function of this, or of any other, authority, will seek thereby to annihilate the responsibility of the individual in regard to the search for and the testing of truth—and no system can altogether avoid appealing to it—so, on the other hand, none can soundly dispense with authority, and even in the most definite sense that of the Church, either as a guide in the first instance to the Christian faith, or as an element in the permanent reasons why he holds it. Many among us do not realize how much they owe to it for their own faith and reception of the Scriptures.

Just as the rustic housewife who buys a piece of stuff in the village shop does not give a thought to, and would, perhaps, be wholly unable to conceive, the manifold processes by which it has been supplied there for her use—the preparation of the material in some distant country by men of another race, its conveyance by an ocean steamer, its manufacture, the construction of the machines, the making of the tools for this purpose, and the labour of those who extracted food from the ground for all these workers—so it is with many a man's faith in the Bible. He does not consider the slow formation of the Canon, the gradual recognition of the books which had the stamp of prophetic inspiration, or which were necessary to the history of the Divine economy, the influence of men of eminent holiness, the teaching of scribes, the debates and decisions of Rabbinic schools, the customs of the Church in selecting books for public reading in the congregation, the guidance of her doctors, the free and constant inter-communication in early times between her different portions, the decrees of councils. Nor, again, does he reflect on the agencies, extending through countless generations, whereby it has come about that he from childhood has been taught to believe in the Bible, and

that his faith in it has ever been sustained, so that it is with him an axiom that needs no proof, or his proofs of which, if he offers any, are only such as we accept as satisfactory when our limited observation coincides with and confirms a widely held belief.

The village housewife has got her piece of stuff, and our worthy Protestant has got his Bible. And, no doubt, that is a grand point, so far as he is concerned. But the former would not have obtained the article she needs without the great system of industry; and the latter would not have had his faith were it not for all the work, past and continuous, of the Christian Society, upon which even the most isolated individuals and sects are in very real ways dependent.

This obligation of the individual to the Church for his possession of, and belief in, the Scriptures must, to some extent, be admitted by all, though it requires a certain familiarity with the history of the formation of the Canon, and practice in analysing processes of thought and estimating their validity, to realize it fully. The case is not different, if not quite so simple, in regard to the interpretation of Scripture, the proper end of which is the formation of a just conception of God's revelation therein contained—one which shall give the true outlines of its general scheme, and place the several parts in their true relation to one another. No individual can stand alone, whether with or without the Bible, in regard to his religious creed, any more than in regard to any other department of his life. Learning and leisure, which give a man the opportunity to search and examine for himself into the foundations of the Faith, do not render the authority of the Church superfluous for him. If his view of truth is to be comprehensive and sound, and his hold upon it secure, his thought must be directed and enlarged, and his faith nourished, by the thought and the faith which are the product of the organic life of the general body of believers. Nor, again, will personal spiritual enlightenment exempt any from the same need. Even those who are most convinced of the sufficiency of the Scriptures for the instruction of Christian believers, and who resort most rashly to private interpretations, are in reality indebted for their principles of thought and habit of mind, and many of their particular views, to teaching which has for them been authoritative. The only question is, where the authority should be looked for—an authority such as we have assumed all along, which shall not crush, or supersede, but train and educate the individual conscience and reason. Surely the answer commends itself, that it resides in the Church Universal, whose voice should be heard in each particular Church. For lack of the legitimate guidance and support which can thus only be supplied, many have distorted conceptions of Christian doctrine, many are ignorant of it altogether. The cause may be partly their own self-will, partly that the Church, as they have come in contact with her, does not deliver her message with sufficient distinctness and fulness, or does not exhibit those signs of spiritual power which are the credentials that they can best judge of; or, again, that she confuses their minds by intermingling with Catholic truth dogmas that are no genuine developments, no true unfoldings, of the Gospel.

We ought clearly to realize that the authoritativeness of the Church's voice is inseparable from the soundness of her spiritual condition in all respects. Only through each local portion of the Church in their own day, and amid their actual surroundings—the Church as she comes near

to and embraces individuals in this place and in that—can the majority of men have the opportunity of receiving the instruction and knowing the mind of the Church Universal. The few indeed can ascertain for themselves the *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*; yet even for them the Church can be serviceable as a living guide and support only in proportion to the continual and general purity and truth and fulness of her life, and closeness of her union with its Source. There rises before us the image of the Church as she ought to be, discharging with ideal perfection her prophetic, or teaching, office. Let us dwell upon it for a moment in conclusion. In the great Church throughout the world there would be a fitting organ for the apprehension of Divine revelation. Delivered from all partiality through the manifoldness of her life, lifted above the narrownesses and prejudices of each passing age by the loyalty with which she treasured the noblest traditions and best ascertained results of the Christian thought and life of the past, enabled through unity, the practical outcome of love, to “comprehend the breadth and length and depth and height,” she would declare with fulness and distinctness “the whole counsel of God.” And as each new question of thought or practice arose calling for decision on Christian principles, though there would have to be free inquiry, anxious debates, and careful weighings of diverse arguments, and, it may be, many heart-searchings, yet the answer would ere long be found which would satisfy and be accepted by all her members. And this health and efficiency would penetrate to every part of her body. Everywhere she would deliver to her children their Christian heritage in its integrity, so far as the mind and heart of each were capable of receiving it. The Church in each place would have her spirit chastened, her mind enlightened, her faith quickened through effective connection with the whole Church, and would have a share in her high spiritual wisdom, for use even in the humble affairs of the parish and the congregation. The Christian faith would be set forth everywhere, as it really is, so that it could make its appeal with full strength and directness to every man’s conscience.

Does it seem idle to suppose that this ideal can have any bearing on our conception of Church authority as a practical thing, because the actual condition of the Church, as we must sadly confess, is so far off from it? We refuse to think so. Her whole life should be animated by a conscious effort to approximate to this standard. The labours, whatever their separate worth may be, of her rulers, her evangelists and pastors, her scholars and thinkers, and of all Christian men and women, will have their highest and most enduring effect in so far as they tend to make her such a living guide and teacher of men.

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### ADDRESS.

The Rev. JAMES EDWARD COWELL WELLDON, Head Master  
of Harrow, and Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen.

IT is right for me to say that I have experienced some little difficulty in apprehending the exact point of the comparison which I am asked to make between the authority of the Bible and the authority of the Church. For if the Bible and the

Church are to be compared, it occurs to me to ask, In what respect (where so many are possible) is the comparison to be made? Is it, *e.g.*, in respect of evidence for the truth of Christianity? or of Christian doctrine? or of the ceremonies and practices of the Christian religion? It will hardly be doubted that the balance of authority may be variously estimated according as one or another of these several aspects is prominent. Perhaps, then, it will be permitted me to say a few words upon each of them. Now, in respect of evidential authority, it seems to be clear that, so far as the truth of Christianity is concerned, the appeal must be made in the first instance neither to the Bible nor to the Church standing by itself, but to the enlightened and sanctified reason. I do not say "to the reason" only, but to the reason "enlightened and sanctified;" for religious truth, like every other subject of difficulty and value in the world, demands its proper preparatory discipline, and with all my heart I should repudiate the notion that one man's judgment, however learned he may be, is necessarily worth as much as another's upon religion. But there can, I hold, be no other foundation of belief than the reason thus illuminated from on high. For if Christianity stands upon the Bible or the Church, it is inevitable to ask, Upon what do they stand? What is the criterion of authority in them above other books or institutions of religion? So far as I can see, then, Christianity neither claims nor enjoys a title, except within the limitation already given, to exempt itself from the ordinary canons of truth and falsehood in human thought and history. But while, as primary evidences for the truth of Christianity, the Bible and the Church are alike open to this objection, that they are not, as it were, self-supporting, but need themselves an external attestation, they may be said to possess a secondary authority of high importance. For what more valid evidences can a religion have, supposing it to be true, than, first, a history coeval with its very birth, and bearing on its face the marks of superhuman character; and, secondly, a living institution directly traceable, without a shadow of doubt, to the events recorded in the history and supporting them in the same way, though not to the same degree, as it is in its turn supported by them? It is no surprise, then, that the Christian world should at times have mistaken the Church or the Bible for absolute proofs of Christianity, saying, "We believe what is in the Bible," or, "We believe the voice of the Church," forgetting that no book and no institution can dispense with the methods of logical proof. For it is characteristic of human nature to acquiesce in secondary rather than primary grounds of belief; perhaps the pursuit of truth is felt to be easier if it is not carried too far, and this, I suppose, is why so many more people are able to act rightly than to assign the right reasons for their acting so. This is all that I will venture to say upon the ground of Christian evidence, except that here, at least, there is no room for any rivalry between the Bible and the Church in regard to their authority; they are rather like the pillars which support on this side and that, with equal strength and beauty, the stately temple of truth. But when I come to authority in point of doctrine, it does appear to me—without at present trying to define the authoritative character of the Bible as a whole—that there are certain parts of it, to say no more, which must in their nature be held to exercise a complete and unique claim to the obedience of every Christian soul. For if we believe that we have in the Gospels the actual words of our Lord Himself recorded, under the directing influence of the Holy Spirit, by accredited writers who were eye-witnesses of His life, is it conceivable that any definition of the Church, any formula, although it were established for eighteen centuries, would over-ride the authority of those words? In such a case the Bible is the court of final appeal; there is nothing that can be added to it or taken from it. To be a Christian is to accept it and to abide by it. Similarly—although the instance will be



felt at once to stand upon a lower level of dignity—the Epistles of S. Paul, being genuine and undisputed expressions of inspired theology, are simply final as evidences of the truths accepted among Christians at a time when it was still possible to check developments of doctrine by positive contemporary evidence of facts. I will honestly say, then, that in looking for authority in respect of doctrine, I should look rather to the Bible than to the Church. The guarded statement of the Sixth Article—"Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation"—seems to me to be as accurate as possible. And the distinctive feature of the Reformed Churches, as I have tried to say this morning in another place, and have sometimes said to persons who have written to me under the temptation of becoming members of the Roman Catholic Church, is that they offer salvation to men in the same spirit, and, I may even say, upon the very same terms in which it was offered by our Lord Himself to the contemporaries of His human life. No doubt it is true that the office of interpreting Holy Scripture belongs to the Church. It is true, too, that that office gains increased importance, as the study of Scriptural books becomes more discriminating. And it is also true that the circumstances of Christendom may be such, and have often been such in the past, as to invest some particular doctrine with special interest or importance at a certain time. But to impose upon the Christian world a novel dogma, as the dogma of transubstantiation in the thirteenth century, or the dogma of Papal infallibility in the nineteenth, and to impose it by the sole authority of the Church, when it had never before been recognized as being in the Bible, is to contravene the true spirit of Christianity. And in the interest of reformed religion I cannot too strongly urge that it is an error—nay, worse than an error—to require of human souls any belief as necessary to salvation but what can be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture. So that my conclusion is that the authority for doctrine is not the Church, but the Bible—only the Bible interpreted and defined, not by the opinion or predilection of individuals, but by the traditional judgment of the Church. Let me speak now, finally, of ecclesiastical practice, and of it especially as giving life and reality to doctrine. Here I cannot doubt that the superior authority rests with the Church. It is not a greater wrong to demand of men a creed beyond what is authorized in Holy Scripture than to forbid them the solace or elevation of a ceremony, unless Holy Scripture enjoins it. There is good reason to hold that Scripture was intended to teach or recommend doctrine, although it may be often only indirectly or implicitly; for it is the implied truths of Holy Scripture—*i.e.*, those truths which are not expressly stated but taken for granted, because nobody who was a Christian ever thought of denying or disputing them—that are so much more impressive than the truths dogmatically stated; but I see no reason to suppose that it was ever intended to prescribe rules of ceremony. Nay, I will go so far as to say that the Church, in dealing with uncultured masses of the people, needs more and more to bear in mind the law so well expressed in the familiar lines of the poet Horace, that the eye is a more effective vehicle of instruction than the ear. In regard then to ecclesiastical usage or ceremony, the voice of the Church may be said to speak with final authority. It is hard to believe that a practice sanctioned and sustained by the immemorial usage of the Church can be violated without serious consequence. If I may take an example of such a practice, it is not, I think, doubtful that upon the time of celebrating the Holy Communion—I will not say at which it is absolutely necessary, but at which it is supremely desirable to celebrate it—the rule of the Church from primitive times is right in itself, and should be jealously maintained. Nor is this principle applicable only to the Holy Communion; it may be and should be equally applied to such matters as the marriage of the clergy, the age and manner of receiving holy Baptism, and the conduct of divine service in

churches. All this is the field of ecclesiastical usage ; in it the Church has been left to move freely and nobly, and her authority within it is complete. If it is true, then, as I have ventured to suggest, that the Church and the Bible are co-ordinate witnesses, though of secondary value, to the truth of Christianity ; if the final authority in point of doctrine rests with the Bible, and in point of ceremony or practice with the Church, though always the Bible is interpreted by the Church and the Church as depending on the Bible, it seems to follow as a consequence that that ecclesiastical body is the truest and most agreeable to the mind of Christ which allows to Church and Bible alike their proper place and function in Christian theology. If it were necessary to choose such a body, it should be the one in which neither the Bible nor the Church is set too high or too low, in which due regard is paid to historical tradition as well as to Divine inspiration, in which the past and the present, the letter and the life, are, as far as may be, adequately harmonized and combined. And in my heart I firmly believe that this is the Church of England.

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## DISCUSSION.

Colonel D. CORRIE WALKER.

THE one point of view from which I desire, briefly, to consider this highly important question is this : How shall we place this subject before *outsiders* ? The members of this Congress, persons strictly *within* the fold of the Church, would never question her authority ; but how of others, as our educated youth, or many of the artisan class, and many below them, whose faith has been seriously shaken by the criticism of our day ? For these may we not with confidence, and with the best prospect of success, appeal to history ? To the historical continuity of the Church of England, which for over twelve centuries has been unbroken ? What we sometimes speak of as the "Saxon Heptarchy" would never have been welded into a kingdom but for the Church. The Church made England. The Reformation did not break this historical continuity, for it came from *within* the Church, not from *without*. The king decreed its independence of Rome—"No Bishop of Rome neither hath nor ought to have any authority in the Church of England." But this made no break in its continuity. On *history*, therefore, I would submit, we may safely rest the authority of the Church in addressing those who lie really or virtually outside her pale. To them, as it seems to me, the Church offers the Bible as the Word of God. I am a Protestant, and I by no means regard the Bible as having lost any of its ancient power or Divine authority. It is said that the infallibility of the Bible cannot be maintained in these days. I agree that outsiders, educated and uneducated, certainly will not so receive it. I do not think that the Bible applies the word infallible to itself : and, generally, I would urge that it is far preferable to speak on Scriptural subjects in Scripture language ; better to say that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for all things ; for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," rather than to say that the Bible is infallible. How can we better express the relation between the Church and the Bible, better than in terse and epigrammatic declaration, that "it is built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets"—the last word bringing in the Old Testament—"Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone." Applying this grand idea in detail, as I survey this great assembly, I ask myself, What tie binds us all together, us who have, personally unknown to one another, been drawn from all parts of this kingdom, and represent all shades of Church opinion ? This ; that each true and believing member of the Church among us is bound, by an unseen but real chain, to the Church's Head. Surely it must be the hope and the prayer of each of us, that the result of this Congress may be the strengthening of this bond in each one of us.

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The Rev. CHAS. F. S. MONEY, Vicar of Birling,  
Hon. Canon of Rochester.

IF I had heard the two last speeches which have been addressed to you before I sent in my card, I should not have thought it necessary to speak this afternoon. I have felt somewhat perplexed, as well as Mr. Welldon, as to what was really the point that was being brought before us. We have heard from one of the speakers that the Church possesses an authority co-ordinate with, or, if we accept the principle of development, I suppose superior to the authority of Scripture; we have heard from another speaker that neither the Scripture nor the Church possesses supreme authority, but that man is to go straight to God and receive his instruction direct from Him. The real question, it seems to me, is this, "Has God, or has He not, revealed Himself—has He or has He not revealed His will in writing?" Now, if we go to Scripture we shall see that the Scripture claims supreme authority for itself. We have the example of our Lord—and can we have a better example in regard to a teacher?—that He founded His own teachings upon Scripture. When He talked to the two disciples going to Emmaus, He expounded to them the Scriptures. "Beginning at Moses and all the prophets, He expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself;" and when He was tempted He resisted the temptation of the devil by quoting Scripture, saying, "It is written." Now there is one testimony which has not been referred to this afternoon in regard to this all-important subject, and that is the testimony of our own Church as regards the authority of Scripture. That testimony is that Scripture is of supreme authority. That testimony is that the Church itself has no right to teach anything, or to decree anything that cannot be derived from and proved by Scripture, so that if we are, as I hope and believe we all are, true members of the Church of England, we never shall allow anyone to persuade us that the Bible is not of supreme authority. God has not left Himself without witnesses, and I agree with Mr. Welldon, who, in his valuable speech, said that in dealing with this all-important matter we must bring a "sanctified common sense" to bear upon it. Now if we do that we must acknowledge the testimony which God Himself has borne in all the ages and throughout the world, and especially in Central Africa at this present moment, to the power and the value of the blessedness of His own word. Then there is another teacher to whom reference has not, I think, been made this afternoon. We have heard something about infallibility—we have heard something about the infallible Church, but we have not heard about that infallible teacher, the Holy Spirit, whom God has promised to give to those who ask, and by which His own word—His written word—is no longer a dead letter, but becomes a word of life in the heart, and a word of power in the life. It is, then, to this blessed word, of which I do not believe any power on earth, nor any intellect, however great, will be able to rob the Church and the world; it is to this blessed word itself that we refer for the settlement of every important and difficult question, as well as for the guidance of the individual believer. It is not, I think, as one said this afternoon, to circumstances that we are to look for our guidance, it is to that written word in which God has revealed Himself, and which He makes, to every true seeker and searcher of that word, a word of power and a word of love. The opinions of men may vary, and they have varied so much this afternoon, that I am afraid some may have gone away distracted by the different views that they have heard. Changes may come in our land, changes may come in our Church, but there is one thing that never changes, and never will change. "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My word shall not pass away."

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The Rev. C. POYNTZ SANDERSON.

I FEEL impelled to speak, because I sat listening to the papers which were read, amongst a number of those who, I feel, must be much perplexed by what was said. We sat at some distance, yet, as the clear voices of the readers came down—and their voices at least were clear—I felt that people who come untrained to those studies, and who are told first of all that the Bible was full of mistakes, that the Bible was fallible, that the Bible contained contradiction after contradiction, might be placed in a position of much difficulty. (A voice—"Who said so?") I am sorry if

I have unwittingly caused any offence, but this is indeed, I think, a serious subject, which affects the welfare of our souls, and it is with the object of pointing out that fact that I rise to speak, whatever may be in the minds of those who hear me. I am sure we ought to face this question, because the unlearned amongst us will face it and answer it wrongly after having heard what has been said about the Bible being fallible and full of mistakes. (A voice—"No, no;" and another voice—"Who said so?") If the Bible is what we hold it to be, I think we may have a little patience while the present controversies about it are going on. We need not be so much afraid that it will be proved after all to be a mere compilation, a mere human production, a mere book like any other book. We may have a little patience, and I think we are unwise in rushing forward. We are wrong when we put those things, in their present nebulous, obscure, and unformulated condition, before the minds of those who must either live on the Bible or have no spiritual guidance at all. It is foolish to do so, and wrong to do so; and I confess I must make a certain plea for a little healthy scepticism. I recollect in "*Gulliver's Travels*" reading something, as you may also remember, about a traveller who called up from the dead Alexander the Great, and Alexander the Great told him a great many things. And so if we could call up from the dead Isaiah and Jeremiah we should know the truth about these things that are now being discussed. But, failing this, let us have a little patience until we see the result of the criticisms which are going on, assured that good will result from the inquiries which are being made. I ask this on behalf of our unlearned friends.

The Right Rev. C. W. SANDFORD, D.D., Bishop of  
Gibraltar.

WE have been reminded by the addresses which we have just heard that the Bible and the Church are alike in this respect, that each derives its authority directly and immediately from God, and that the field within which each rightly exercises its authority, though it may be in different ways, is one and the same. In this respect also they are alike, that each supports by its testimony the authority of the other. But it seems to me that hardly sufficient prominence has been given in the discussion to the witness which the Bible contains in itself of its Divine authority. No doubt the Church tells us in one of her Collects that God "caused all Holy Scripture to be written," and that they are His "Holy Word." And what the Church tells us at first we accept on trust. But the Bible is not dependent entirely for our recognition of its authority upon this witness of the Church. What the Church tells us we each verify for ourselves, and we recognize the authority of the Bible to be Divine, because it awakens an echo or response within our own hearts; because it commands our reason and our conscience; because its teaching in all such matters as lie within its proper sphere or province—matters of faith, matters of worship, matters of moral conduct, accords with our whole mental, moral, and spiritual nature; because, having examined it for ourselves, and walked by its light, we find that the verdict of the Church respecting it is substantiated in our own personal experience. In the power of the Spirit the Christian man recognizes for himself in the Holy Scriptures the voice of the living God, and having this internal testimony of the Spirit, he needs no external warrant for their authority. Thousands upon thousands of God's people who have never heard of the Council which fixed the Canon of Holy Scripture, who have never read a word of the old Fathers of the Church, who have neither the time to study, nor the learning to study, nor, perhaps, the ability to study the minute and laborious researches of modern scholars, critics and experts, have nevertheless found God for themselves in the Holy Scriptures, and have been found of God. Just as light manifests itself, and we need no external testimony that it is light, so to all who have ears to hear, and hearts to understand, the Bible by its own intrinsic lustre proves itself to be the Word of God. This power which the Bible possesses of bringing the individual soul into immediate touch with God is to those who have felt that power the most convincing and the most satisfying proof of its Divine authority. And such proof, I need hardly say, is independent of all those critical questions which are now engaging the thoughts of Biblical students, respecting the date, the text, the transmission, the authorship, the composite origin of particular books. Whatever may be the ultimate issue or settlement of those questions, inasmuch as they touch the mere outward or human elements of the Bible, not the Divine message itself, we need have no fear lest they

should lower its authority, or prevent it from being in times to come, as it has been in times past, for believing souls the very breath of their life.

In view of the fact that the Bible has not the same authority in all its parts, its theology and its morality being a progressive theology and morality, there may be some here who think that it would be better for us if we had an infallible Church to tell us exactly what particular words are human and what are Divine. But no; it is not God's way to give us infallible guides either in our earthly or in our spiritual life. If we had such a guide even within call, this world would not be to us what the Bible is never tired of telling us that it is, a school of education, discipline, and trial. We walk here by faith, and not by sight. But whatever perplexities may beset our path, if only we make good use of the guides we have, a Divinely appointed Church, a Divinely inspired Book, and a Divinely enlightened reason and conscience, we shall reach in safety our heavenly and eternal home.

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### CONGRESS HALL.

TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 4TH, 1892.

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The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

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## THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS LABOUR COMBINATIONS IN RESPECT OF THEIR AIMS AND THEIR METHODS.

### PAPERS.

HENRY PHILLIPS, ESQ., Alderman of the County of London.

WHAT are the aims, the ultimate objects of the labour combinations of to-day? Are they righteous aims, such as the Church can give her blessing and support to? or are they wrong aims, such as the Church should oppose and condemn? I humbly submit that the end and aim of trades unionism is a good and noble one. In brief language, the ultimate aims of trades unionism are to bring about all round better conditions for the workman and his family, and the development of a nobler manhood and womanhood among the working classes of our nation. Surely that is a righteous aim, a holy ideal—to build up a perfect and nobler manhood and womanhood. And as long as wages are so low and work so uncertain, now a rush and then days of idleness, and the work so monotonous, the surroundings so depressing, day following day in its weary sameness, do you wonder men and women, and the children they beget, lead low-level lives? I wonder their lives are so noble and pure and good as thousands of them are. Now surely it is the Church's duty to help on any movement that has for its object the higher development of manhood and womanhood. "Roll ye away the stone." "Loose him, and let him go." What is that but Christianity bidding humanity do its part in removing all that oppresses and cripples the noblest in man and woman? Heal the sick and preach the Gospel—the very marching orders of the Church—what is that but bidding us remove all conditions that stunt and fetter the mind and body, as well as

preach the Gospel to the soul? Now I am not unmindful of all that the Church is doing in that direction; of the institutes, and clubs, and classes—oases in the dreary desert of village life; nor am I unmindful of all her philanthropy and charity to the poor. All this is grand, good work; but if it is right for the Church to do so much for the working classes, surely it is much more her duty to help them when they try to help themselves. But perhaps you reply, "though your definition be the true aim of labour combinations, they do not live up to their ideal; with a large number, higher wages means more beer, shorter hours means more leisure for lounging." And if so; are we so perfect that we can condemn? What of our sales of livings, political patronage, petty quarrels over non-essentials; what of the ill-paid curates? Stains upon our Church life, every one of them, but much more. If it be true that the labour movement of to-day is simply a materialistic movement, that fifty per cent. of its members have no higher ideal than beer and "bacca," and improvident marriages, is that not the greater reason why you and I, members of God's Church, who have an ideal in life, should enter into this movement, and elevate it, and help those who are striving with all their might to inspire and ennoble it? A man once stood before one of Turner's paintings, and said: "I never saw such a sunset as that." "No," said Turner, "wouldn't you like to"? So in human life there are men who see no beautiful ideals; to them the canvas is always bare; no soft melody enters the discord of their lives. God help them, the men and women who have no ideal, no luminous hours, no Mount of Transfiguration with its vistas of what life ought to be. I claim great pity, deep sympathy for men and women such as these. Do you not remember the teaching of Maunday Thursday, when S. Peter declined our Lord's offer to wash his feet, how Christ made answer: "Unless I wash thee thou hast no part with Me"? If I enter not with any cleansing power into every department of human life, life is not perfect. If the Church of God does not enter, with its Holy Spirit, into the labour movement of to-day, to cleanse and purify and ennoble it, I believe the Church of God will have to answer at the bar of God for neglecting its duty. Another aim of trades unionism is, that the strong shall help the weak. That because a man is hard-up and hungry, with sick wife and crying children, that is no reason why he should sell his labour under price in the market. When a man's labour is worth a pound a week, you shall not offer him fifteen shillings because he is hard-up and glad to get anything. I will not insult this audience by asking them if it is the duty of the Church to aid any movement that has such an unholy object as that. But again, I submit it is not only the Church's duty to help the good, but it is equally its duty to oppose the wrong. Now there are a large number of men in the ranks of our labour combinations who aim at making those combinations so powerful that they may crush capital; and capital is forming itself into federations to crush labour, and so each side is making ready for a big pitched battle. Now surely it is the Church's duty to prevent that. To say with Moses of old: "Ye are brothers, why do ye fight?" The Independent Labour Party, a growing power in England to day, lays down as one of its principles, that labour and capital are antagonistic. I say that is a lie. They are absolutely dependent upon each other, they have one common interest. United they stand, divided they fall; and it is the Church's duty to

oppose all false teaching and say : "What God and economic laws have joined together, let no man put asunder."

Secondly. By what methods does trades unionism propose to attain its object ? (1) Combination. That is a method no Churchman can object to, because if it is right for capitalists to form companies and syndicates to increase profits ; if it is right for ladies and gentlemen to join stores to obtain goods at lowest profit, though hundreds of little shops be crushed out thereby ; surely working-men are justified in uniting together for their own advantage. (2) Legislation. Again, if we Churchmen consider it necessary to return men on Local and Imperial Parliaments to further our principles, surely working-men are right in returning labour candidates to advocate their principles whenever and wherever they get the chance. (3) The boycott. Now I am here to strongly oppose the boycott. I consider it stupid and brutal. I have advocated it in the past, but always condemn it now. To boycott a man because he will not think with you is barbarous—whether it is the Irishman his fellow Irishman ; the trades unionist the non-unionist ; or the Churchman boycotting the little Dissenter in the village—it is always bad. Force is seldom a remedy ; it never wins the man. "Don't chuck the blacklegs in the docks, or heave lumps of coal at 'em," said a coal porter at one of our meetings once ; "that won't make trades unionists of 'em. Go and tell them we have got something to offer them that they have not got. That's the right line to take, my lads, whether you think so or not." That was not a popular speech, but it was a brave, good speech, and it is your duty and mine to back up the men who make speeches like that, for they are the salt of the movement. The strike is another method. Now I took a humble part in the great dock strike, and I still consider that strike justifiable. It was the birth pang and suffering of a new movement. But I say here a strike is a barbarous weapon ; it cuts both sides. Whoever wins, loses. Independent of the suffering it causes to innocent women and children, it evokes all that is worst in master and man, and estranges and dislocates all that good feeling that must exist between capital and labour. If there is to be any solid prosperity for both of them, I do very strongly submit that it is the Church's duty, that it is the duty of every priest and layman, to exert all the influence they may possess in preventing a strike. To prevent a strike you must have influence with the strikers. Influence can only be won by kindness and sympathy. It is utterly useless for you or I to rush in when the strike has been on for a month, and tell the men they ought to go back to work, when we made no effort to win the friendship and influence of those men when they were in work. Let us offer our school-rooms for the men to hold their union meetings in, instead of sending them to public-houses. Offer them our parish-rooms or institutes to meet in on Sunday afternoon, instead of handing them over to a Pleasant Sunday Afternoon in the nearest chapel, which meeting is always anti-Church, semi-political. Let the Church go to the labour combinations of to-day, not to boss them, not to patronise them, not to flatter them, but to offer them real genuine sympathy, and they will be only too glad to accept your offer. At first they may be a bit suspicious, because for the last few years the faults of the new unionists have been the happy hunting ground of every faddist and hobbieist in creation—and I am speaking of

what I know. Let any clergyman or influential layman get up at a gathering of workmen and say in a frank, English way: "My friends, I have just looked in to see if I can be of any help to you. I have a real sympathy with you in your objects, and many of your methods to improve your condition of life. I have leisure, culture, education, and influence, and do not want to be a miser with them. If there is any way I can help you, let me know." There is not a gathering of workers in England that would refuse such an offer; only don't wind up with an invitation to come to church, as that would be absolutely fatal; it makes a sort of bargain of the whole business. Let us win the men first, and then they will come to church. I have seen our mission church crammed with men at seven o'clock in the morning. I have seen fifty men at five o'clock Celebration at a festival. I have seen the working-man hold the baby while the wife went up to the altar to communicate, and then the wife hold the baby while he went up in his turn to receive the Body and Blood of our Lord. It was a grand sight.

To me the question is not, why working-men do not go to church; but why does not the Church go to the working-man? We hold a position absolutely unique in the land; we are like a shop with the best position in the town, with the most attractive stock, first-class staff of assistants, and yet our returns are not half what they should be in the winning of men and women to God.

I do feel so strongly that it is the Church's duty to look after the social and material welfare of the people much more than she does, instead of leaving it to someone else. It is not long talks and essays on historic points of ritual that will nationalize the Church in the hearts of the people. It is not passionate appeals to congregations composed of two-thirds women, at election times, that will save the Church from disestablishment; but by clergy and laity going right down into the midst of the working-men and women of to-day; taking part with them in their labour combinations, side by side, shoulder to shoulder in every movement that will help to make the conditions of their lives less hard and less bitter; by helping them to help themselves in their endeavours after a nobler, a higher type of manhood and womanhood. This may not be a popular work, it may not be pleasant work, but I think it is God's work, and it has got to be done if the Church is to increase her influence on the people: and when we are called home and lay down our sword and hang our battered armour on the battlements of heaven, I believe we shall hear the "Well done, good and faithful servant."

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J. MAWDSLEY, ESQ., J.P., Secretary of the Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners of Manchester.

THIS is an age of change, and my being asked to address you on the subject which heads this paper may, I think, fairly be taken as not one of the least changes that have taken place in current thought. It is not many years since that secretaries of trades unions were referred to with pretty much the same feeling that we of to-day think of an anarchist. He was an agitator, who for his own personal ends set class against class, and was trying to bring about a state of things which, it was too often supposed, would ruin the country. That they have not, in past



times, always acted with discretion goes without saying ; but I am speaking with as wide an acquaintance of the subject as any living man when I say that, taken as a class, they have worked honestly, and with only poor rewards, for the good of their fellows. Now there is some danger of the public going to the other extreme. Trades union leaders are sought after and made much of by legislators, and not a little hobnobbing goes on between them and some members of the aristocracy when opportunity serves and political capital can be made out of it. More than one good man has, in consequence, lost his head ; but it is creditable that, on the whole, they have, so far, come out of these blandishments as well as they survived the social ostracism to which they were subject in years gone by. What is pleasing to see in this connection, however, is that public bodies, of the character of this Congress and others, are devoting a considerable proportion of their time to discussing labour problems, with the assistance, where practicable, of representative workmen, who have worked with and are still of their class.

I am only afraid that, in asking me to address you on this occasion, I shall to some extent disappoint you. When a workman gets amongst clergymen or ministers, or even occupies a fashionable pulpit in a Congregational chapel, it is generally expected that he will give them something spicy, in the way of veiled abuse, for their assumed neglect of working-men. Possibly, if my remarks were intended to be historical, I might do something in that direction myself ; but I have long since come to the conclusion that life is too short, and present-day problems too pressing, to allow of time being wasted in falling out about what was done by our forefathers, or even by the older men of the present generation. They very likely did their best, according to their lights. We who have arrived nearer to the noonday may well let their doings rest, and see where our duty lies.

In trying to look at my subject from this position, I must confess that I have little but praise to accord to the clergy of the Church of England in their dealings with workmen. In saying this, I do not lose sight of the fact that there are no end of people who in these days lose no opportunity of reviling them. At intervals we see in the Press voluminous correspondence on "Why Workmen do not attend Church." In the town where I reside, six miles from Manchester, there has during the last few weeks been pages of letters on this subject. Almost all of them blamed the clergy, and those who did not made reflections on the conduct of the leading laity as the causes for non-attendance. I read most of the letters, and came to the conclusion that none of them hit the mark, which was that those people who did not go to church stayed away because they preferred to do so. It may be said that this only drives the argument a step further back, as we want to know why they prefer to stay away. This opens up a wide subject as to the opposition to religion inherent in human nature, which does not come within the scope of my remarks ; but of one thing I am certain—the clergy may have amongst them black sheep ; they have also, most certainly, a proportion of indiscreet men—where can thousands of men be gathered without them?—but no observant man can say that, as a class, the clergy of our manufacturing towns are not self-sacrificing, hard-working, and painfully anxious to do their duty by all their parishioners, to

whatever section they may belong. Of the clergy in the agricultural districts and in the South of England I cannot speak so confidently, but the immense progress the Church has made in the North in recent years testifies to the truth of what I have said. Whilst on this point I may mention one trifling matter, but which has, I believe, no small influence in retarding the popularizing of our Church services. This is the difficulty which new attenders have in following the service in the Prayer-book. I know plenty of you will say that it is very easy to do this, but it, nevertheless, is a real difficulty. I have heard that there are churches in which the pages are given out, but, with the exception of the hymns, this is not the case in the few I have attended, and in mentioning the difficulty I am giving my own experience. But if I have no particular fault to find with the Church and the conduct of its representatives towards workmen—it must be clearly understood I am not including the internal organization of the Church, which is another matter—it will be asked if I have no suggestion of my own to make as to what attitude the Church should assume to workmen's combinations? In briefly referring to this, I may first be allowed to define what these combinations are.

The form of it which will perhaps first arise to the mind's eye is that of trades unions. In years not long since passed these were assumed to be revolutionary secret societies, with passwords and ceremonies, such as are supposed to characterize freemasonry. A great deal of this was imaginary, but there are still a few where some kind of initiatory ceremony is performed on the admission of a member, and who have passwords and some very harmless, if expensive, regalia. But in the great bulk of the better organizations this has been abolished where it ever existed. Nowadays, if a man gets employment, he is probably asked by his working shop-mate where he came from, and if he was a member of the union in the district he has left. If he produces his clearance certificate he is at once transferred, and continues his membership in the district in which he has found work. If not a member, he is told he had better join, and this he probably does by paying his contribution at the week-end. He then becomes financial in a certain period, varying from three to twelve months in different societies, and can attend meetings and take part in the transacting of its business with no further trouble. There is little, if anything, that is secret about the working of these societies. Most of them publish monthly or quarterly reports, supplemented by an annual report, which give full details of their expenditure and other doings. Some even go so far as to publish the minutes of their representative and committee meetings, and although these are not scattered broadcast, as the reports are, there is no difficulty in obtaining copies by any person who has good reasons to give for wanting them. The aims of these societies are purely of the friendly society order, with the addition of attending to disputes between employers and employed, and paying out-of-work pay should a strike occur. There are some new unions which pay little more than this latter benefit, and in which the weekly contribution is proportionately small, but these are gradually drifting on to the lines of the older unions, and grafting out-of-work pay—as apart from strikes—and other benefits on their rules. With very few exceptions, religious and political matters are strictly tabooed at the meetings of the members. Our

societies in the North include the most extreme Conservatives, who, in trade matters, work most amicably with rabid Socialists. This has been found the most efficient system for controlling wages and the conditions of work, as the moment either religious or political feeling was allowed to be introduced, it is probable that the societies would be broken up from within. But there are also some other forms of organization, which, to complete the picture, it is necessary to describe. These are termed Socialistic, and though the term itself is innocent enough, the aims of those who belong to them do not always appear to be so. Put briefly, their object appears to be to squeeze out of existence private ownership in everything which has to do with our individual life. The actual avowed adherents of this creed are very few, but there can be no doubt but that their fundamental idea is making headway. The new unions, which at the outset were almost dominated by this idea, have gradually grown more Conservative; but, on the other hand, the older unions have almost met them by developing socialistic tendencies. As shown at the last Trades Union Congress, there is now little in this respect to choose between old and new unionism, the main difference arising as to whether the policy agreed on should be carried out by the older section on Conservative lines, or by the newer men, who, though not so rabid as they were a year or two ago, are yet supposed to be more vigorous adherents of State regulation of labour than those who at present form the Congress Executive.

With these elements to deal with, the Church has, so far, largely maintained a policy of non-interference. We at times hear of men calling on it to take sides with the weak against the strong, and with the oppressed against the oppressor. These are pretty phrases, and when used by a man with a good voice can be made very effective. But, whatever may have been the case a generation ago—and, as I have said, I am not dealing with them—I think the Church has acted wisely in not being in too big a hurry to embroil itself in the disputes which have been a leading feature in the industrial life of the country during the last two or three years. I say further, that the time has not yet arrived when it can with safety and dignity do so. Exceptional cases may arise, when a dignitary of the Church, with commanding influence, may step in and render good service to all concerned; but these are few and far between, and all the examples of which I have heard have been where the workmen have had no effective organization. So far as I know, the interference of the clergy in a dispute in which any of our better organized trade unions were concerned, would be resented as an impertinence. They might, and, as I happen to know, they do at times, privately use their influence to soften the rancour which sometimes arises; but were they to publicly offer to act as mediators, in nine cases out of ten they would be snubbed for their pains. Whether they will ever be in a position to safely make a rule of doing this, it is idle to speculate. Labour at present is a seething mass which scarcely knows its own mind. But whilst direct interference with it whilst in process of settling down is to be deprecated, there does not, to me, appear any reason why the Church should not do something towards directing the "settling" in a right direction. My idea of how this should be done I will now explain.

It is sometimes said that congresses are getting something of a nuisance, and I am free to confess that for many years in my life I

rather inclined to that view. There appears to be so much nonsense talked at them, and the good things said seem to come at such rare intervals, that those who do not trouble themselves, or have not time, to look beneath the surface, may be excused for taking that view. But my attendance at more than a dozen Trades Union Congresses, and at several Co-operative Congresses, has shown me that there is something to be gained which is not represented by the information contained in the papers read or the speeches made. In human nature there is always a distrust of the unknown, and a man or body of men meeting strangers for the first time is apt to be more concerned about finding out what they are like than in forming schemes for joint improvement. The trades union movement could never have been what it is except for its congresses. In times well remembered by living men, the workers in one county would migrate in a body to supplant the workers in another, if an extra shilling per week were offered. Three years ago the new unionists came to the congress fully believing that the skilled workers were their bitter foes, whilst the skilled men looked on the labourers' unions with contempt. But it was impossible for these feelings to survive personal association, and it is not too much to say that another year or two will see the effacement of the line of demarcation between old and new, and the unions of the whole country will be as homogeneous as the unions of skilled workers are to-day. Much the same may, I believe, be said of the co-operators, though I do not desire to be in any sense taken as an authority on that point. But what is to hinder the development of another congress, not of classes, but of masses in the real sense? Were it possible to appoint to the House of Commons fully one-half of its number from the ranks of workmen, I believe that would be the best possible school in which all parties in the nation could thrash out their ideas, and in which what is foolish would soon go to the wall. But this only appears as a dream of the future; but, in the meantime, I think an annual National Congress could be formed, at which a few of the most pressing problems of the day could be discussed, and, better still, representatives of all ranks of citizens could meet together on a common level. We could have there representatives of the Church of England, of Catholics, and of Methodism, and the other sections of Nonconformists. The teetotalers would be voiced, and so would co-operators and trade unionists. Socialists and atheists should also have their say, and capitalists as well; and, in fact, any movement which had attained sufficient dimensions to be worth listening to should, within reasonable bounds, have a hearing. There would, of course, have to be great care taken that the platform thus erected was not abused, but I see no insuperable difficulty in this direction. In looking round to see what authority or organization could inaugurate this movement, I see nothing which is so likely as the Church of England. Something in this direction was done by the holding of an Industrial Remuneration Conference some eight years ago, but on that occasion the expense was borne by one man, and the experiment was not repeated.

In making this suggestion I am fully conscious that many difficulties would arise, some of which now occur to me. My time will not now allow me to deal with them, but I believe that they could only be dealt with adequately by an organization wielding the influence which

the English Church does. Should such a congress be established, a great many rotten theories would be exploded, and if for the time being class distinctions were abolished, the delegates would go home with different views to those now too often held as to what, for instance, the workers and their employers think of each other. The work would have to be sympathetically done, especially in the earlier stages ; but if it proved capable of being done, and its proceedings were followed and utilized by every parish clergyman, I believe that we should see the Church making greater strides in the future, as the Church of the whole nation, than she has even made in the immediate past.

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The Rev. H. SCOTT HOLLAND, Canon and Precentor  
of S. Paul's.

THE question is : What attitude should the Church adopt towards the aims and methods of labour combinations ? We want no attitudes. We seek for no appropriate pose. For we shall never fall into the right attitude for a situation while we are considering which attitude will be right. Such a consideration belongs to a cold and self-conscious outsider : it leads to something forced, formal, and unlucky. This, surely, is not the mood in which the Church should be approaching the problems of labour, nor this the atmosphere in which she will arrive at a happy result. Besides, it is so very late in the day for her to be still employed in striking an attitude. Labour combinations are long ago past their tentative and questionable stages, when it was an important matter for them how they should be received. It would once, no doubt, have been a subject of anxiety, what attitude the Church or the world would adopt towards them. And, moreover, it might have saved them many a trouble and many a serious blunder, and even some crimes, if the Church had struck a favourable attitude towards their methods and aims about forty years ago. But, as it is now, labour combinations have long ago passed into the recognized fabric of the industrial system ; they belong to the regular forces of trade ; the lawyers and the judges have defined their privileges and their limitations ; the economists have discussed and determined their range of activity, and their justifiable effects. In the case of the older and stronger unions, the hot blood and fever of their youth has long passed off, and they stand in no need of the cold water which outside advisers are calculated to administer. Their danger lies, possibly, in quite an opposite direction. There is always a temptation that attacks those who, after hard fighting, have won their way out into peaceful and complete recognition—the temptation to be so absorbed in the memories of the brave battle once waged and now decided, that the active attention fails to cover, with compulsive acuteness, the pains and the perils which still encumber those who yet struggle darkly under the cloud of night. It is hardly likely that the working-man should escape altogether a temptation which has reproduced itself at every stage of human history. And, in view of this, and of the friction now to be felt in labour questions, it might well be one of the primary duties of the Church towards labour combinations at this moment, to warn the older bodies against lapsing into a temper which has so often been fatal to her own advance ; and to insist that

those who have already secured the advantages of combination should refuse to be satisfied until those advantages have been extended over a broader area—to those who are still outside their beneficial action.

But at any rate—No! It is not the mood of one adopting an appropriate attitude that we should look for in the Church. Rather, it is the eager and active movement of one who instinctively apprehends what is forward, and comes forward with both hands to greet what is so intimately congenial to his own temper.

For a labour combination is, primarily, the recognition that not in the field of industry, any more than in the field of spiritual life, does any man stand alone. The conditions of his labour, the scale of his wage, cannot be rationally determined by any calculation that regards him as a solitary and independent atom. He, in his isolation, does not provide the factors and figures by which the sum can be worked out. For the industrial world into which he is admitted is a single whole, knit together into coherent consistency by bonds of most delicate and subtle and manifold intimacy. It is built up by the intricate poise and balance of a thousand trades, all adhering to one another by the very force of their constant and continuous competition. In and out of one and all, the pressure of an ever-varying law of demand and supply never ceases its motive-action, shifting the parts, equalizing the changes, integrating the results. The rise or the fall of force in this or in that department of trade makes demands everywhere over the whole organization. A re-adjustment of particles must proceed. Currents and counter-currents are compelled to form novel adaptations. Over the vast body of the world's commerce swift messages pass and re-pass, announcing a change here, an exchange there; and, in a moment, the delicate equipoise of capital sets itself to meet and answer the new requirement. Something is withdrawn at one point; something is accumulated at another. The strongest eyes, the quickest brains, in every capital on two continents, are bent on this swift task, registering every quiver of motion which the unresting wires can report to them, re-distributing the funds of capital according to the daily and hourly shiftings of the industrial barometer. We have but to glance down that appalling column in which the daily press records for our bewildered amazement the state of the money market, and even the most guileless of us, innocent of bulls or bears, can dimly gauge the enormous intellectual force that is being spent on this task of unification, by which the power and pressure which works the entire and immense mechanism of trade receives its incessant rectification.

And it is into this whirling, whirring wonder of a world that the solitary labourer is thrust. Each offer he makes, each bid with which he closes, sends rapid vibrations into remote and invisible regions. According to his acceptance or refusal of the sum proffered him for his services, the wage-earnings of all his fellow-workers in the industry stand or fall. Thousands of his mates must come down to his price if they are to secure or retain their engagements. He serves to set the scale at which they may suffer displacement. His act goes to determine the conditions under which that trade shall be pursued; it tends to fix the standard of comfort which that department of industry will permit.

Yet he knows nothing, in his solitary ignorance, of all this. He cannot cover, with his own experience, or insight, more than the few

feet of ground where he stands. He cannot take any measure of the opportunities open to him. He has no conceivable hold on the currents of commerce, or of the directions in which they are running, or of the advantages which he may seize, or of the disabilities that he may incur. One thing only he knows—that he must somehow get through the week, or the day; that he must take anything that is to be had, so long as it staves off, for the moment, the menace of starvation, the terror of out-of-work. What chance has he, pitted in his resourceless weakness, against the play of this gigantic mechanism, which is bound to grind out its logical results with that relentless tenacity and inevitable precision which belongs to all systems of law? We are always asserting the fixed necessity of these economical laws. Yes! They are as impersonal, and certain, and unqualified as is all mechanical action. How deadly, then, to come within the range of their activity, without any conception of their nature, or limits, or purpose! Yet this is what the uncombined workman is forced to do. He knows nothing of the game, or of the rules by which it is to be played: yet the stake that he lays down is his own physical well-being. He plays for his own life, and for that of his wife and of his children.

Now, is this the career which the Church is to encourage? Is this the course which it is to dignify with the high sounding title of "Free Labour?" Free! What freedom can he win? How can he be free, who is bound to be at the mercy of his own immediate need—bound to be the victim of his own ignorance? How can he be free who is never free to look before or after; and can never calculate what is coming, or what will befall him? How is he free when the pressure of hunger ever shuts him in; and every door is closed, but the one by which he is driven to pass under the threatening whip of Necessity. His outlook is for ever bounded. He is the creature of haphazard chances, which come and go by rules outside his reckoning. The bargains into which he enters are forced, *not* free; for he has no power to withhold his consent, having no resources in reserve. The best of every bargain must always fall to the one who can hold out longest. And he has no power to hold out at all; and must, therefore, have, for ever, the worst of it. The sole freedom that he possesses is the freedom to enter upon a scene in which defeat is his inevitable portion; for he goes, with the weapons of a savage, into the thick of a battle which the finest skill of civilized warfare has set in array; and into this he goes alone!

Now, can the Church hesitate, for a second, what her advice to such a workman should be, or what attitude she should adopt? Must not every instinct of reason and of pity bid her call in his ear, with clamorous insistence, "Combine! Combine! Combine! You are pledged to combination. Your work is part and parcel of a vast and varied industrial machine; and you can no more handle it or direct it by your own individual wits or choice or decision, than a single worker in a great factory can play his part without regard to what his fellows are doing. Moreover, you have not the right to attempt it; for your clumsy ignorance hurts and menaces your mates. You cannot attempt the unequal conflict with the counter-interests against which you compete, without certain ruin to yourself and hurt to others." The whole spirit of the Church encourages and illuminates her, in pressing this advice. For she is herself the eternal pledge of the vital principle of

combination. She is the perpetual protest against the liberty that limits itself to one—the liberty of doing exactly what you, individually, choose. She knows that any such claim to go your own way embodies the lowest and poorest and shallowest conception of liberty. She preaches that man can never rightly treat himself as solitary; that if he is forced to stand alone, he does so to his bitter damage, to his irrevocable loss; that his advance into freedom is measured according to the degree of his fellowship with others—according to his capacity to identify his own interests with that of a larger body. He only attains his proper liberty in combination. This is her assertion, her creed, her gospel. Why is it less true in the civil life than in the spiritual? Surely the liberty of Jerusalem on earth must, in its degree, reflect the liberty wherewith we are to become members of the Jerusalem which is above. It is not probable that combination is the watchword of the one, and individual isolation of the other!

No! Labour which would be free must be combined labour. Isolated labour means enslaved labour. The Church should know this by her native instinct. And, if she need to be reminded of it by an object lesson, there is one to her hand, which has been made of late plain and forcible enough. The ranks of the *sweated* are the ranks of the uncombined. There, in those depressed and huddled swarms—there, in the quagmire of impotence—there are your “free labourers.” Each acts alone; and each, therefore, undercuts the other’s standing ground. Each wrecks the other’s chance of withstanding the downward pressure of the competing powers. The true principle of competition between labour and capital, supply and demand, by which the market should be regulated, has ceased to work; the workmen have disabled themselves from exercising it by turning its edge against themselves. How is any competition possible between these loose atoms and the thrust of the organized and scientific forces which distribute the funds of capital? The area of sweatage is the area in which the workers, by their weakness, their ignorance, their isolation, have sunk below that level of force which is essential to all who would engage in this play of competitive powers. And they have so sunk, because they are uncombined—because they are unable to control or repress the individual action of separate and solitary labourers.

Combination would cure sweating. But, alas! here is the desperate dilemma. For how can a combination be effective where the trade is unskilled, or where the skill is so low and common as to be almost unlimited? Sweating begins where unionism ends: and unionism ends at the point where the slight skill needful for the work makes its control ineffective or impossible. It cannot exclude the black-legs except by force, which is rightly illegal; and yet an unorganized industry, fed by a loose mob of indiscriminated individuals, is incapable of that intelligent and instructed and corporate action without which it is deadly to enter upon the tremendous game of competitive commerce.

How, then, is it possible ever to secure to unskilled labourers the benefits of combination? This is the burning question of the hour. It was this which gave such special significance to the Dockers’ Union. It is this which has brought about the rise of the “New Unionism.”

It is a question which must be patiently worked out by those whose problem it is. The Church has neither the skill nor the authority of



herself to solve it. But in its solution she is bound to take the deepest interest, just because it affects the poorest, and least privileged, and least capable of all the working population. And she can, at least, help forward the solution by throwing her sympathy in the direction in which she recognizes the action of higher moral principles. She can help to raise in those forlorn workers the social conscience which may save them from committing themselves, as "free labourers," to a policy of selfish isolation, which, though it may serve their momentary ends, must, in the end, condemn them, in the mass, to an interminable degradation. She may help men to understand that their acceptance of a wage serves to set the scale of wages for all about them; and that, therefore, they are responsible to others besides themselves for what they accept; and that others have a moral claim upon them. She can warn them, that, by acting as if each stood alone, they are ignoring this mutual responsibility for each other, and defying this moral claim; and that only through some form of concert or combination by which their own advantage can be made identical with the general good, can their separate action be brought under its true and natural law.

Such a recognition as this of the principle of trade unionism by the Church cannot, of course, imply that trades unions have always been right. They are no more perfect than other human institutions. They have often blundered both in aims and methods. They have mistaken their powers; they have misjudged their tactics. They have to win slowly, as we all have, out of experience—an experience often sharp and bitter—the wisdom and moderation which should govern their operations. All we claim is that in trades unionism, we have touched a higher moral level than is reached by uncombined labour; that in it, labour has at least risen above the condition of a disorganized chaos, which is the permanent fate of labour when uncombined; that in the extension, therefore, of trades unionism lies our main present hope of securing for labour the means of becoming an ordered and intelligent affair; and that if, in any way, trades unionism has faults of perversity, or class-narrowness, or wilfulness, or selfishness, our whole interest should lie in enabling it to free itself from faults which hinder its better success.

There can be but one serious objection to this, and that is, that the principle of trades unionism accepts as inevitable the dualism of employer and employed. But historically, as a fact, industry is at present organized on this dualistic basis. Trades unionism arose at the moment when the enormous development of factories dissolved for ever the ancient bond between men and masters which was possible under the domestic limitation of the home trades. That domestic home trade gave to the workman the security and regularity which are the vital necessities of a moralized industry. But security and regularity ended for him with the growth of factories and machinery, and with the development of companies. He ceased to have a secured background, or to be sure of tiding over a period of non-employment. He became liable to the shift and the play of industrial forces that over-rode all human instincts. He found himself one atom in a nameless herd, far from the old home, swept and swayed hither and thither by vast currents of commerce that no individual energy could control or foresee or determine. He combined to secure for himself some foothold in

this seething movement. And to-day, that very process which drove him into labour combinations is intensifying the need every hour. For the necessities of our immense trade compel, day by day, firm after firm to pass over from the condition of a private house to that of a limited company. That transition breaks the last bond that held between employer and employed. The employer now is the body of shareholders—a scattered swarm who are absolutely devoid of all personal connection with the men in their employ, who can know nothing of their condition, character, habits, wants, manner of life, wage. So the division sharpens, and must continue to sharpen. Trades unionism is merely the recognition of what is, in the actual situation, inevitable.

But, then, if unionism is the acknowledgment of the severance, it provides also the way of bridging the division. For it, and it alone, can provide the machinery by which united action between the divided powers can proceed. Both sides have one interest—the furtherance of a successful business. And, moved by this common interest, they can come together in mutual agreement through arbitration—through boards of conciliation. These, of course, are impossible, wherever your “free labour” prevails. For free labour means that the men have no cohesion; no power of arriving at a fixed proposal, or of entering into an agreement. For this they must have organs; a mouthpiece; representatives; officers, with authority to bind and loose: they must be a fixed, limited, organic mass, with a permanent identity, with an exclusive prerogative. This is what the union provides. And this is one of its more urgent claims upon our interest. All our hopes for industrial arbitration or conciliation rest on the existence of strong unions, covering the whole body of the workers. Through the action of such unions, secure of their own position, controlled by trained officers who are conscious of the large issues at stake, and who are forced to face, in sober council round a table, the difficulties and problems of the masters, we may hope to see an end to all the vexations and fretful restrictions on trade which suspicion may have prompted them in the past to impose, and, above all, an end to the disastrous miseries of strikes. Strikes are as hateful as wars. If we could see our way to their abolition by forming permanent and official boards of conciliation, to which all disputes could be referred for solution, such boards will still necessitate, as their primary condition, that the men are organized strictly into certified combinations, which have official authority to appear on their behalf before such a board, and can represent their collective interest, and pledge their consent. If conciliation be the most hopeful way out into industrial peace, then unions are essential to its success.\*

Labour combinations cannot, it is true, be looked to to solve all our difficulties. On the contrary, they fail, as we have said, to touch the most serious and terrible evils incident to our present system—the evils of the unskilled sweated population.

It may be that here we must look for stronger State action to step in and protect these lower masses against the disasters to which their

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\* This is shown by the facts recorded in an article by Rae on “Industrial Peace.”

impotence to combine renders them liable. It is the sense of this failure of voluntary combination to reach the worst, that has turned attention into a Socialistic direction of late. But those who most dread the enervating influence of a wide State Socialism should do their utmost to extend the area which voluntary combination of labour can cover. The one thing which has shown itself imperatively urgent is that, in some way or another, industry should become organized. It cannot be left any longer to the chaos of chance—to the blind warfare of “free labour.” It does not as yet appear that either co-operation or profit-sharing are ready to take upon themselves so immense a task as the general organization of industry, helpful and interesting as is their slow development. Trades unionism, over at least all the vast range of the higher industries, offers far the strongest force by which some such immediate organization can be attained—and attained, not through the perilous mediation of a huge Government department, but through the vigorous educational energy which belongs to all voluntary action.

So stands our case. And what I would earnestly plead for to-day is, that no tales of the irritating and stupid blunders which trades unionists may have committed should be taken to obscure the first principles which we have laid down. No doubt there are many such tales to be told. No wonder that employers have been nagged by the friction involved. No wonder that, in irritation at this or that folly, they have set to work to secure themselves against its repetition by refusing to deal with the unions. But all this does not touch the heart of the difficulty, for it still remains that an unorganized trade is a demoralized trade; it opens the door to the sweater; it creates an unhappy population of casual workers, who will always abide at the lowest level at which life can exist. It is this sin which, as Churchmen, we must set ourselves to cure. It is this which must determine our Christian policy.

Whatever we propose, it must mean some form of combination which can, at least, moralize the worker by bringing him into line with all his fellows, towards whom he is responsible for the wages he accepts. It must harmonize his life, by securing him against the irregularities of trade, and enabling him to look before and after, without which man is not himself. It must give him freedom in the contracts he makes for his labour; that is, it must give him the same liberty to accept or refuse a bargain which the other party to it enjoys. By what form of combination do you propose to do this? And, if you have none that is level as yet with the gigantic task, then trades unionism holds the field.

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## ADDRESSES.

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THE general attitude of the Church, as represented by the bishops, clergy, and the Church Press, towards labour combinations, as far as their combative side is concerned, may be said to be at present one of strict neutrality, coupled with an evident hope that some good may result to the working-classes from the aims, if not the methods, of these combinations, and I fail to see that this attitude can be changed with any benefit to the Church or to the people.

The incumbent of a parish, whether in town or country, is bound to take up an impartial attitude, as he is pastor alike of labourer and employer, and members of each class are included in his congregation. He will be assailed by two temptations—either to court the power which accrues from an alliance with the capitalist, or the power which comes from an alliance with the workmen, the latter being, at the present time, perhaps, the greater temptation of the two.

The labour combinations are of two kinds—the older unions of skilled workmen representing about one-tenth of the workers of this country, now generally recognized by employers and the public as beneficial, and the new unionism whose leaders denounce free labourers and employers and capitalists alike, as enemies of the community.

The objects of trades unions should be the efficiency of their members as workmen, adequate payment for their work, and provision for sickness and old age, and in these objects there has seldom been wanting the goodwill and co-operation of employers. When trades unions, ignoring all considerations of efficiency and honest work, assume the position of dictators to employers, and aim at the suppression or oppression of free labour, their efforts imperil the well-being of the nation, and must be combated.

A recent instance of this dictation may be cited in the case of the South Metropolitan Gas Co., when a profit-sharing scheme in the interests of their workmen called forth the resentment of the agitators, whose occupation was threatened, and culminated in a strike most disastrous to the men.

We are all more or less acquainted with the severe labour conflicts which have developed during the last two or three years. These are usually spoken of as struggles between labour and capital, but they are rather between one set of workmen and another, and in some cases between one trades union and another. Notably the prolonged strike of Engineers in Newcastle, to secure for themselves work which had belonged to the Plumbers, and the disturbances in the shipping trade in London for several months, caused by the Seamen's and Firemen's Union demanding work previously done by men belonging to the Hammermen's Union.

In most, if not all, labour conflicts there are four interested parties :—

- (1) The trades unions.
- (2) The free labourers.
- (3) The employers.
- (4) The general public.

If, therefore, the attitude of the Church is to be changed from one of neutrality to partisanship, who is to decide to which of these her partisanship is to be extended?

In all great labour centres there are churches more or less in proportion to the population, and it would hardly be possible for all their clergy to view the question from the same standpoint. Some of the clergy would doubtless sympathize with the trades unions, believing that the material, social, and moral welfare of the workmen would thereby be benefited.

The sympathies of others would be towards the less highly favoured but far more numerous free labourers who prefer their independence. They would argue with Lord Salisbury that, whilst men are at liberty to combine, there should be equal liberty not to combine; and they would detest some of the tyrannical methods adopted by the trades unions to shut out all but their own favoured adherents from a share of profitable employment.

The third class might find their interests as well as their sympathies allied with the employers, for in many cases, more especially where large bodies of men are engaged, the employers are joint stock companies with shareholders as numerous as the workmen.

Mr. Goschen in his last Budget speech drew attention to the comparatively small profits arising from the staple industries of the country, remarking as follows:—"The lawyer in his quiet office, and the physician in his sombre consulting room, are rolling up taxable material almost at the same pace—in some periods at a faster pace—than those engaged in the great industries I have named."

And again:—"If I take the total of these latter industries, including cotton, wool, silk, ready-made clothing, metals, and hardware of all kinds, shipbuilding, sugar refining, tanning, chemicals, brewing, distilling, and so forth; if I take the whole of these industries, which together cover so vast an area of our national prosperity, the profits only amount to one-half of the profits which fall under the head of distribution and transport."

To obtain this comparatively small margin of profit, capital is organized, and provides the wage-earning classes with employment. Destroy this organization, as is recklessly demanded by the new unionist agitator, who has no practical scheme to substitute, and what becomes of the workmen?

Mr. Dudley Baxter says:—"England's position is not that of a great landed proprietor with an assured revenue, and only subject to occasional loss of crops or hostile depredations. It is that of a great merchant, who, by immense skill and capital, has gained the front rank and developed an enormous commerce, but has to support an ever-increasing host of dependents. He has to encounter the risks of trade, and to face jealous rivals, and can only depend on continued good judgment and fortune and the help of God to maintain himself and his successors in the foremost place among the nations of the world."

The Report of the Commission on Depression of Trade, 1886, states:—"The increasing severity of the competition of foreign countries is a matter deserving more serious attention than it has received at the hands of our commercial and industrial classes.

"The increasing severity of this competition, both in our home and in neutral markets, is especially noticeable in the case of Germany. A reference to the reports from abroad will show that in every quarter of the world the perseverance and enterprise of the Germans are making themselves felt. In the actual production of commodities we have now few, if any, advantages over them; and in a knowledge of the markets of the world, a desire to accommodate themselves to local trades, a determination to obtain a footing wherever they can, and a tenacity in maintaining it, they appear to be gaining ground upon us."

With a knowledge of these facts, will not the third class, to whom I am now referring, feel it their duty in the interests of workmen to defend the employer and capitalist from the dangerous doctrines of the Socialist agitator?

The fourth class would regard the question from the point of view of national interests, and argue that a large proportion of the industries of this country are in connection with our export trade, which is carried on in competition with other countries, and that if wages were unduly increased and hours of labour reduced, work would be diverted to other countries not so restricted. They might admit the possibility of extending these advantages to workmen in occupations strictly confined to our own internal undertakings, such as railways, waterworks, gasworks, and operations of municipalities and county councils; but it would be apparent to them, as it must be to everyone, that if class protection of this kind is to be

afforded, and the community at large more highly taxed in consequence, it would, so far from allaying, only tend to create fresh discontent among the workmen outside these favoured circles.

The above brief epitome serves to illustrate some of the difficulties which surround this question; but apart from these there are in all the conflicts which have arisen (and are likely to arise) technical questions not easily comprehended by outsiders, and a considerable amount of mischief has been occasioned by the interference of irresponsible persons with other interests to serve.

If time permitted, I could tell you of the incalculable mischief which was done by interference of this kind in connection with the great dock strike in London, and how many steady, industrious workmen were thrust aside when the agitators and their myrmidons got control, and I earnestly hope that the Church may be preserved from being mixed up with methods such as then existed.

Following the example of the late Bishop of Manchester, good work has been done by the Bishops of Durham and Chester in some recent disputes, but in each case their services were sought for because of their known impartiality; had there been any previous evidence of partisanship, their mediation would have been unacceptable to one or other of the contending parties, and it seems to me to be obvious that, other than as peacemakers, the clergy should always carefully abstain from any interference in trade disputes. In this they have the guidance of our Great Master, who, whilst at all times enunciating the high principles of brotherhood and duty to our neighbours, the duties of masters to servants, and servants to masters, when called upon to interfere in a personal dispute about property, declined, saying, "Man, who made Me a judge or a divider over you?"

The economic questions involved in the regulation or development of the industries of this country are, however, well worth the study, not only of Churchmen, but of all thinking men throughout the country, for it is apparent that if we are to advance upon the lines now laid down by labour combinations, very serious changes in our fiscal policy must inevitably follow.

The labour leaders assert that the labourers in this country are not too numerous, and are deluding them with the hope that by combination and shorter hours of work matters may be so regulated that all can be maintained in comfort. Events, however, are giving a contradiction to these illusory doctrines, for throughout the country there is a surplus of labourers, and at the present moment thousands of our workmen in different trades are being thrown out of employment by the effects of the McKinlay tariff, and we ask ourselves, how are these to be provided for?

In our rural districts, although only eleven per cent. of the population are now engaged in the great industry of food producing, as against fifty-five per cent. for the rest of Europe, our agricultural labourers, owing to the inability to get any adequate return from the land under present conditions, are still drifting to the towns to compete with the labourers there, and thus intensify the difficulties of existence.

Mr. Champion, in his article in the June number of the *Nineteenth Century*, entitled, "Protection as Labour wants it," gives the first hint of the sequence we must look for if the plans of the labour combinations are to take effect, and I believe it will not be long before other prominent labour leaders sound the same note. Sooner or later they are bound to realize that no mere limitation of the hours of working or other attempts at regulation can avail much while the pressure of competition continues so severe, and that this can only be relieved by restoring the labourer to the soil. The question will then arise, how this can be effected in the present state of things, when land cannot be cultivated at a profit, and no doubt

solutions now regarded as chimerical will be proposed, and repeated with increasing urgency.

Whilst stating my opinion that the Church should leave the Labour Combinations to settle their own disputes, and to work out their objects in their own way, we must all feel that her enormous influence might be beneficially exercised in helping by other means to solve some of these difficult problems that now confront us. They are no new problems to the students of Church history. The poor we have had always with us, and the work of the Church among them has been to inculcate industry, temperance, and thrift as the only true methods of counteracting the evils arising from changing economic conditions. In work of this sort I feel perfect confidence she will continue, and my earnest hope is that the mistake may not be made by any of her ministers of attempting to go beyond it into provinces in which they must necessarily be more or less strangers, and in which feeling is often likely to overpower principle.

Before concluding, I would respectfully suggest one or two matters for consideration, as well worthy to be taken up in connection with the beneficent work of the Church to which I have referred.

Briefly stated, my suggestions would be—

(1) That the Church may do something to alleviate the fierceness of the struggle for existence in our large towns, by endeavouring to stop the flow of population from the rural districts. I have not time to state at length my views as to how this can best be done, but one way, which, I may say, has been tried in the parish in which I reside with encouraging results, is to aid in the instruction of the labourers in rural industries, whereby they may increase their earnings.

(2) The Church can co-operate with the County Councils in technical education, and in forming classes to raise the standard of our workmen to a par with all competitors.

(3) And (which is perhaps the most important of all) the Church can help in spreading a knowledge of the climatic and industrial conditions of our colonial possessions, and pressing forward the work of the Church Emigration Society, which is endeavouring to systematize the emigration of our redundant population to the countries where it is required, and where men may go, still remaining members of the Church, subjects of the Queen, and citizens of this great Empire.

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### The Right Hon. the LORD BRASSEY.

I AM here to-night for the two-fold object of expressing attachment to the Church, and sympathy with the claims of labour. The Church cannot accomplish her work of spiritual and social improvement unless she keeps in touch with all the great interests of the country, and all the best aspirations of the people. Ours is essentially an industrial nation, and our clergy should be acquainted with all which makes for the advancement or the decline of our industries. On their prosperity many millions of people depend. Moral progress and spiritual elevation cannot be looked for in a population living in a state of physical degradation.

In an ideal system of industrial organization, the interests of labour and of capital would be identical. The capital, which is as essential as labour to production, would be provided by the contributions of the workers. This was the ideal of John Stuart Mill. His attention had been drawn to two experiments in co-operative administration in France, in which, by the self-denial and philanthropic labours of

the employers, a substantial improvement had been secured for the workmen. A quarter of a century has elapsed, and it cannot be said that the co-operative method has made real progress. Several experiments have been tried. In most cases the results have been disastrous. Even where the workpeople, who have raised the capital, have been of first-class ability, and have provided themselves with the newest machinery, they have failed. The mercantile qualities required for the successful conduct of business are rare, much more rare than might have been expected. It is a further obstacle to success that the workers in a co-operative concern are naturally anxious to control the management. In such matters a republican constitution is unsuitable. The difficulties of co-operative production may be overcome hereafter. At present we must assume that industrial operations will continue to be carried on by workers who will take their reward in the form of wages.

While the system on which the workpeople are paid remains the same, we shall see an increasing tendency to the concentration of industrial work into large establishments. In the severe competition of the present day the weakest must go to the wall, and success will remain with those having sufficient capital to organize on a large scale, and to work with the latest machinery. It follows that the personal relations between employers and employed will not be those of former times, when the master and his men were fellow-workers in the same workshop, with slight differences in the amount of remuneration earned, and in the mode of living.

Trades unions have been a natural outcome of the new system of industrial organization. They must be accepted, not as a necessary evil, but as the only means by which employers can carry on negotiations with those whom they employ, and the only agency by which they can secure that the terms of an agreement will be observed. Trades unions, when led by inexperienced men, may be unreasonable and aggressive. The officers of the older and most powerful unions are men who understand the conditions of trade, and who exercise a moderating and pacific influence. The influence of the clergy should not be exerted in antagonism to the principle of trades unionism.

But the clergy will be anxious to do something more than merely refrain from opposing a movement which is inevitable. Recognizing that the relations between capital and labour necessarily involve contention and discussion, they may wish to know how far their services may be useful in the capacity of mediators and peace-makers. Directly, I do not think that they can do much. I should be sorry to advise them to offer their services as arbitrators, and if they did, I do not think they would be frequently accepted. Both employers and operatives are equally reluctant to commit themselves to the judgment of an outsider, who knows nothing of the matters with which he may be called upon to deal, and who, in the absence of knowledge, is strongly tempted to seek for a compromise, whereby he may make some concessions to the demands pressed on either side.

The true method of averting conflicts between labour and capital is the establishment in every important trade of Courts of Conciliation. The testimony before the Royal Commission in favour of such tribunals is unanimous. Those who might have become disputants, being brought face to face at frequent intervals, have learned to appreciate one another's circumstances and difficulties. Mutual sentiments of personal regard have sprung up, which are of the happiest augury for the future. The clergy cannot use their influence to better effect than in favouring the establishment of Courts of Conciliation, in every trade and in every district in which difficulties are likely to arise.

It is believed that the more complete organization of the employers and employed for the protection of their mutual interests will increase the reluctance on both



sides to enter into struggles, which will be more and more prolonged in proportion as the contending parties are prepared to endure the losses consequent on a suspension of industry. Some of the strikes which have involved the greatest sacrifice to the workers have ended in their defeat. The influence of the clergy should be used with all possible tact and discretion in preventing strikes. Their weight with both the contending parties will be greater, if, by knowledge of the facts and impartiality of judgment, they are enabled to suggest a fair basis of compromise. Never was the office of a bishop more signally beneficent than where the Bishop of Durham interposed, in the present year, to induce the mine-owners and miners of his diocese to come to terms.

It would be unreasonable to claim from every minister of the Gospel a competent knowledge of industrial questions. In every great profession there must be diversities of operations. And while some will be deeply engaged in theological studies and others in their strictly parochial duties, I should hope that men will be found who will have the opportunity and the ability to deal in a very thorough manner with industrial problems. It will be the duty of such men to shed their light over the whole body of the sacred profession to which they belong. Happily, the essentials of the subject are easily mastered by intelligent and unprejudiced minds. I shall suppose that every clergyman having to do with industrial populations will have read Adam Smith. The latest aspects of the labour question are presented in a compendious form in the digests of evidence which are being issued by the Royal Commission on Labour. As a journal of daily events, I would recommend the *Labour News*; and, as a concise and complete summary of the statistics bearing on the subject, I cannot too strongly recommend the Statistical Abstract, issued annually by the Board of Trade. Its 228 pages of most useful figures can be purchased for a shilling.

That the clergy should sympathize with the operatives in their aspirations for the improvement of their social condition, is too obvious to need more than a passing word. The clergy have been foremost in the cause of education. But education without leisure for mental culture is not an unmixed blessing. It creates aspirations and wants, and it is felt to be hard that they cannot be gratified. Demands for shorter hours and demands for higher wages are not likely to cease; and whenever they can be met without injustice to employers, it must be a source of rejoicing to the friends of social progress. While there is much misery around us, it is satisfactory to note the evidences on all sides of general improvement in the condition of the masses. The ratio of pauperism diminishes. Wages are higher, the hours of labour are fewer, the cost of living is reduced, the means of intellectual improvement are more abundant. And when we see that an investment in Consols brings less than three per cent., and in the ordinary stocks of railways under four per cent., we have the clearest evidence that investors look for moderate returns, and that capital is supplied at a lower rate of interest than has ever been accepted before.

In conclusion, those who framed the plan for the present Congress were well advised in including, as one of the subjects for discussion, the relations of the Church to the labour question. The clergy should be messengers of peace and wise counsellors in every form of trouble. This high and noble office they cannot fully perform for the busy workers and operatives committed to their charge, without giving due attention to the difficult problems we are discussing to-night.

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## DISCUSSION.

The Rev. GEORGE BULSTRODE, Hon. Canon of Ely, Rector of S. Mary, Stoke, Ipswich.

I HAVE been almost surprised at the tone the discussion has taken this evening. I should almost have imagined that I was at a meeting of the Trades Union Congress instead of being in the presence of the Church Congress. I am quite aware that the settlement of this great question may have, in many respects, much to do with the future of the Church itself. In these days of democratic voting, the position of the Church may be very much affected by the feeling which exists between us and the working-classes, but I prefer not to discuss the subject from any such point of view. I think what we have to consider is, what is right in our relationship with the working-classes. I know very well that great changes have taken place of late years in the condition of the working-people, and these changes have been brought about very much by efforts we ourselves have made. Education has progressed, the people have been exercised in self-government; they have their friendly societies and their co-operative societies, and the great influence of the Press has changed the condition of things amongst the working-classes, and placed them in a position very different to what they occupied before. I don't think, therefore, that any of us need be surprised if the working-class, being thus educated and accustomed to look at questions from new points of view, should begin to ask themselves very distinctly whether there may not be some mode for them of obtaining a larger share of the good things of this life than has hitherto belonged to them. The question has very naturally to be answered, and these men, looking round to see how it may be answered, have adopted the method which appears to them most likely to secure the end they had in view. They have looked at the decimation amongst their people by the great flow of competition; they have seen how the capitalists, playing off one against the other, can reduce wages to the lowest possible figure, and looking at these things they have said to themselves, "Union is strength," and so they have formed these trades unions as the best method by which they may improve their position. I venture to say that these trades unions are a sign of civilization. Organization is a result of civilization, and these organizations represent an advance in civilization amongst the working-classes. They had their dissatisfaction in days gone by, and they expressed it in burning ricks, in smashing up machinery, and ultimately in getting themselves hung. These were the methods of barbarous times. Trades unions are the product of more enlightened and civilized times, and the question which is put before us this evening is this—What should be the attitude of the Church towards these unions and combinations? My answer is that it should be an attitude of sympathy, of perfect, thorough, outspoken sympathy, and while I am not with those who think that we should be constantly interfering in this question, I do not hesitate to say it is right that the Church should express her true sympathy with the legitimate wants of the working-classes. There has been too much alienation hitherto. The time has come when the Church and the working-classes should be brought more closely together, and unless the Church shows its outspoken sympathy, I do not see any chance of a better feeling rising up. When we thus express our sympathy, there is an advantage that undoubtedly belongs to it. People with whom you have sympathy will more readily listen to your advice, and there are no doubt questions arising from time to time on which it would be very useful for the clergy to give advice to the working-classes. I am quite in sympathy with trades unions as being one of the best methods of meeting the difficulties between capital and labour, but I am not prepared to say that trades unions can never make mistakes, and feeling that these combinations may from time to time make mistakes, I do indeed feel that the more completely we sympathize with them in their legitimate actions, the better and the more readily will our advice be followed when we feel it incumbent upon us to tender them advice when we believe them to be going wrong. All of us will feel that there are things which may be taken up by trades unions which may have a very serious and bad effect upon the country. This country is the workshop of the world, and to play fast and loose with our trade, and drive it by interference to other countries, would be fatal to the happiness of the people. I heard a little while ago this question asked, How are those 100,000 people who are now out of work to be fed? I say they are to be fed, not by driving away trade, but by bringing more trade into the country; and

therefore I do not hesitate to say that while our position with regard to the working-classes in these combinations should be one of perfect and entire sympathy so far as their legitimate objects are pursued, there should be no lack of courage on our part in telling them that we think they are wrong when we feel that they are wrong. Indeed, I believe at the present time it is more than ever incumbent upon all those who pretend to love their fellows to have the courage of their convictions. There is a little too much of drifting with the tide and saying things for the mere sake of gaining applause. If we think a thing is wrong, we must have the courage to say so, even to the working-classes. If in these ways we make our position with them right, there will be for the future a better relationship between us and them. I know there are some people who think there is nothing before us but this competition, which must go on and work out its own course, with the inevitable result of the weak going to the wall. There is pictured almost a hopeless prospect, in which we see the lower classes degraded to the lowest level of poverty and misery, and sometimes as I look upon certain things I feel that this order of evil is indeed likely to be realized. When I see a tide of children being poured by improvident parents into the labour markets, I think of the effect which may be produced; but when, on the other hand, I see the influences of combination at work in our trades unions, in our friendly societies, in our co-operative societies, I have hope of better things, that the problems of the future may still be solved, and that more happiness to the working-people may arise.

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The Right Rev. Bishop BARRY, D.D., Canon of Windsor,  
late Primate of Australia.

If I am not able to contribute much to this very interesting discussion, and if the Congress is inclined to find fault with me for occupying a few moments of its time, I must lay the responsibility upon your Grace; for I came here to-night to listen, and not to speak; and it is only in deference to your command—and I am one of those who are old-fashioned enough always to defer to properly constituted authority—that I rise to offer a very few words upon this question. It has struck me, in listening to the whole discussion, that there has been a considerable ambiguity as to what we mean by “the Church,” and the attitude which “the Church” is to assume. Do we mean the attitude which the Church, as a body, and acting as a body, through its constituted authorities, is to take on this question? I imagine that you will all say that this is an action of the Church which, at any rate at this moment, is utterly impossible to take. Is it the individual action from the point of view of Church faith and Church life? Then I have observed, speaking generally—and I have noticed this particularly in the lay speakers—that whenever they speak of the Church they mean the clergy. They seem to forget that the Church consists of the laity as well as the clergy; that the laity on this matter are bound to act as Christians and as Churchmen; and that it is a matter on which we specially want the strength and soundness of lay opinion—opinion which ought to be guided quite as much as clerical opinion by the principle of Christian faith, and by the knowledge of Christian truth. I do not, of course, deny that it is a matter which very closely concerns us clergy, but I plead that it does concern also the whole body of the Church. I sometimes think that our brethren of the laity are very ready to tell us that we are not the Church when we assume authority, and yet to act as if they thought that we were the Church when the question is one of responsibility and sacrifice. If, then, this is the case, if we mean or ought to mean by the action of the Church on this matter to be the action of individual members of the Church, then I fully agree that our attitude towards this great question of labour combinations should be one of sympathy. But I add that the only sympathy which will be worth anything is a sympathy of independence. The Church has to remember that she is the Church, not of one class, but of all. She, at any rate, should not countenance that most mischievous and fallacious distinction which has been drawn between what are called the classes and the masses. And if the Church is the Church of the whole community, her sympathy with any part of that community, however great and important, must be a sympathy preserving its independence in virtue of the grander and wider duty which she has to do to the whole. Now, that there is strong sympathy on this matter in the great body of Churchmen, I have not the slightest doubt. Everywhere, from the great Lambeth

Conference of 1888 to this irresponsible Church Congress, it is being shown not only that the Church is deeply interested in the whole life of the Nation, but that she knows only too well that the present condition of the labouring population and the relations between labour and capital, constitute problems of the most critical importance, and—I fear I may add—problems also of much critical danger. By all means, therefore, let us show our appreciation of this great problem. Within their right sphere, let us strongly sympathize with trade combinations, as we should sympathize with any other great and legitimate organization which seeks to promote self-sacrifice and to help the weak. But yet we have to remember that in this matter it is the moral, rather than the directly material and economical element, with which the Church, as a Church, is fitted and bound to deal. In regard of these lower elements, I think it was your Grace who gave the wise advice to the clergy, that they had better not meddle in these labour disputes, but try, if they could, to understand them. Surely it is better to try to understand first, and to act afterwards, than to act first and to learn—as undoubtedly we should learn, with much pain to ourselves and others—through the mistakes that we should inevitably make. Therefore we must be anxious that those who in any way act or speak in the name of the Church, should not lose sight of the true central point with which they have to deal. I know, from some recent experience, that there is a very natural impatience amongst the working-classes of what they consider the slowness and transcendental character of moral principle; but this is one of those unwise impatiences, of those fatal mistakes, which it is the duty of the Church not to foster, but to correct. It will be a fatal error if for a moment we in any way, acting in the name of the Church, so absorb ourselves in lower agencies as to lose sight of that for which the Church exists—I mean the moral and spiritual regeneration of mankind to the light and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. There is one thing, moreover, which the Church is, in virtue of her national character, specially bound to consider, and of which very little has been said to-night, and that is the effect of the strong action of these combinations upon the whole community. Men look, for example, on a strike as a simple fight between master and men, which can only inflict evil upon either one or other class of combatants. They forget that there never was a strike which did not inflict untold evil on the great mass of the community at large, which had no concern in the origin of the struggle, and which was utterly powerless either to prevent or to stop it. Just because I care for the welfare of the whole people, I watch with some jealousy the action of these combinations, great and powerful as they are, which seek even the legitimate interest of a class, although that class is one of the most numerous; and when I heard the eloquent pleading of my friend Canon Scott Holland, who told us that the Church itself was a great combination, and that therefore we ought to sympathize with these class combinations, I thought that he had for a moment forgotten that the catholicity of the Church is a catholicity of combination of all classes, and so contradictory to the combination of any one class for victory over the others. Surely no class can fight for their own interest, even their highest interest, without consideration of the rights of individual freedom on one side, and the rights of loyalty to the whole community on the other.

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### JOHN JAMES JONES, Esq., F.S.A.

WHILST listening very carefully to the speeches which have been made this evening, and hearing and seeing with admiration and respect, and also consenting to much that has been said, I could not help feeling that after all there was hope yet for sympathy and practical help from the clergy to the working-classes. But I could not help thinking also that many of the clergy this evening have applauded what they would have thought twice over before giving utterance to such sentiments to their congregations next Sunday. It is one thing to agree with certain sentiments and certain ideas to-night in this hall; it is another thing to go forth boldly and manfully and speak out in the same way amongst a congregation of rich capitalists. There does exist to-day a great gulf between the rich and the poor, and the poor feel that the only way they have of improving their condition in life is by combination. Combination is by no means a new idea; it has rather been treated in that spirit this evening; but combination, or trades unionism, has a very long history. You will find it in the very large livery companies of London; you will find it in Folkestone, in Hythe, and in nearly all your towns in England, where freemen only were allowed

to trade. In this way wealth has been built up, and the poorer people feel that only by this combination can they raise themselves. Our worthy Bishop (Bishop Barry) spoke of people being in a hurry to improve their conditions. We all should be in a hurry to improve our condition if we found ourselves living eight, nine, ten, eleven, and twelve huddled in one room, paying enormous rents, and realizing every moment of the day that life was not worth living. The people have looked to the clergy. Have the clergy been faithful to them? Have the clergy done as the Lord Jesus Christ, who preached the Gospel to the poor? I ask you as clergymen to answer that with a clear conscience. Have you gone to preach to the poor of the good things, not only of the heaven above, but the good things of the heaven that commences here? And I say heaven cannot commence here unless you have plenty to eat and plenty to drink, and a good house to live in, or, at least, a fairly good house to live in. Your surroundings ought to give you a fair amount of comfort. It is no use going to those people and talking to them about something you do not know much about yourselves, and of which the very poor can know less. The working classes say, "Help us to lead this life in comfort, and we will then be taught something about a higher, nobler, and better life." One thing which the clergy forget is, that many have come from the ranks of trades and tradesmen, from the people themselves. Some of you, probably, have learned trades, and you forget to tell them that fact from your pulpit. You do not speak of Christ as a working-man, who deeply sympathizes with the toilers. You do not go and speak to the people very often in that particular way. I believe the people will be led and guided by their trade leaders because they believe that their only hope of social and moral improvement is by combination. They say that whoever suffers they must gain. I do not say I agree with that, but I do say it is a fact that is burning into their very souls to-day, and instead of looking to the clergy, to whom they ought to look, they are looking to those leaders who they believe, and realize it every day to be a fact, are improving their moral, social, and sanitary surroundings. If the clergy of the day would realize that they must bridge over the gulf which stands between the rich and the poor, they must know that that can only be done by entering most thoroughly into all that goes towards making the lives of the working-classes of this country happier and better, and everything that tends to the improvement of their condition in every possible way. I do trust we shall keep before our minds that trades unionism is no new scheme. It is something that has been adopted by the clergy themselves in another form, and almost every trade and profession in the country. The working-men have learned the lesson that you and others have taught them, and they are using the weapons you have placed in their hands. The clergy should be in the front to lead and to help the people in temporal things, and, when they have done that, the people will believe in spiritual things. The workmen of this country will stand by the Church in the same proportion as the Church stands by and helps them to enjoy the good things of this world.

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### The Rev. J. W. HORSLEY, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Woolwich.

I HAD not the least intention of taking any part in this debate, and I only do so on the solicitation of a friend who has sent my card up to your Grace. Well, I am glad of the opportunity, although what I have to say will be an entirely impromptu speech, and such, we know, take longer time for preparation than any others. I should like to say this—that we have heard a great deal of advice given to the clergy, who have been asked not to throw their weight on this side or on that of the two parties who are balancing upon a see-saw. What I think some speakers have forgotten is, that in popular opinion, and as many believe in actual truth, the weight of the clergy has already been thrown on one side, and that side is not the side of labour. I know we have had profound sympathy with the poor. I know we have been as ready to give a man five shillings for what we believe to be a deserving object, as the man himself has been to call us fools behind our backs for giving him the money. But it is not without truth, this clamour about the squire and the parson. Of course it is exaggerated. The memories of Parson Lot and Charles Kingsley, and innumerable brave men, will show that it is a calumny which some of us feel very deeply, when we are told that the parson and the squire are always a bad lot, and always in the same boat together. But there is truth on the other hand, and we are not so unprejudiced as people could desire, as our sympathies are not mainly with labour, but with

capital. There is one other reason not touched on why we should urge our working-men to join trades unions. It is not merely for the protection of the weak, although if it be true that we know nothing of masses and classes, it is true also that our Master's prejudice was distinctly on one side. He found that the many were the weak, and He would find the case the same at the present day. Their only refuge is in combination, and they make for combination in self-defence. Come back to Woolwich with me, and I will show you that the best men there are men who are connected with trades combinations. Ask me where you will find the men who are not in any trades union, and I will tell you in the pothouse. When a man joins a union, his moral and intellectual life is raised. I have seen it over and over again, that when men have got together in these bodies, their mental qualities have been improved, and they have begun to learn mutual self-respect, and how crude notions can be readily elevated and developed. There is no doubt of it that great mental and moral, as well as material advantages, accrue to the men from being associated together in their unions, and, I say, let there be active encouragement and co-operation on the part of the clergy in their attitude towards these unions. Let them encourage men to join unions that already exist, and to form them where they do not exist. There is one matter, especially, in which these unions may be of service, and that is, in dealing with the housing of the poor—an important matter which, I regret, is not to be found in the programme of the Church Congress. Thank God we have such a union in Woolwich, called the Tenants' League, and though it is not representative of all the tenants in the place, and has to fight a very up-hill battle against the capitalist landlords, yet the work done by it is something to thank God for, and to inspire us with hope and courage. There are many capitalists who, if they be honest, will say, like Ahab, to the clergy, "Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?" Leave me alone. Why do you interfere in these political or social matters? What do you know about the incidence of rent? Why do you talk about the housing of the poor? Stick to your spiritual duties. Go and distribute a tract, and don't try to drive away scarlet fever. Sometimes we have to answer to them, "Yea, I have found thee," and while these evils remain, while I gather two feet fungi from the floor of a cottage in my parish, and while I find it impossible for poor tenants to stand up against capitalist landlords and their perpetual raisings of rent, I say, "I will find thee, God helping me, while I have breath to do so." Times come when a young man thinks he is alone. Then I pray, "Lord, open the eyes of the young man, that he may see how these unions may become to him bonds of strength." Let the Church be wise in time. Never stop a man from joining a union. Do all you can to encourage men to join unions where they do exist, and to promote the formation of unions where they are not to be found.

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The Rev. E. WOOD EDWARDS, Vicar of Ruabon,  
Canon of S. Asaph.

LIVING as I do in a mineral district, having been appointed Vicar of Ruabon in 1862, I may say that I have, personally, had some experience in the attitude that has actually been taken by the Church in our district towards labour combinations. And in these days of direct attack on the National Church in Wales, it may be not without interest to Churchmen in this vast assembly, to know, that in this important agricultural and mineral parish, the Welsh Church has not been altogether indifferent to the wants of the population. Fifty-five years ago Ruabon church was the only church in the parish. Now, the one parish has been sub-divided into four, with four parish churches, four National schools, two other churches, and several mission rooms. During the thirty years that I have been vicar of the parish, there has never been any direct interference on the part of the Church between employer and employed. Indirectly, however, the influence the Church has had in these matters has probably been considerable. In the strikes that have taken place, some serious and prolonged, though, I am thankful to say, not in recent years, the part taken by the Church has always been, not to attempt to mediate in any way on the questions in dispute, but to come forward to organize relief funds, soup kitchens, and the like, in aid of the poor sufferers in such an unhappy state of things, in which they are, of course, individually helpless, and, as far as possible, to enlist the sympathies of the employers in the work. There will necessarily be "hard times" for employers and employed. But I think I may venture to say that, at least, speaking generally, the record of such times

in our Welsh mining districts will show that it cannot be said of the masters that they do not care for their workmen in time of adversity; or that the very masters who may be suffering from the stoppage of their works will willingly stand by and see their workmen and their families in distress. To encourage this kind of feeling, that the great truth should not be lost sight of, so vividly taught in that saying of the wise man, "Rich and poor meet together—the Lord is the Maker of them all," would seem to be one of the special duties of our National Church. Labour combinations, if based on right principles, ought not to tend to weaken, but rather to strengthen, such feeling. It can, I think, hardly be questioned that labour combinations are a necessity. They are necessary in the interests of employers and employed. In fact, the interests of both are really identical. The working-man has a right to share in the prosperity of the trade in which he is employed in proportion to his skill and industry, while, on the other hand, when trade is bad, the employer cannot afford to pay the same high rate of wages. If, for instance, in any manufacture, the export trade is weakened or destroyed through the cheaper production of the same goods abroad, not only would the employers suffer through the closing of their works and factories, but the employed would necessarily suffer equally. Now these questions and the like would be much more likely to be fairly discussed by properly organized combinations on either side, than if left to individual employers and employed. The employers individually, looking to their own interests, would, no doubt, be too apt to take a one-sided view of things; and the men, if left to themselves, would be too easily led away by selfish agitators, who often speak of "sins of capital and rights of labour" in such a way as to lead the working-men to look upon capitalists as their enemies; whereas they are really the friends, without whose help the working-man could find no sphere for his work. For these reasons, it seems to me that the attitude that should be taken by the Church towards labour combinations would be to encourage the men to become members of such combinations properly organized on the Christian basis of equity and justice. And then there are questions that can only be ordered by legislation, and where their attainment would seem conducive to the physical, social, and moral improvement of the people, the attitude of the Church towards labour combinations ought surely to be that of hearty sympathy with their efforts in this direction. For instance, the Eight Hours' Bill now before the country would certainly be a great boon to colliers, and especially to the boys employed in our collieries, who have now to work for nine-and-a-half hours a day, and the heat in some of the pits is very great. The consequence of this is, that they often come up from their work perfectly exhausted. So that some legislation of this kind would seem necessary from a National point of view. But, besides the questions of hours and wages, there are other legitimate uses for labour combinations. They might be useful in protecting the men against themselves. It has been recorded of a great man that he should have said, that he "would rather see a free England, than an England made sober by Act of Parliament." But if the men are to be deprived of their liberty by legislation to work more than eight hours a day, they may well combine to deprive themselves of similar liberty as regards the public-house day. Labour combinations might also well aim at enforcing the proper and regular inspection of mines, already provided for by law for the safety of those employed in them, monthly or otherwise, instead of, as is too often the case, at least thoroughly, simply after some great accident. They might also be useful in enforcing the provisions of the Employers' Liability Act, instead of allowing the men to contract themselves out of it, as is often done now, making the Act virtually a dead letter. The Church is the poor man's Church, and as such can but give its hearty sympathy to those combinations, based on right principles, as have for their object to obtain for working-men such advantages on the basis of justice and equity as they could not individually obtain for themselves. And there can be little question that, in the future as in the past, in Wales as in England, the Church will grow with the nation—not only will remain the National Church, but the more the nation grows in culture and education, will become more and more firmly established in the hearts and affections of the people.

The Rev. R. R. DOLLING, Winchester School Mission,  
Portsea.

WORDS have been quoted from the Archbishop which insist that the clergy "must understand before they presume to advise on the labour question." And this, as it seems to me, is just what the clergy cannot do, and, I believe, will never be able to

do until they have gained true "compassion" for the majority of their parishioners. If I try to understand the word "compassion" as our Lord taught it, nay, lived it, I interpret it to mean suffering with the people; making His life like their lives; knowing from practical experience their privation and needs, and their very way of looking at all questions which touch these needs. When the clergy do this they will understand these awful questions, and be able to give such advice as may lead their people to have wiser aims, and in some sense to live up to them. The point, therefore, that I want to strike home is this; we want a different training for our clergy, and afterwards, a different mode of living. Brought up in a public school, and then going to Oxford or Cambridge, living oftentimes luxuriously, a young man goes down to a parish to find a like gentlemanly tradition in the vicarage, with dinner parties and lawn tennis at the "squire's," and at the houses of upper class parishioners. What "compassion" can he have for the working-man and his needs? Or even if at a theological college he learns theology, it remains altogether unquickened until suffering or pain has made it a vital reality in his life. Instead of all this, let him be trained to live as the poor live; if possible, even eating their food; surrounded by the same influences; beset, in some sense, by the same temptations. We may say what we like, but the truth is that the working-men of England, whether in agricultural or in town parishes, do not believe that the clergy of the Church of England are their friends. If we say otherwise we deceive ourselves. They have a right to expect that we should live as "the Master" lived. He who "touched" the souls of men, not merely by divine intuition knowing what was in man, but by the experience bought in Nazareth and by the Sea of Galilee, spoke a message which went home to those who heard it; they were healed and strengthened, cured and purified; the touch of a true "compassion," because of a perfect experimental knowledge of their lives. And if ever the Church of England is to make men free, and draw them under the influence of Christ, it must be by this Christ-like method. I grant it that our education ought to enable us to deal with what are called the "upper classes;" but surely it is the most fatal policy to perfectly equip ourselves for the healing of the few, and leave the masses untouched. The "working-man" is not to be deceived by any counterfeit of "compassion." He demands of those who speak Christ's words, and rebuke with Christ's authority, that they should live as Christ lived.

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## THE THEATRE.

TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 4TH, 1892.

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The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF DOVER in the Chair.

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## THE WORK OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND ON THE CONTINENT.

### PAPERS.

The Right Rev. C. W. SANDFORD, D.D., Bishop of Gibraltar.

IN a paper which I read at the Church Congress held eight years ago at Carlisle, on the subject of foreign chaplaincies, I gave a sketch of their history. As I showed in that paper, the work of the Church of England on the Continent began shortly after the Reformation. No sooner was communion severed between us and Rome than our Church perceived that unless she herself made provision for the spiritual wants of her people residing abroad, they would be left without the sacraments and other ordinances of public worship. At first the chaplaincies



which she established were confined to a few British factories, regiments, and embassies. It was soon found necessary to place these chaplaincies under episcopal superintendence. Danger at that time came from Geneva, not from Rome. Tidings reached the ears of Laud, then Bishop of London, that the British merchants at Delph and Ham-borough in Holland were using a liturgy and discipline framed on a Calvinistic or Genevan model. He at once resolved to interfere, and had the matter brought before the Privy Council, where it was debated, the King—Charles I.—himself being present. The following year, 1633, Archbishop Abbot meanwhile having died, and Laud having been appointed his successor, an order of the Privy Council was issued, directing, in reference to these congregations, that "all things regarding their Church government should be under the jurisdiction of the Lord Bishop of London as their Diocessan." The jurisdiction over these two congregations, assigned by this order of the Privy Council to the Bishop of London, was subsequently extended to all British congregations in foreign countries. And under his jurisdiction all Continental chaplaincies remained till just fifty years ago, when, owing to the great increase in their number, and the consequent impossibility that the Bishop should exercise effectual supervision over them, part were withdrawn from his charge, and formed into the new bishopric of Gibraltar. As matters now stand, while the British congregations in Northern and Central Europe are under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, those in the south and east are supervised by the Bishop of Gibraltar.

As Bishop Wilkinson, who acts as coadjutor to the Bishop of London in Northern and Central Europe, is here this evening to speak concerning his field of work, my words shall be confined to the chaplaincies under my own superintendence. The area over which these are spread embraces Spain and Portugal, the sea-board and islands of the Mediterranean and Adriatic, the kingdoms of Italy, Greece, and Roumania, Smyrna, Constantinople, and the shores of the Black Sea. The English congregations in Madeira, the Azores, the Canary Islands, in Morocco west of Tangier, and in Cyprus, have lately been taken from my charge, and assigned to other Bishops.

This extensive area comprises ninety chaplaincies in all; eighteen of them are temporary chaplaincies, served by clergymen from England during the months of summer. Thirty-four are held during the autumn, winter, and spring. Thirty-eight are permanent chaplaincies for the whole year. The patronage of all the summer chaplaincies, and of most of the others, is in the hands of two societies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Colonial and Continental Church Society. Three chaplaincies, maintained for missionary work at Tunis, Bucharest, and Constantinople, are in the patronage of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. The Bishop of Gibraltar appoints to ten. Twenty are in the patronage of trustees or of private individuals. All chaplains must have received episcopal licence or sanction before they enter on the duties of their office. It would be a great help to the work of our Church on the Continent, for reasons which all who are acquainted with that work will understand, if when the congregation or the builders of a church desire that the patronage should be administered by the bishop, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel would consent to hold the property, leaving

the patronage in his hands. The occupant of my see cannot, by the law of France or Italy, hold such property, and at present the societies decline to accept the property of a church in trust, unless they have also the patronage.

First, let me say a word about the summer chaplaincies. As the clergymen who hold these posts as a general rule change each month, it is impossible for a bishop to exercise any very effective supervision over this part of his work. He must trust the secretaries and committees of the societies, before they send him the licences for signature, to have made careful inquiry respecting the character and qualifications of the clergymen whom they nominate, and, as the congregations to whom they minister may consist of persons differing widely in views, to appoint none who are extreme in their opinions or practices. He must also trust the chaplains whom he licences to be at their posts at least a day before they begin their work, to make preparations for the orderly and reverent conduct of the service. They should bear in mind that the primary object for which these summer chaplaincies are maintained is not to give themselves a cheap and pleasant holiday, much as they may require and deserve rest and recreation, but to provide for the religious wants of their congregations. They should be always ready to sacrifice their own convenience and enjoyment, if the needs of the congregation require. Should they be appointed to a chaplaincy unprovided with a church, and have to officiate in some room of a hotel, they should, if possible, secure a room set apart exclusively for the purpose, and be careful not to incommode foreign visitors at the hotel. All arrangements connected with the administration of the Holy Communion, both before and after celebration, should be made by themselves, and never on any account left to a servant. Few clergy of our Church, I am thankful to say, need this word of caution. There is no Church whose services are conducted with so great reverence as our own. Once and again I have known members of Eastern Churches take their children to our services to teach them the duty of reverence during public worship.

When the subject of Continental chaplaincies is mentioned, the idea presented to the minds of many Englishmen is that of services conducted in a small chapel or in the saloon of a hotel, for the benefit of tourists visiting the Swiss mountains or the Italian lakes. But our Church conducts still more important work through the more permanent chaplaincies established elsewhere. At the close of every summer, hundreds of our countrymen escape from the fogs and cold winds of England to the shores of the Mediterranean. An estimate may be formed of the number from the fact that four churches are required at Cannes, two at Mentone, San Remo, Hyères, Nice, Florence, and Rome. Whatever may be our defects elsewhere, it cannot be denied that our Church is now well represented in our winter health-resorts. The chaplaincies are held by able and earnest men, who take extreme pains to supply their people with hearty and reverential services, and with helpful sermons, fitted both to interest and profit cultivated minds, and to deepen the spiritual life. The office of a chaplain at one of the popular health-resorts involves much anxious work, and demands great tact and experience. If in his congregation there are some who live only for amusement, there are also many who

are in ill-health, many who are solitary and friendless, many who are watching sick or dying relatives, many who are in sorrow and desolation of spirit. In his pastoral intercourse with these, a chaplain will find not a few waiting for the voice of sympathy, encouragement, and consolation. And for those whom the atmosphere of hotel life abroad tempts to drift into a daily course of idle amusement, a chaplain who has his heart in his work will take care to provide means of employing leisure profitably. Last season, for example, a plan was started on the model of the London Church Reading Union for delivering lectures on Church History to residents and visitors on the Riviera. Lectures were given at Cannes, Nice, Mentone, Bordighera, and San Remo. Rather more than 300 members joined the union. The experiment was a success, and I hope it may be repeated. At these and at other chaplaincies, as opportunity offers, instruction is given in the Holy Scriptures by the chaplain, and by others who form Bible-classes with their sanction. If time allowed I might mention many other means provided at these places of employing time usefully in furtherance of local or diocesan charities. The number of candidates whom a chaplain on the Continent has to prepare for confirmation would appear small to the incumbent of a parish in England. The smallness in the number, however, is, in some respects, a gain, as enabling the chaplains to give more individual attention to their candidates.

In addition to these chaplaincies which our Church has established for her people who spend part of the year, either summer or winter, on the Continent, she has chaplaincies to maintain for the benefit of English families permanently resident abroad. English merchants traders, manufacturers, governesses, artisans, miners, are settled in various parts of Europe. Groups of our countrymen are to be found wherever there is demand for skilled labour or industry.

In these settled colonies of our countrymen a valuable agency is provided by the Girls' Friendly Society for helping young Englishwomen, who may be engaged as servants, or may be studying languages, art, or music, or finding their livelihood as teachers in foreign households. Branches have been established at Lisbon, Malta, Constantinople, Odessa, and some other places. There are few cities, if any, frequented by English residents where the society is not represented by associates. If zealously and wisely worked, this organization may render good service to the cause of religion and virtue by saving young Englishwomen, left in distant lands without the restraints, supports, and examples of their English homes, from drifting into careless or evil ways, and by keeping them true to those habits of faith and piety which they learnt in early years. It is advisable that when such persons are going abroad alone they should be enrolled as members before they leave the country, and that they should be carefully commended to the associate of the place where they are to reside.

There remains one more field of pastoral labour for me to name, afforded by our sailors of the mercantile service, who in large numbers frequent foreign harbours. No class of our community more needs the ministrations of our Church, for no class is exposed to so many or so great temptations, and yet no class till recent years has been more neglected. When I first entered upon my present office, I found that no efforts were made on any systematic plan to promote their moral and

religious welfare. No sailors' homes or institutes had then been opened to protect them from the crimps, and other agents of evil, who are ever on the alert to waylay our seamen as soon as they come ashore, and decoy them into wineshops and worse places, where they are drugged and sometimes robbed of all that they possess. Now, I am thankful to say, work is set on foot to aid our sailors in their hard and tempted lives in all the more important harbours, from Bilbao in the Bay of Biscay to Odessa in the Black Sea, through the agency of chaplains, Scripture-readers, and sailors' homes or reading-rooms. If only sufficient funds can be raised year by year to maintain and extend the work, I hope to see all the larger foreign ports connected by a chain or network of such institutions. There are two societies of our Church, the Missions to Seamen, and St. Andrew's Waterside Church Mission, and another not exclusively Church society, the British and Foreign Seamen's Society, which I have to thank for aid in prosecuting this work. But as the help given by these home organizations was altogether insufficient to supply our needs, and their aid had only been extended to a very few ports, I was obliged to give special attention to this work, and, as it developed, to establish the Gibraltar Mission to British and American Seamen. The work of this Mission is conducted for the most part in harbours where nothing had been done previously for the sailors, and elsewhere it co-operates heartily with the other societies which I have named, and supplements their work. The importance of this Mission is shown by the fact that about 135,000 British merchant seamen annually visit Gibraltar, 100,000 Malta, 36,000 Bilbao, 25,000 Genoa, 20,000 Marseilles, 10,000 Venice, Palermo, and Odessa. There are now twenty large ports in which the Gibraltar Mission has agencies employed to influence our sailors for good, to shelter them from temptation, to give them instruction and rational amusement, and to provide them with opportunities of attending Divine worship. This work is liberally supported by our people at Cannes and other places abroad, but hitherto little help has come from our great merchants and shipowners in England, though it has special claims upon them for support, and their aid from time to time has been solicited.

Let me now say a word on the principal difficulties and drawbacks with which our Church has to contend in her work on the Continent. One is the distance which separates chaplaincy from chaplaincy. The position of a chaplain is generally one of great isolation. When questions of difficulty arise he has no brother clergyman at hand to consult. Synods and conferences, which are parts of the regular machinery of a diocese in England, and are found to be powerful instruments in furthering pastoral work, in quickening zeal, and in strengthening the bonds of brotherly union, are impracticable in a field of labour that stretches from the Bay of Biscay to the Black Sea. A conference of the clergy holding chaplaincies along the Riviera from Marseilles to Genoa I have, indeed, twice held, and hope to hold again; and the chaplains of Cannes, and of other places within easy reach of Cannes, are now accustomed to meet together from time to time to deliberate on matters of common interest affecting their work; but a conference of all the clergy under my supervision is an impossibility.

Another drawback is the constant changes both in the clergy and in

the congregations. Of the sixty-two clergymen who were serving chaplaincies when, eighteen years ago, I entered on the duties of my office, five only remain. The clergy serving the summer chaplaincies, as I have already said, change each month ; many of those who serve the winter chaplaincies change each season, and I regret to say not a few of those who serve chaplaincies which are called permanent change each year. These constant changes in the case of the summer chaplaincies are perhaps unavoidable, and, as the congregations also change from Sunday to Sunday, are not felt to be an evil ; but they are an evil, and greatly injure our Church's work in the case of the more permanent chaplaincies. If the chaplain be changed from season to season, there can be no continuity of work, and progress consequently cannot be expected. Places I might mention where the English residents sorely complain of the repeated changes. No sooner have they become acquainted with the chaplain than he leaves them for work elsewhere ; and while he is with them they feel that he is giving his heart and thoughts more to some permanent work which he may have at home, than to his present temporary sphere of duty. To the passing tourists it makes little or no difference whether the chaplain is or is not permanent, for they have their churches with their regular ministrations and means of grace elsewhere. Not so with the permanent residents at places like Turin, Milan, and Seville ; to these members of our Church the chaplain is their only pastor to whom they can go for counsel or comfort ; and if his ministrations are to be effectual, they must have learned to look upon him as a friend who knows their special wants and circumstances, and takes a personal interest in their individual welfare. If he come among them for one year or for one season only, in search of health, rest, or change, though he may faithfully perform the services on Sunday, yet possibly he may never make the acquaintance of all the residents, who may live at a distance from one another, and in places hard to find, and he may not even discover all the poorer members of his flock. No doubt our Church has suffered abroad, as she has often suffered at home, from men remaining at their posts after they have reached that time of life when bodily strength and mental power generally begin to wane, and when, from being wedded to their own long-practised ways and usages, they are averse to change, though change and improvement may be imperatively needed. But if our Church on the Continent has suffered from chaplains staying too long at their posts, she has suffered still more from chaplains not staying long enough.

The congregations, also, are continually changing. When, in one of my tours, I return to a place visited two or three years before, I may find an entire change both in the chaplain and in the congregation. At Gibraltar and Malta, with the exception of a few merchants and their families, and a few civilians holding permanent offices, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the English community changes every five years. At places such as Constantinople, Genoa, Lisbon, Oporto, and Smyrna, the permanent element is larger, as the chief representatives of our country are merchants ; but since the invention of steam and the telegraph, this element has been greatly reduced. At the winter health resorts, though the owners of villas and not a few others return year after year, the congregations are subject to perpetual fluctuations, which are a great hindrance in the way of systematic and continuous work. At

the opening of each new season helpers have to be enlisted, committees re-cast, choirs formed, the acquaintance of their congregations to be made by the chaplains, and most of the work organized anew.

A further hindrance is the smallness of our resources. We have no funds available for the support of the chaplaincies beyond the offertory and other voluntary contributions raised from season to season or from week to week, except in the case of a few places which receive small grants from the societies at home. The grants made for 1892 by the Colonial and Continental Church Society to chaplaincies under my supervision amount to about £340, and by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to £85, together with £300 for the society's missionary work at Constantinople. Until late years, chaplaincies were maintained at our embassies and legations, and in the chief commercial centres, where British consuls resided, by aid of a small annual Parliamentary grant made through the Foreign Office. There are now in the area of my work only six places—Madrid, Athens, and Constantinople, Marseilles, Malaga, and Trieste—where this aid is given, the last three being retained as having exceptional claims for help because frequented by numerous British sailors. The congregations at all other places are now left dependent on their own resources, and at some of them, where the permanent English residents are few in number and of slender means, they experience great difficulty in maintaining the chaplaincies. The stipends, consequently, which they can offer a chaplain for his services are miserably small, and sometimes are barely sufficient to provide a livelihood, even should the utmost frugality be practised. When English travellers visit such places and attend public service, they ought not to severely criticize everything that may seem amiss. If there are blemishes, they may be sure that they have been seen by other eyes besides their own. It is easier to discover than it is to remedy defects. Where there is the will to make improvements, whatever the proverb may aver, there is not always the way. The spiritual needs of the small English colonies spread over the Continent require that these chaplaincies should be maintained; but in places where the income is less than that given to a curate in England, where there is neither society, nor climate, nor scenery to attract, where the field of duty is narrow and discouraging, and where a man finds himself cut off from his friends, from prospects of advancement, and from the interest of our Church's life at home, we cannot expect the chaplaincies to be filled by the best men whom our Church can produce, or that the music and other accessories of worship should have reached the level of efficiency attained by our churches in London.

Another great hindrance to the work of our Church in some places abroad is the lax observance of the Lord's Day. Speaking generally, I should say that Sunday is as well observed by our countrymen on the Continent as it is at home. The services in our churches at Gibraltar, in Malta, on the Riviera, and in Italy, are attended by numerous and devout worshippers. But in places where Englishmen settle for purposes of business, they not unfrequently fall into careless habits, forget the godly usages and traditions of the English Sunday, and adopt the practices of the country in which they are sojourning. While their wives and children attend public worship, they themselves devote the day to business or amusement. They may be clerks in an office, where

their employers keep them all the morning at their desks ; or they may be representatives of mercantile companies in England, which issue their telegrams when the offices close on Saturday afternoon, and these telegrams demand immediate attention on Sunday morning. The managers of these companies at home probably themselves maintain the sacred character of the day, and accompany their families to the parish church ; but they forget that the privileges of the Sunday as a day of rest and worship are the right of the servant as well as of the master, of the clerk or agent abroad as well as of his employers in England. The annual reports supplied by chaplains ministering to British seamen contain frequent complaints of the great hindrances to their work caused by the unnecessary increase of Sunday labour. Representations on this subject have been addressed to the principal shipowners and managing directors of steamship companies, inviting their co-operation in discouraging and lessening, so far as possible, Sunday labour on board ships in port. In Great Britain, and in nearly all our self-governed colonies, Sunday cargo work is now forbidden, while in others a heavy prohibitive fine is charged. The laws of France allow it on payment of a few additional francs to Custom-house officials. British ships which cannot work cargoes on this side the Channel on Sunday, work them on the French side, while Scandinavian, Finnish, and Russian ships rest on the Lord's Day. In Portugal the laws nominally prohibit Sunday cargo work, but "packet privileges" to work cargoes, given to mail steamers, have now been extended to all other vessels, and consequently Sunday rest has ceased on the Tagus. In Italy till quite lately Sunday cargo work was unknown, but it is now practised by British steamers in several Italian ports. This evil of Sunday labour has occupied the attention of the Missions to Seamen Society and its active Secretary, who are endeavouring by representations made to the Government, as well as to the shipowners, to get Sunday cargo work and coaling in foreign ports restricted so far as possible, and to secure rest on the Lord's Day for British seamen.

There is not time for me to speak, nor, perhaps, am I expected to speak, of the missionary work conducted at Tunis, Bucharest, and Constantinople. The chaplains engaged in this work have from time to time presented converted Jews and Turks to me for confirmation. The Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews permits its chaplains at these places to hold divine service for our countrymen on the condition that this duty is not allowed to interfere with their special work, and that they receive no remuneration, but perform the duty as a labour of love. As these missionaries have not had experience of ministerial duty in an English parish, and in some cases are not Englishmen, travellers who may avail themselves of their ministrations should not expect them to be conducted in exact accordance with English usage, and should be grateful to them for their gratuitous labours.

There are persons at home who object to the existence of English churches and chaplaincies on the Continent, and say that when we are abroad we should attend the churches of the country which at the time we may be visiting. Would that the divisions of Christendom were healed, and that this were possible ! But what are the facts ? If we

attended the churches of Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, or Malta, we should be refused the sacraments, unless, indeed, we concealed that we were members of the Church of England. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that, as I have already shown, our chaplains have other pastoral duties to perform besides that of conducting public worship. There are children to be instructed, young people to be sheltered from evil, candidates to be prepared for confirmation, and in some places there is much work to be done for our sailors. The passing visitor sees nothing of this ministerial work, and yet it is most important work, and such as could never be transferred to the clergy of other communions, who, be it observed, would be Roman, Lutheran, Greek, Armenian, Coptic, according to the country in which our people might be settled. Until we are all united in one bond of truth and peace, and I must add, all speak the same language, our countrymen residing with their families abroad will continue to require English churches and chaplaincies, whatever enthusiasts at home may think or write on the matter.

But while we continue this work, I would notice that it is restricted to our own people. We have no mission to make proselytes or interfere in any way with other Churches. In accordance with the traditional policy of our Church, we confine our ministrations to members of our own communion. We maintain this attitude, however, in no spirit of insularity or selfish isolation. No ; we are ready to assist in all benevolent enterprises, wherever we are stationed ; we are willing to give counsel, whenever we are asked for it, and to show sympathy whenever occasion offers. We are anxious, moreover, to further the cause of reform ; but we feel that the most effective and the most brotherly way open to us of furthering this object is to endeavour in our own services and ministrations to exhibit the principles, doctrines, and worship of a Church at once Reformed and Catholic. One purpose for which the bishopric which I hold was established was to promote mutual knowledge and friendly relations between the Church of England and the historic Churches of the East. This purpose the four bishops who have held the see have consistently and diligently endeavoured to fulfil. And owing in some measure to our efforts, and the efforts of the chaplains working with us at Athens, Corfu, Smyrna, Constantinople, Bucharest, and Odessa, many a cloud of ignorance, prejudice, and misconception has been rolled away, and brotherly respect and affection have been strengthened between ourselves and our Eastern brethren. We may think that the Churches of the East have been too stationary, too reluctant to admit change, too apt to centre their affections on the past. But whatever defects we find, or fancy we find, in these historic Churches, remembering the long and noble services they have rendered to the cause of Christ during long centuries of isolation, suffering, and bondage, we have scrupulously abstained from sowing seeds of discord or schism among their people. In an interview which I had not long ago with the Metropolitan of Athens he said to me, in reference to attempts which had been made to draw Greeks from their Church, that he "could not understand how, when the whole field of heathendom lay before them, men would try to upset the faith of those who were already Christians."

Hitherto I have spoken of the duties which Englishmen living or



sojourning abroad have to fulfil in regard to our Church's work on the Continent. One word I must say, in conclusion, concerning the duties of Englishmen at home in reference to this work. One very important duty is not to depreciate the work, not to treat it as unimportant, not to refuse it their interest and sympathy, and, I must add, not to comment upon it in words of censure unless they are really acquainted with the facts. The sweeping, reckless, indiscriminating criticisms passed upon it last year in letters which appeared in the public papers were cruelly unjust to those who, either as chaplains, church officers, or members of committees, abroad or at home, have for long years been endeavouring, and not unsuccessfully, to remove defects, improve the services, and deepen religious life. If there still remain defects here and there, much as I deplore them, I venture to observe that defects are not confined to our churches on the Continent, nor are bright and well-ordered services, or thoughtful, eloquent, and edifying sermons confined to our churches at home.

Speaking generally, I can say from personal knowledge of recent years, that they have been a time, not of stagnation or retrogression, but of earnest labour, life, and growth to our Church on the Continent. Within my own field of supervision, fresh work, such as that amongst our sailors, has been taken in hand; more than thirty new chaplaincies have been established, twenty-eight new churches or chapels have been erected, and many existing churches have been enlarged and beautified. Among these are not a few which would be objects of just pride to any English parish.

Other duties I have also to name. Some Englishmen when they come abroad act as though it mattered little to what communion they belonged, as though their Church had no definite principles, as though it were of no consequence at what altars they worshipped. Now no fault can be found, if, with the view of obtaining information respecting the usages of other communions, our people occasionally attend their services. But they should remember that their conduct is scanned by watchful and not always very friendly eyes, and that any inconsistency, any extravagance, or any irreverence is sure to attract attention, and to be quoted to the disparagement of our Church. Then, surely, if they avail themselves of the services provided them in our own churches, they should bear their share of the cost. It should never be the case, as I regret to say it often is, that the number of the coins given at the offertory is less than the number of worshippers, and that among the coins are found pieces of absolutely no value. If all our fellow-Churchmen when they come abroad would do their part and duty in reference to "The Work of the Church of England on the Continent," supporting its authority, worshipping at its altars, aiding its labours, and supplying by their contributions the means of improving, where they need to be improved, its services of worship, it would soon become, if it be not already, a worthy offshoot of our Church at home.

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The Right Rev. THOMAS EDWARD WILKINSON, D.D., Coadjutor to the Bishop of London for Northern and Central Europe.

I.—FOR how many centuries English factories, colonies, and communities have existed upon the Continent of Europe, I am unable to state, but their number and importance was so considerable in the reign of Charles II., that, so far as we can learn, it was found necessary in that reign, by an Order in Council, to place all British subjects residing upon the Continent under the charge of the Bishop of London and his successors.

In the year 1842, the British living in Southern Europe were episcopally provided for by the foundation of the See of Gibraltar. But for some unexplained reason, unless it was that no British possession, except Heligoland, existed in North and Central Europe, that part of the Continent remained without any further Episcopal influence than that which successive Bishops of London were able intermittently to provide through any chance bishop whose good offices they were able to secure. Under this condition of things, when a confirmation was needed, or the consecration of a church required, it was by no means certain that the assistance of such a chance bishop could be obtained when desired. Not unfrequently the English community abroad had to wait, and wait a long while, and then get *when* it could *whoever* it could. After expectations raised, perhaps the chance bishop did not come at all; if he did, he performed the work required of him, and he went his way feeling little or no sympathy either in the chaplain or in his people. How could he, with his own work, perhaps overwork, elsewhere? It was not his fault, it was the fault of the system, or rather the want of system under which he thus erratically laboured. And so, again, when the English abroad wanted a chaplain, they had to get him as best they could. Sometimes he was licensed, sometimes he was not. I even know of one case in which a priest took upon himself the functions of a bishop and went through the service for the consecration of a new church. Thus left to themselves, all manner of scandals crept in, and these scattered, uncared-for English drifted into all kinds of ecclesiastical irregularities. Some of the best drifted away to foreign protestant bodies, others joined the Roman Church, others drifted nowhere, and lost altogether what religion they had. For instance, and to go no further, the nearest Continental chaplaincy to Folkestone furnishes us with a very ready example of the neglect with which I am dealing. For forty years, from the peace of 1815 to 1865, the 3,000 English lacemakers of Calais were left with no English chaplain to care for them, and the harvest of our neglect which we have lived to reap there I will leave you to imagine. Again, in so great a place of English tourist resort as Chamonix, Bishop Oxenden, in his recently published autobiography, tells us that in 1847 the very proposal to hold a Sunday service in a private room of his hotel brought down upon him the protest of the landlord, and even the Mayor of Chamonix. When the English stood firm, as their manner is, the terrified Swiss, fearful as to the effects of the threatened worship, begged, like poor Ethelbert of old, in this same county of Kent, now many years ago, that at least the unknown function might be performed in the open air, offering (what seems to us to-day ludicrously grotesque) "to provide

a carpet, chairs, and whatever else was necessary" for the due celebration of the dreaded mysteries.

And yet there were those, and they still exist, who said that the English abroad needed no churches or chaplains, that they have the Church of Rome, and to that Church they ought to go. It is painful enough to be estranged from others through circumstances over which you have no control, but it adds very much to the pain to be told, by those who do not know what they are talking about, that you ought to be upon the best terms with those from whom you are so estranged ; and that if you are not, you ought to be. And now it is time to enquire what was the consequence of this condition of things? Well, it was this, and many of you know by personal experience that it *was* so. The Anglican Church on the Continent became a byeword, an expression to represent anything that was disorganized and discreditable in Church matters. How could it be otherwise? What would become of an army sent into the field without a general, of a ship sent to sea without a captain, of a city without a municipality, or of a large family without a head? And so the services of our Church, with some few exceptions, were slovenly, or at best very poor ; the buildings, if we had any, were of the worst possible type, and those who ministered in them could too often give but a poor account of their antecedents. In a word, in matters ecclesiastical, things were alike a disgrace to our Church and nation. This was, in no exaggerated terms, the state of things a few years ago ; and the Anglican Church on the Continent was, as a consequence, looked upon as a respectable necessary evil, for which the English traveller scarcely dared to enquire here and there as the Continental Sunday came round. But those old dark days and ways are past, and past, let us hope, for ever ; and the travelling English, who are very severe critics in Church matters, tell us that there is a very general advance and improvement along the whole line, for within the last decade the tide of Anglican Church life upon the Continent has very remarkably turned. Our services are almost everywhere better and more reverently conducted than they used to be ; new churches, more worthy of our Church and Nation, are springing up year by year in many of these Continental parishes, and taking the place of those unworthy corners in which we were at one time content to hide ourselves, our light, our influence.

And for this improved state of things in our permanent chaplaincies I am gratefully aware how much I owe to good, earnest, generous laymen. In many places we owe everything to such men. They have given, in many instances, their time, their talents, their money to raise the Anglican Church from the condition to which she had fallen upon the Continent, and have spared themselves no labour or trouble in working with the bishop and his chaplains to place her in the position which she is beginning to hold abroad. They, of all others, know our weak points, our many difficulties, our grave disabilities. But they would be the last men to make them worse, as the manner of some is, as they have been the first and foremost in lending us a helping hand to make them better. It is only those who labour behind the scenes who know how exceedingly complex and full of difficulty the work of the Anglican Church abroad is. For what are the circumstances she is required to face? In North and Central Europe there are ten nations—Norway, Sweden, Denmark,

Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, and Russia. Scattered broadcast through these nations are nearly one hundred what we here in England call parishes; abroad we call them chaplaincies. Some of them contain highly cultivated English people, others contain artisans and factory hands, others large numbers of young men, lads, boys and girls found in technical and other schools, banks, offices, shops, and various places of business. These are in many instances practically homeless, and as a consequence unsheltered from the dangers and temptations of Continental life; to say nothing of governesses and servants, as well as stablemen and jockey boys in the great racing centres of Continental Europe. These *resident* fellow-countrymen number about 70,000 in North and Central Europe alone. Then there is the floating sailor population trading to and from the ports of Holland, Belgium, France, North Germany, Russia, and Scandinavia; they number probably some 213,000. The opportunities of these British sailors when at sea are *nil*, and in foreign ports, where they are exposed to every vile temptation, and their very Sundays desecrated by Sunday labour, are few indeed.

And still we have not got to the end of this strangely diverse and complex work. Hundreds of thousands of English tourists make North and Central Europe their recreation ground, not, as formerly, from May to October, but more or less nowadays all the year round. There is certainly no diocese, if I may be allowed for a moment the expression, so well known to all of you here in England as North and Central Europe; and it is therefore one in which *you ought all to take* a great and helpful interest. You all know it more or less, and many of you know it better than your own native land. From London, from every great commercial city, from every provincial town, from almost every country village, a continuous stream of travelling English pour themselves over these ten nations to the number of perhaps 2,000,000 annually. And still, year by year, they come in ever increasing numbers. The beautiful shores and inlets of the Norwegian fiords are becoming in the far north what the Swiss lakes and mountains are in mid-Europe. From the North Cape, where we find you standing almost as numerous as sea birds upon the Bass rock, watching the weirdness of the midnight sun, to the Basque provinces beneath the Pyrenees; and from Calais to the Asiatic border of Russia, *i.e.*, Siberia, we meet you at every turn. And this, remember, represents an area of some 800,000 square miles, an area that is eight times the size of Great Britain; and wherever these roaming English tarry for the Sunday, through about 300 permanent and season chaplaincies, they expect to find all that they have left behind them in the old country across the sea—a well appointed church, a good service, and a capable chaplain; and if they do not find all this we hear of it in not very measured terms. Personally, I am thankful to these severe critics, and hope they will continue their criticisms until all is set right along the whole line of our work. But I would point out to these English tourists what they seem to be unaware of, that the *season* chaplains come from the Church here at home, and only for a time. Any delinquency on their part, whether it be eccentricity in dress and manner, or conduct of services, should be laid before their own diocesan, and not made chargeable to the credit of the Church on the Continent. The holding of services by the season chaplains in rooms at hotels, hired

secular buildings, or foreign Protestant places of worship, is in my opinion very undesirable. It leads to slovenliness, irreverence, and much that is greatly to the discredit of our Church in the face of foreigners. Wherever such temporary arrangements are absolutely necessary, great care should be taken to ensure all things being done at least decently and in order. An English church may not of course be always necessary, but wherever the necessity exists it should always be, however small, the best we can build, the purest type we can reproduce, both in point of architecture and service, from what we have left behind us in the old country at home. But there is another side to this question, and it is this. If you expect to find all this ecclesiastical machinery thus ready to your hand abroad, it is your duty to join hands with us in creating it, and keeping all up to a proper working level. Till within the last few years, however, the Church at home has been content that we should show our worst upon the Continent, where we ought to have shown our best, till it has passed into a common expression on the part of foreigners coming upon an unusually ugly building of any kind, to say, "It is almost ugly enough to be the English church." The fact is, that for long years the English took no thought of all this. Coming abroad themselves for health or pleasure, they expected to find just what they had left behind them, and they neither asked whether the means existed, or put forth their finger to provide them. They expected to find order and discipline, and they did not commit themselves to the smallest act of self-denial to furnish that organization by which alone this condition of things could possibly exist.

II.—And this brings me to the second responsible feature of our position as a Church upon the Continent, and one which we should never have forgotten. In his proverbially independent insularity, the ordinary Englishman still refuses to learn when abroad that he is observed, and very closely observed, *in all his doings* by foreigners. He forgets that most of these foreigners know us only, as a nation, through those representatives whom they see coming amongst them year by year. And the representation has certainly not been in the past, either ecclesiastically, or perhaps socially, much to our credit.

And yet there were intelligent, observant, inquiring foreigners watching us in every place of our habitation or resort, willing to learn from us had we possessed anything to teach them, especially in Protestant countries where the historic Episcopate with its liturgy had been lost; waiting, in some instances *longing*, to be guided back to primitive doctrine and practice through the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church of Christ. But we had no guiding light to show, for indeed, in many places, the lamp of our Church's light and life had well nigh altogether gone out, and as a consequence many of these inquiring foreigners came to the conclusion—until quite lately, since the revival referred to in our Continental Church—that we were not a Church at all, but only one of those many sects which, counter-working one another, rend asunder our Christianity here at home. But at this point I would not be misunderstood. Our mission upon the Continent is simply and solely on behalf of our own countrymen. We are not there to proselytize, or in any way to interfere with other Churches. We are there to minister to those of our own communion who would not be admitted, even if they desired it (except by the old Catholics), to the communion of the Church of the

country in which they live, tarry, or travel. Of late years, however, since we have mended our ways, and gained direct Episcopal supervision, our Church upon the Continent has attracted a very considerable degree of attention, and created a very widespread interest amongst those intelligent, inquiring foreigners with whom she has come in contact. We see it repeatedly, we hear of it everywhere. I rarely hold a confirmation or perform any Episcopal function without the presence of interested and observant foreigners, and more than this, and in consequence of this, I venture to believe that our Church is destined to form that point of union in the future of Christendom which the learned Dr. Döllinger predicted of her, the value of which in the present day, when so deep a yearning for unity exists amongst the good and wise in all branches of the one Catholic Church of Christ, it is impossible to over-rate. The day may be, probably is, a very long way off, but it is the opinion of many leading minds at the present time, not only upon the Continent, but throughout the whole of Christendom, that if unity is ever reached, if we are ever to kneel side by side at one another's altars, and there cease to bite and devour, to neutralize and counterwork one another, it will only be reached through the Anglican branch of the Church of God. We find the thoughts of men of divers tongues, and widely divergent minds, converging more and more to this desired fulfilment of the Saviour's prayer, prayed in the last hours of His earthly life, that we all should be one before He came again to take account of the Church's stewardship. As the Bishop of Manchester expressed himself in his primary charge, when speaking of our Church's work and mission, "Such is our mother Church, the home of reverent piety, and rational liberty; the strong defence of Scriptural truth against superstitious corruption on the one hand, and thoughtless enthusiasm on the other; the one centre of Christian faith and charity upon which, if God will, the extreme wings of the Christian army shall one day fall back, and find again that unity of faith and thought of which we all so constantly deplore the loss."

And who can measure the importance of this issue? How few of us are far-seeing enough to grasp the great outcome in the future of events which are in process of operation. We Englishmen did not know until lately how great our colonial stewardship amongst the nations of the world by colonization was; what an empire we were forming for future generations, what history we were making. The beginnings, as with all beginnings of great things, were obscure and despised, and men esteemed them not. A small seed sown out of sight, to be developed in our day, and by confederation to become a mighty empire, such as old Rome never dreamt of in her wildest dreams. And so with the spiritual kingdom with which we have to do. A no less certain future of progress, and of united and uniting empire awaits this Church of ours wherever the great Head of the Church has been pleased to plant her; and He has planted her *everywhere*. Seed she is to-day upon the Continent of Europe, thrown out of sight amongst the nations with whom her lot is cast, to grow up in their midst, and to develop by confederation into what, if God will, shall form, as the Bishop of Manchester expresses it, "that centre of Christian faith upon which the extreme wings of the Christian army shall one day fall back, and find once more that unity of faith and thought of which we all so constantly deplore the loss."

How great a conception ! How universal a result ! And not a conception only, but a conception to be brought to the birth as surely as the Great Founder of the Church who conceived it fulfils all things which He conceives. The unity of Christendom ! The unity of an empire that has seen the wreck of every kingdom that has gone to pieces upon the stormy history of this most changeful world ; which has outridden them all ; is older than all, and shall go on—for such is the sure promise of the Founder of this kingdom—conquering, and to conquer, until the kingdoms of this world shall have become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ. Yes, and shall outlive that day too ; for He whose kingdom is to have no end, and who has reigned with her divided and militant, shall reign with her one and triumphant for ever and for evermore.

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### ADDRESSES.

The Rev. CHARLES FAULKNER, English Chaplain, Croix,  
France.

I HAVE much to say ; the time allotted me is short, so short that I hardly know where to begin. In speaking to you of the work of the Church of England on the Continent, we are seeking to bring before you certain facts, the importance and significance of which have certainly never been recognized by the Church at home. It is an oft told tale how we English people have taken possession of the void places of the earth, how we have built and are building up great nations in the far West, in the Southern seas, and on the Dark Continent. To-day we wish to lay stress on the hardly less remarkable fact of how we have spread ourselves over the Continent of Europe. The reasons why are manifold ; but from whatever cause, in the great seaports, in great industrial centres, in health resorts, or wherever special educational advantages are offered, our countrymen are found ; and so in almost every large city from Lisbon to Moscow, and from Athens to S. Petersburg, there is an English community and an English church, and we are face to face with what is called the work of the Church of England on the Continent.

There are people with tender consciences, who do not feel quite sure whether in doing this work we are not violating Church order. But the fact is the Church of Rome has left us no choice in the matter, and has rendered true Church order impossible. Not only does she violate it herself in our parishes at home and in our mission fields abroad, but by her unfounded assumptions, by her enforcement of impossible conditions of communion, work such as ours becomes an absolute necessity and an imperative duty. I can conceive such a comity, such inter-relation among national Churches, as that the members of one Church should be at home, should go in and out and find pasture, in another. But with such a disturbing element in our midst as the Romish Church this cannot be, and the Church of England would be unfaithful to her trust if she failed to follow and to care for her wandering children.

In the doing of this work we have no proselyting aims. We do not seek to draw the people of the countries in which we labour within the fold of the English Church. Our mission is to our own countrymen, to do for them what is done in a well-ordered parish at home, and so to watch for souls as they who must give an account. This our work has been marked by growth and by consolidation. I will not take you back to any remote period, but will speak of times within my own recollection. When I first knew the Continent forty years ago, there were in Northern and Central

Europe fifty-five chaplains, ten of whom were consular chaplains and held the Bishop of London's licence; how many of the others did so I cannot say—some of them "were very much unlicensed." In some places the chaplain was the hired servant of a committee, that paid him a salary, and whose authority was supreme. In other places the chaplain was sole tenant, sole master, and responsible to no one but himself, and in some instances a fixed charge was made for admission. The great majority of places used for worship were hired rooms or rented houses, and the buildings that had any appearance of ecclesiastical structure were limited to four or five. In name, these scattered churches were Episcopalian; in reality they were so many congregations, having no cohesion, and subject to no real authority. If we compare 1856 with 1892, we find that the consular chaplains have all but disappeared; that the forty-five non-consular chaplains have almost doubled in number; the hired rooms and rented houses are things of the past; the charge of so much per head for admission is absolutely unknown; the number of unlicensed men is infinitesimally small, and the English chaplain of to-day is a man under authority—for Episcopal supervision is a real thing.

Then as to the way in which our work is done. It hardly, perhaps, becomes me to say what I am about to say, yet I say what I do know. It fell to my lot some time ago to make enquiry on this point, and, without entering into detail, I may say that so far as regards attendance on public worship, the number of communicants and of confirmees, our work will bear comparison with Church work at home. Then we have in a certain way during the last few years begun to feel our feet; our chaplaincies are no longer scattered congregations and nothing more. Partly through the appointment of a bishop suffragan for Northern and Central Europe, partly through our Annual Conferences, which have become a part of our Church life, partly through our having been formally incorporated with the diocese of London, and that, in consequence, we are represented in the London Diocesan Conference, and partly through the influence of our "Anglican Church Magazine," a breath of corporate life pulsates from chaplaincy to chaplaincy such as was unknown before.

But our work has a direct interest for the Church at home. Max Müller says that every German residing abroad is the representative of his country, responsible for its good name. So we are your representatives, whether you will or no; you may wish it were otherwise, think of us as country cousins, but the fact remains, the people of the Continent will persist in thinking of you from what they see us to be. Take France as an illustration of what I mean. The foreign elements in the population are very large, and we are by far the smallest. There are single towns in the North of France where there are more Belgians than there are English people from Calais to Marseilles, and yet our small groups of English fill a large, an unduly large place, in the public eye. Why this is so I have not time to say, but of the fact itself there is no doubt, and the good name, the fair fame of the English Church abroad depends on how our work is done. No doubt this throws on us a great responsibility, from which we have no desire to shrink, but the Church at home has her share, and I wish to say with all the distinctness with which I can say it, that this responsibility has never been duly felt, and had it been so felt when our work began, things would have been very different to what they are to-day.

Then there are special reasons why on both sides of the Channel this responsibility should come home to us. In France, more especially, religion and religious questions have leaped into prominence, and are forcing themselves on the public mind. A revival of religion has made itself felt both in the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Church. Nay, the changed political attitude which the Pope is more than pressing on the Roman Catholic Church has a distinctly religious motive. It is the



recognition of the fact that if the Church is to maintain and increase her influence, she must no longer worship by the graves of the dead. Still more remarkable is the religious movement outside the Churches. Twenty years ago it seemed as if the educated French mind was being bound for all time in the bands of scientific materialism. I remember well a certain professor in Paris saying that all that remained for him and his colleagues to do was to extract from the French mind the last vestige of any belief in God and a Divine law, and religion was regarded as, for all practical purposes, dead and buried; as if the most intellectual, the most logical, the most idealizing people on the face of the earth could, for any length of time, be content to feed on the husks that the swine do eat. And now, from the confession of all men, there has come a marked re-action, a feeling that science has neither kept its promise to the ear nor to the heart, that there are questions that the scale and the scalpel cannot solve, and men are groping if haply they may find God. It is under these circumstances that we have to do our work, so to order our services, so to live as to exhibit the Church of England in her true light, as a reformed branch of the one Church of Christ. Writers on constitutional history tell us that the English Constitution was one of a large family, in each of which there existed great fundamental laws, and that when the time of trial came every free constitution save our own perished. What is true of constitutions is true of Churches. Everywhere in Western Europe there were National Churches, and there came to Churches as to forms of civil freedom the hour of trial, and if we look around us on Western Christendom, the one Church that has kept her freedom, and yet has in no wise broken with the past, the one free Church that in her form of government, in her order of service, can trace her lineage back unbroken to the Church of the first days, is our own. We are told sometimes that a new star has risen on the horizon, that there is a great longing for unity, and that our own old historical Church may have a large part to play in the realizing of this wish. If so, your Continental Church has before it a great future in the influences she is called on to exert. We may be told that such influences work almost imperceptibly. No doubt they do; but then, "All stable things are slowly wrought." And what we plead for is, that your English work on the Continent should receive due practical recognition and sympathy from the Church at home.

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### The LADY VINCENT, Diocesan President of the Girls' Friendly Society in Northern and Central Europe.

As in the parochial work at home the various church agencies that are suitable to the local needs are to be found, so, in the chaplaincies on the Continent the same machinery must be found, and the Girls' Friendly Society, the one National Church agency amongst women, has necessarily followed the establishment of Church privileges amongst English communities. That it has been one of the first Church societies found there is not strange, since the number of resident Churchwomen so far exceeds that of Churchmen in the chaplaincies. That it is a work which is specially adaptable to the local circumstances of Englishwomen and wives abroad, I hope to show.

To speak of what the Girls' Friendly Society is, is surely quite unnecessary here to-day. The society which has enrolled over 200,000 Englishwomen in its ranks, and is also extended to every other quarter of the globe, which bears the name of our archbishops and all our bishops as its vice-patrons, and which our gracious Queen herself protects with her patronage, and in which her royal daughters have been

admitted as associates, which spent over £50,000 last year in England alone, cannot need that I should enter into any explanation of its aims and objects now. Suffice it to say that, as it follows the organization of the Church, and is bound to provide the privileges of the society for its members wherever they may go, it has crossed the water into our chaplaincies on the Continent, and it is the work there that I am here to speak of.

In explaining the work of the Girls' Friendly Society in Northern and Central Europe, I wish first to make it understood that the same work is being carried on in the Diocese of Gibraltar, under the presidency of Mrs. Sandford. But I speak now only of what I know personally.

What is the Girls' Friendly Society doing in the eighty-seven permanent or Church communities in these countries? It is now represented in forty-nine of them by our working associates. In eight of these communities—Paris, Geneva, Lausanne, Montreux, Frankfort, Ghent, Carlsruhe, and Boulogne—branches are established, which means that in addition to the original work of associates in receiving commended members, local work amongst the girls resident there has begun. The Church ladies of the community have had the subject laid before them, and have been asked to come forward with the hand of friendship and the heart in sympathy for those of their younger sisters who are passing some of the most important years of their lives so far away from home-influence and family happiness.

It is not easy for many of the ladies who are living abroad to give much time or money to any work, as often they are there with their own children living in strict economy during the pressure of education, and that means that much more of the household work falls to the share of the mothers than in England. Yet a considerable number of ladies have been ready to come forward, and to devote time and money in a very blessed work, reaching the young hearts of those who, living so near them, are yet, many of them, so strangely independent in circumstances. The associates enrolled on our books, and admitted with special prayer by the chaplain, proceed then to find the girls, and I am sure they would confirm my assertion, that they have often been truly astonished at the numbers that have been forthcoming. To all of us, I think, the Girls' Friendly Society work abroad has brought a surprising revelation, as to the very large number of English girls who go abroad for purposes of education and study of one kind or another. They are found as English teachers in foreign schools and pensions and in other educational establishments, as governesses living in private families, or as daily teachers. In the schools are English scholars of all ages, chiefly between fourteen and twenty. They are found also in pensions living as independent students, with the key of their own rooms, going out to the conservatoires, academies, schools of art, studios, etc., etc., or studying "au pair" with French or German students, each teaching the other without pay. They are sometimes found to be also, alas! living in great poverty in the most wretched lodgings in the larger cities, hoping for opportunities of giving lessons in English at almost any price. I know of two such now who are glad to teach for fifty to seventy-five centimes (fivepence to sixpence halfpenny) an hour.

Nearly every one of the thousands of ladies who are now teaching as English governesses in Great Britain, have gone abroad in some one of these ways, as foreign languages are, of course, a necessity to high class teachers. Again, those who know nothing to teach in England, unfortunately fondly hope that their English speaking will qualify them for a good salary abroad, a sadly mistaken idea, in which they are very unkindly upheld too often by the public registries, which take cruelly high fees from them for sending them to places which are sometimes false altogether, constantly are misrepresented, and for which, in any case, they are not in any way

qualified to keep. They do not realize that in many places abroad, employés can be dismissed without notice of any kind, and so they find themselves stranded suddenly, knowing nothing of foreign life, or of the language; without money, or friends. Everyone who lives abroad knows this class of very unhappy English women, to whom temptations of the saddest kind are terribly ready. The Girls' Friendly Branch Associates then proceed to find these young Englishwomen, wherever they may be. Numbers of them are quite unknown in the Church, for various reasons. In some schools the girls are taken to the foreign Church services, as some English parents forget to make the stipulation that their daughters shall attend the English Church. Many of the independent students are daughters of Nonconformists, and others become imbued with so-called "freethinking" (!) ideas, and abjure religion while out of reach of home surroundings. In the pensions, which receive young men and girl students equally, Sunday is often spent in expeditions to places of interest, made by parties of these young girls, with the young men students as their companions. This, then, is the field of work for our foreign associates, and a most interesting one it is to any woman, who, with a motherly heart, and with the love of Christ in her, will look upon them all as her sisters, and will approach them rightly.

I have held meetings attended by girls and young women of all these varieties abroad, and have been much touched by the response from them to the plea which the Girls' Friendly Society gives us for approaching them—the plea for their help in our mutual work. I don't believe any work could reach them all better than the Girls' Friendly Society can: to appeal to them all to think of the miseries that fall on girls' lives through want of friendship, and of the wretchedness of the evil of impurity, which drags down so many, is to awaken in them the enthusiastic generosity of their age, and many a one who will turn away from the idea of anything which was to do herself good, will join a society which will help her to befriend others, and in so doing to keep from evil herself. The Branch then, fairly started by the admission of both associates and members, is organized in the various departments in which the Society works. The Sick fund is arranged for, and put into connection with the diocesan sick members' department, which will supplement the payments required for those members for whom material help in sickness may be required. The Literature department is occupied with the supply of good literature and of the Girls' Friendly Society magazines.

The Lodges and Lodgings department supplies a list to our office in England of all homes and safe lodgings open to young English ladies. In the Paris branch we have our own Girls' Friendly Society Lodge (3, bis Rue Galilée), a nicely furnished house in which members stay to rest on passing through, or while they are seeking engagements, or they can make it their home there while teaching or studying. Rooms are also available for associates wishing to visit Paris, or to stop there in travelling, and associates and members alike can be met at either of the railway stations in Paris, on two days' notice to our lady superintendent at the lodge. It is also the office for our Paris branch associates, and we can assure the parents of girls who are going there that their daughters will meet only those who are of good character; we can also assure our subscribers that our accounts are annually audited by an auditor independent of our work, and published. There are other similar homes in various parts of the Continent we gladly work with, and seek to support in every way all those which will fulfil the conditions we require, *i.e.*, that the accounts are audited and published, and that those inmates who are not known, and have no satisfactory references, are separated from the others. The Brussels Institute is one of the most notable of these, and has been a real benefit to hundreds of Englishwomen in Brussels.

The usefulness of all such houses and other local works is immensely increased by their affiliation to the Girls' Friendly Society, because, being then printed in our lists, they are advertised in 11,790 parishes in England and Wales, and are brought to the notice of every one of the 200,000 members and associates. Every associate and member on the Continent is supplied with a special list of Homes and Lodging and of associates abroad, which can be carried in her pocket. The Registry department of our work has greatly extended its work of late, and through our office in 52, Lower Sloane Street, London, S.W., particulars of all engagements offered can be verified, the best schools and pensions can be recommended, the terms, etc., of conservatoires, academies, and all educational establishments may be obtained, and governesses making application can hear of the openings that are available, and can be advertised for in foreign papers. All this work is free of expense for Girls' Friendly Society members, but it is available also for the public for small fees. It is a significant fact that, out of sixty-four applicants this year to our office, only two took engagements abroad, all the others being satisfied as the result of their enquiries of the unsuitableness of hoped for openings.

A sketch of what has been begun has been laid before you, the extension of the same work has to be carried on. Branches must be established in every one of these larger communities, and lodges must be multiplied where no such institutions are to be found. The ready welcome of our associates ought to greet every English girl who passes away from her home to the Continent, and the friendship of a true daughter of the Church will keep very many from straying away into danger, and, through loneliness and want of thought, into bad companionship. A high ideal may be kept up before the eyes of those who, in so many instances, hope to return to our shores as the teachers of our little ones. How can the work be helped by those at home, especially by those who are here to-night?

(1) Those who have friends abroad can interest them in the work, and persuade them to take a part, however small.

(2) Those who have friends in or near London can invite them to help us in our office, where we have room for many more ladies, who could give even an hour or two in a morning once a week.

(3) All can try to make the office known by asking that it may be advertised in Parish Magazines and local papers.

(4) Those who can make a spare place in their subscription list will do a good work in giving regular support, however small, and those who can give a donation will find me most gratefully ready for the smallest sum in aid of whichever department of the work in which most interest is felt. It is not a subject which is not wide enough to come before you on this important occasion. It is full of meaning for the future of our Church. If hundreds of young Englishwomen, future wives and mothers, are to return to our homes, often after two or three years' severance from Church teaching and influence, with so many of their ideas completely changed as to religion and morality by life in foreign surroundings, a very serious and certain effect will gradually be found. Each year that brings greater facilities for travelling increases the numbers of those who send their children abroad for education, and our Churchwomen abroad must bestir themselves as the district workers for their chaplains, if these girls are to be found, and known, and brought under Church teaching.

The Girls' Friendly Society, as the handmaid of the Church, has, undoubtedly, been the means of bringing many girls from carelessness of life into the communion of the fellowship of Christ, but she must extend her work diligently, for it will be a sad day for England, and one which parents should fear, when we find that while acquiring

foreign languages, proficiency in music, painting, or sculpture, our young English sisters return to us without religion, or with a lower standard of the highest right of all women—purity of life.

The Rev. MALCOLM MACCOLL, Rector of S. George,  
Botolph Lane, Canon of Ripon.

IN addition to a cold from which I suffer, and which I am afraid will make it difficult for me to make myself heard, I labour under the further embarrassment of finding that the speakers who have preceded me, especially Bishop Wilkinson and Mr. Faulkner, have anticipated me in nearly everything which I intended to say. I agree entirely in the opinion expressed by the two latter, that the work of the Church of England on the Continent is intended primarily, if not exclusively, for the spiritual needs of such of her own children as are permanently, or for a considerable time, resident abroad. The British tourist stands on a different footing, though I am far from saying that the Church should not care for him too. But for the divisions of Christendom, of course the natural thing for an English Churchman abroad would be to avail himself of the religious services of the clergy within whose jurisdiction he happens to find himself. Circumstances unfortunately forbid this, especially within the domain of the Church of Rome. For there English Churchmen cannot partake of the sacraments of the native Church without repudiating the just claims of their own; without, in fact, abjuring her communion. I have, therefore, never been able to sympathize with the conscientious scruples of honest English Churchmen, who think it wrong for an English Churchman to attend the services of his own Church on the Continent. Surely in such a case the breach of Catholic order lies at the door of those who impose uncatholic terms of communion. But I will go as far as this with those who scruple to avail themselves on the Continent of the religious ministrations of the clergy of the Church of England, that I think it would be advisable to try to secure the sanction of the bishop of the diocese to the opening of an English Church on the Continent. The sanction might be refused, but it might be given. I believe that the late Mr. Archer Gurney obtained the license of the Archbishop of Paris for his chapel in that city, and I know that the Archbishop of Perugia sanctioned the opening of an English chapel in Perugia on condition that the chapel should not be used for proselytizing purposes. But if we are to have the English Church represented on the Continent, we should all agree that she should be represented worthily, both in the character of her clergy and of her worship. There has been an immense improvement in that respect, within my own experience, during the last twenty years; but much still remains to be desired. It was only last evening that I was told of a temporary chaplain at a fashionable resort abroad who wrote to a late Prime Minister, who happened to be sojourning at the same hotel with him, to beg him to give him a nod of recognition when he entered the *table d'hôte* room. The chaplain thought this slight mark of recognition would induce the other visitors and the waiters to pay more respect to him. Now, I venture to think that an English chaplain on the Continent, who cannot command the respect of visitors and waiters without a nod of recognition from a passing English statesman, had better stay at home. The incident, however, points to what I think is a scandal in the case of some of our foreign chaplaincies; I mean the way in which some foreign hotel-keepers are allowed to use the services of our Church as a means of advertising their business. It may be necessary in some cases to accept the gratuitous offer of a room at an hotel for divine service; but in no case, I think, ought the chaplain to accept

gratuitous board and lodging at the hotel. If he does, he cannot be surprised if the servants of the hotel fail to pay him proper respect. But if the character of the chaplain is of so much importance, that of the services which he conducts are of still greater importance. It is within my own knowledge that many members of the Church of England are lost to her through the contrast which they sometimes behold between the cold, slovenly, and irreverent mode of conducting divine worship in English chapels on the Continent, and the bright services of foreign churches. In some cases, too, there should be more frequent opportunities of receiving the Holy Communion; and this applies especially to early celebrations. Though it is beyond the scope of the subject under discussion, I may be permitted perhaps to give my own experience in Jaffa last Palm Sunday. The chaplain is, I have no doubt, an excellent man; but a colder and drearier service than his matins on Palm Sunday I never witnessed. What I complain of especially, however, is that there was no celebration of the Holy Communion at all on that high festival. Now, when you remember that Jaffa is the ordinary port of debarkation for the crowds of pilgrims from all parts of Christendom, who visit Jerusalem at that season of the year, I think you will agree with me that the manner in which our Church is represented there is nothing less than a scandal. Another point to which I should like to call the attention of the Congress, is the case of numbers of Church people who are scattered in out-of-the-way places on the Continent, far away from any resident priest of the English Church. In some countries—parts of Russia and Greece, for example—the local ecclesiastical authorities have agreed to admit English Churchpeople to their sacraments without any compromise of their loyalty to the Church of England. But when this is not possible, might not some means be devised of sending an English clergyman, if but once a year, to minister to those scattered members of our Church. I entirely agree with Bishop Wilkinson and Mr. Faulkner, that it is no part of the work of the Church of England on the Continent to engage in any proselytizing enterprises. I have had some considerable experience on the Continent, and my conviction is that if you wish well to any real reform in the Church of Rome, you must confine your aspirations to the encouragement of a reforming movement from within the Church. Any aggressive propagandism from without is certain to do more harm than good. That, I know, was the opinion of the revered Dr. Von Döllinger, and no higher authority could be named. One other point, although beyond the letter of the subject which we are discussing, I may venture to touch upon before sitting down. I spent three months this year upon the Nile, and was grieved to find that a number of our countrymen in the military and civil service of Egypt have no opportunity of religious worship from year's end to year's end. Surely it would be possible to supply their needs, at least during the winter and spring months. I earnestly commend this to the sympathetic consideration of our bishops.

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## DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. H. L. JENNER, D.D., late Bishop of Dunedin,  
Vicar of Preston-next-Sandwich.

THE speaker, who should perhaps earn the gratitude of such a meeting as this, is not, I think, the man who says ditto to everything that his predecessors have said, but rather he who ventures to strike a somewhat discordant note. Now, if in what I have to say, I am thought by any of those present to be striking such a note, let me assure them that I do it with no offensive intention. I came here this evening in the

hope of hearing something relating to a point closely connected with the subject set down for this evening's discussion ; a point which derives its importance from the fact that it lies at the very root of the operations of the Church of England on the Continent of Europe—not to mention other parts of the world—at the present day, as well as for many years past. The point I refer to is the jurisdiction—the exclusive jurisdiction—claimed by the See of London over certain European countries. This claim, it is well known, amounts to this : that all members of the English Church residing in, or even visiting any one of those countries, are in such sort the subditi of the Bishop of London, that no other bishop must presume to minister to them *in saens* without that prelate's formal sanction. Time will not allow me to enter into particulars. I will only ask (and it is what numbers of Churchmen have been asking for years past) : On what canonical basis does this extraordinary claim rest ? To some extent I have myself inquired into the matter, and have learnt, I believe, pretty nearly all there is to be learnt about it. On the information that the jurisdiction in question was supposed to have been conferred by an Order of the Privy Council somewhere in the seventeenth century, I sought and obtained from the Clerk of the Council a verbatim copy of what that official said was the only Order in any way bearing on the subject. Then it all came out. The Council in question was held in 1632—Charles I. presided : Bishop Laud was present—it was his first council as primate. The Order amounted to this :—The merchant adventurers of two cities, Hamburg and Delf, having complained that their chaplains were under no Episcopal control, it was ordered that the Bishop of London should be invited to superintend them. From this small beginning, as far as can be ascertained, the prodigious jurisdiction claimed by the See of London seems to have arisen. Evolution with a vengeance, this ! It is no doubt possible that other Orders in Council may be discoverable extending, or pretending to extend, the jurisdiction to its present dimensions. But it is hardly necessary to point out that Orders in Council have no sort of validity in foreign countries ; or that, if they had, 50,000 of such orders would not make one canonical act of the English Church. No doubt it is highly desirable that chaplains and their flocks in foreign parts should be Episcopally governed. Probably the best plan to adopt in the present dislocated state of Christendom would be that of the American Church, whose bishops delegate one of their body to hold confirmations and so forth for members of that Church living on the European continent. Why should not Bishop Wilkinson receive the same kind of authorization from the Anglican Episcopate, not as suffragan of the Bishop of London, as at present, but as delegated by the whole English Church as represented by her bishops ? All I can now say is that the existing system rests on no solid foundation. And I am afraid I must add that, in my opinion, the pretensions of the Bishops of London on the strength of an Order in Council, or of any number of such orders, to warn off every other English bishop who attempts to perform any kind of Episcopal function on the Continent, are altogether intolerable. The jurisdiction of the Bishop of London in foreign parts is neither more nor less than that of every other Catholic bishop, not being the diocesan, under the sun. And the sooner this is understood, the better for the reputation of the English Church in the eyes of Christendom.

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### The Rev. T. ARCHIBALD S. WHITE, British Chaplain at Baden-Baden.

I HAVE been chaplain for twenty-one years on the Continent, and I am anxious, after taking a long journey, to lay before you certain facts which I think will be of interest to you. It was in the month of June, 1871, just at the close of the Franco-Prussian war, that I was appointed assistant chaplain at Baden-Baden in Southern Germany. It was a most interesting period. Peace had just been proclaimed ; the troops were returning from the campaign, and were coming through the town every day. It was a place where there were healing springs, and where the wounded officers and soldiers, French, Turcos, and Germans could receive attention. It was under such circumstances that I went there to assist the chaplain, who was in such failing health that after a year, during which I assisted him, he died. The Baden-Baden chaplaincy is a very full one, but the great difficulty with which I found I had to contend locally was a heavy debt of £1,000 on the church, which I succeeded in paying off by the year 1886.

Looking, however, beyond our local needs, I saw very plainly that around me my brother chaplains and I scarcely ever saw one another. Confirmations were very infrequent, and each man was really a perfectly isolated unit. As the years rolled on, these things so worked in my head that, in the year 1878, I placed myself in communication with the chaplain at Dresden, the late Rev. J. G. Gilderley, a very highly respected chaplain abroad, also with the Rev. J. E. Jenkins, chaplain of the Church of the Resurrection at Brussels, equally respected, and who had given the whole of his ministerial life to the work of the Church in that great city. We three set to work to send out circulars to the chaplains around us to find out their wishes in the then state of things. The late Bishop Utterton, of Guildford, and the late Bishop Piers Claughton, after making enquiry, from time to time came among us at certain confirming centres, which included a number of chaplaincies. In the year 1880, Her Majesty Queen Victoria visited the chaplaincy at Baden-Baden, and Bishop Claughton held a confirmation service, at which candidates were sent by the surrounding chaplaincies, the number of candidates being but thirty. The answers to the circulars showed that there was really great need of some special bishop who could undertake the supervision of the Continental chaplaincies, and really draw our isolated communities into one concentrated body. These things so worked in my mind that in the year 1882 I sat down and wrote to the *Times*. My letter was published, and commented on in that paper in a leading article, and there was much correspondence upon the subject in that journal. In 1884 or 1885 the matter was brought before both the Convocations of Canterbury and York through the Rev. Canon Sir James Philipps, of Warminster, and Bishop Titcombe was appointed as coadjutor to the Bishop of London for Northern and Central Europe. I must express my sense of the kindness of the late Bishop Titcombe during the two years of his administration. Since the year 1886 we have had the supervision of one no less honoured and revered among us, the bishop who is before you to-day, Bishop Wilkinson. He has gone into the homes and into the smallest chaplaincies every year. He has made himself beloved intensely by the chaplains, and by all the supporters of the Church, and by the churchwardens, and by the church committees, and, I can assure you, even down to the child, Bishop Wilkinson is beloved. My last word shall be this—it is the earnest desire of all the chaplains that our bishop should be financially better provided for than he is at the present time. His small stipend, £700 a year, must almost be spent in travelling expenses. Surely it is time that England should arise and gather the £30,000 of endowment, which will then establish the office for all future generations.

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The Rev. JOHN SCARTH, Hon. Canon of Rochester,  
Vicar of Bearsted, Maidstone.

BEFORE making any remark on the subject which we have specially to consider, I should like to correct what Bishop Jenner has said with reference to the merchants of Hamburg and Holland. What they desired was that there should be some supervision taken of the liturgies that were used by the clergy there. The danger then was not with reference to Rome, it was with reference to Geneva. The liturgies used were Calvinistic, and were not according to the principles of the Church, and it was upon that ground some supervision was desired. The jurisdiction of the Bishop of London under the Order in Council was subsequently extended to British congregations on the Continent. The point is this, the Continental chaplaincies grow to such an extent that they should be provided for in a decent and orderly way, and nothing could be better for the work of the Church than that provided for in the establishment of the Bishopric of Gibraltar, and especially the Bishopric of Northern Europe. That provision answers and does its work well. The point I wish to speak upon especially is, curiously enough, connected with this Calvinistic doctrine; not with reference to the doctrine itself, but with reference to the community of purpose and feeling between certain chaplains and the work they have to do among our sailors. The sailors are left very much to themselves so far as these chaplains are concerned, and the work of the chaplains is very often delegated to Scripture readers, who do not believe in our Church at all. In fact, I can tell of a particular instance where a Scripture reader not belonging to our Church violently opposed the chaplain in a particular part of the Mediterranean, and afterwards was received as a co-helper and fellow-worker by the chaplain in another port, who, though he knew nothing about the man's antecedents, left the sailors in his hands.



I know another case where it happened that a Scripture reader, though holding Holy Orders, acted as a layman because it suited his purpose so to do. What I protest against is that the sailors in some places should be left to the charge of Scripture readers, though there are chaplains at those places appointed to look after these sailors. I protest against a chaplain delegating his work among the sailors to others. Some would rather support Scripture readers than chaplains; that is wrong. It is wrong in every way, and when a sailor tells you on board a ship that he has met a clergyman for the first time on board ship, it shows that there has been something very wrong. But there is something worse, and it is this, that in some chaplaincies where Scripture readers are employed in this way, they not only make visits among the sailors, but they collect money from them also. I think we should have some Episcopal supervision of the kind suggested for the benefit of our sailors, and should take as much care as possible to make the agency among the sailors a clerical one, and not shunt it into the hands of persons whom, though very respectable, I have found hold the Geneva doctrine, and are not under Episcopal control.

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The Rev. J. H. FRY, Chaplain of S. John's, Boulogne-sur-Mer.

I AM very glad to have the opportunity, as a humble member of the class of Continental chaplains, of expressing my deep gratitude, that in this year of our Lord 1892, the work of the Church of England on the Continent has been thought of sufficient importance to be made one of the subjects of the English Congress. I have been very thankful, too, to see so large an attendance, in spite of the inclemency of the weather and counter attractions in the Congress Hall. It proves that a great deal of interest is felt in our subject, and I only hope that many members of the Congress will avail themselves of the liberal offer of Sir E. Watkin, on Monday next, and will pay a visit to Boulogne-sur-Mer, and see for themselves something of Church work on the Continent. I will gladly meet them on the quay, and give what help I can in showing them the lions of the place, and among them the beautiful little church which I have been instrumental in building there. Canon MacColl expressed the wish that there were more early celebrations, and much has been done of late years in this direction, and in every great centre there are now churches illustrating in many ways the catholicity of the Church of England, and that is the great lesson that we have to teach our Continental and foreign friends. And there is one point that has not been mentioned, in which the Church of England on the Continent seems to me to be doing good work, viz., in helping and strengthening the Church at home. If we look upon the Church in England as the edifice itself, we may compare the Church on the Continent to a flying buttress, helping to support it. I was very much struck, while reading last night the interesting history of the Church of S. Mary in this town, written by its vicar, with a remarkable couple of pages referring to the period of Cromwell. For a time in the Folkestone Parish Church there was no priest to officiate; the births were registered, but no children were baptized; the burials were somehow performed by laymen, and everything was in a state of disorder and anarchy. I was struck with the light this threw on a cutting I made some time ago out of the *Weekly Churchman*. It is as follows:—"Cromwell treated Churchmen as irreconcilables to be crushed out of existence. And so wisely were his measures devised, and so implicitly his commands executed, that Evelyn records that 'The Church of England was brought so low, and, as many thought utterly lost, that in Sir Richard Browne's chapel only, on the Continent, was the service of the Church of England celebrated; and in the various controversies, both with Papists and sectaries, our divines used to argue for the visibility of the Church from this chapel and congregation.'" I sincerely hope that Cromwell's times will never return, but it remains a striking historical fact, that in those terrible days it was a chapel on the Continent that preserved the continuity of the service of the Church of England. No doubt, as has been well said, our work on the Continent is not to proselytize—that would be but another form of Ultramontanist—but our duty is to present the Anglican Church in its very best light as a catholic and national Church, and thus everywhere to raise her reputation and strengthen her position in Christendom; and the time may come when many a dissatisfied Roman Catholic—I have conversed with several of them—dissatisfied with the novelties of doctrine, and weary of the Italian yoke, will look to the English Church as the ideal, and see there a Church that has

not departed from its primitive catholicity, and yet is national and free. If the unity of Christendom ever comes to pass, it will be, I believe, upon the Apostolic lines of national catholic Churches, such as the Church of England truly is.

The Rev. J. K. MELLISS, A.K.C., Seamen's Institute,  
Southampton.

IN my capacity as Chaplain of the Missions to Seamen at Southampton and Havre, I have been called upon to address you with regard to the burning question of the duties of the Church of England towards Seamen of the mercantile marine in foreign and Continental ports. Statistics, I know, are dry, and I am sorry to trouble you with them; but in order to demonstrate to you the unanswerable conclusion that, as a Church, the Church of England is more interested in seamen abroad than landmen, I should like to give you details with regard to the resident population as against the floating population of British subjects in some of the Continental ports; take, for instance, the ports of Havre, Dunkerque, and Antwerp. In the port of Havre alone, 30,196 British seamen entered last year, the British subjects resident there numbering only 617. Upwards of 25,000 British seamen entered the port of Dunkerque during the same period—the resident English population being about 200; whilst Antwerp, with few English residents, was visited last year by 56,000 British seamen. A comparison with other large Continental ports will produce similar results, proving that British seamen form, if not a majority, at least a very large proportion of our countrymen abroad. If it were the fact that these men were only, as it were, in to-day and gone to-morrow, perhaps no great harm would accrue, but, unfortunately, in most cases, they remain for some time in the ports they visit, without, in too many instances, the guidance and good counsel of friends to warn them against the terrible vices and temptations of shore life. Is it to be wondered at, that under these circumstances, with so many idle hours, and often with a well-filled purse, they frequently fall victims to the sharks and harpies who are ever on their track? What, then, is the duty of the National Church of this great maritime country? Surely, it is to hold out a helping hand to her wandering sons on a foreign shore, and to provide them with the means of grace. Something, we are glad to say, has been done by her of late in this direction, but still we are forced to confess that the spiritual provision made for our sailors in many Continental ports is altogether wanting, or very inadequate. This is the more to be regretted, for not only are the men exposed to great temptations, from which a word of friendly warning might save them, but also because the opportunities of influencing them for good are greater than at home. The crews of English ships commonly live on board when in foreign ports—generally unable to speak the language of the country they are in, they are glad to receive a visit from a countryman, and are more disposed to listen to any words of good advice which may fall from his lips, than they would be from anyone in their own land. But, alas! how often many go astray, just for the want of these few words. The British Consul at Dunkerque tells us that last year the sum of £58,927 was paid at the consulate in wages to seamen, and that of this, £27,262 was sent to the United Kingdom by means of Board of Trade money orders, but he asks, what has become of the balance (£31,000)? A large percentage, the Consul fears, was stolen, lost, or squandered at the port, to the great moral and physical injury of the seamen themselves, and to the utter misery of many of their families in the United Kingdom, as appears from the piteous letters often received from sailors' wives and mothers. The present system of making the men wait two or three days for their wages after being discharged from their ships opens the door for the crimps, into whose hands much of the men's hard-earned wages fall. If a better system could be introduced, and the sailor properly looked after, the trade of the crimp would soon be gone. Rarely do I go to Havre without hearing sad tales of men robbed of £40, £50, and even £60 of their wages in a single night. The Missions to Seamen Society, using every means consistent with the practice and received principles of the Church of England, is endeavouring, as far as it can, to befriend these men, both temporally and spiritually, but unfortunately its efforts have been crippled for want of funds. At the ports of Antwerp, Dunkerque, and Bilbao, assistance has been given by the Society to the resident British chaplains stationed at those places, to enable them, as far as they can, to minister to the seamen frequenting these ports, but so many and arduous are their own duties ashore, comparatively little of their time can be spared for these wanderers of the sea. At Havre,

Marseilles, Lisbon, and Malta, earnest Scripture readers have been placed, whose whole time and energies are devoted to this purpose. But what are these amongst so many? The Missions to Seamen Society has an institute at Havre, well situated and under the charge of a zealous and experienced reader; and as often as I can spare I visit that port. The reader visits all the English ships as they enter the port, warns the men of the dangers awaiting them on shore, exhorts those who are about to be paid off to go to the Sailors' Home, and, when it is practical, holds short Bible readings or services amongst the crews. He also brings to their notice the services of the English Church there, and strongly urges them to attend them. On Sunday evenings a service is held at the Institute, at a different hour to that at the English church; and on Thursday evenings the English chaplain conducts a service for seamen at the same place. I need hardly say that the Institute is well patronized, and the services heartily appreciated. Very touching and graphic have been the expressions of gratitude used by many of the men respecting the privilege of being permitted to meet together to worship God after a long voyage, and in a strange land. I heard a sailor, at the close of a service the last time I was at Havre, remark—"After a dreary voyage, without any services on Sundays, and with nothing to remind one of another world, you cannot think what a treat it is to me to be here to-night." Another, with tears in his eyes, exclaimed, "Oh! the beautiful prayers of the dear old Church of England, how lovely they seemed to-night, after having been deprived of them for so long." Yes, many of these men thoroughly enter into and enjoy the services of our Church, and are truly disappointed when they reach a port where they are not to be found. I have often heard the crews of the steamers which run between Southampton and Cherbourg, lamenting their lot when their turn came for them to be in that port on a Sunday, on account of there being no Church services held there. All this shows the importance of having our Church represented in these foreign ports, and the gravity of the omission to do so. At Dunkerque, visited by 25,000 British seamen last year, the resident British chaplain, aided by the Missions to Seamen, visits, as far as time and circumstances allow, the English ships on their arrival in port, and invites very earnestly the officers and men to attend the religious services specially provided for them at the English church. There is also an institute at Dunkerque where seamen are, by every possible means, induced to spend their time, instead of at the vile cafés and music halls which abound on all sides. From Antwerp, which is visited annually by about 56,000 English seamen, the British chaplain writes: "When I undertook the chaplaincy in October, 1891, I found the sailors' work altogether in the hands of Dissenters. The Church of England was not represented in any way, but, thanks to the Missions to Seamen, that excellent society has extended its ministrations to this port, and we have now begun the work of the Church of England in earnest, and so far I have received great encouragement." Time fails me to speak of the other ports occupied by this society; suffice it to say that a similar work is carried on in each of them, and with good results. But what about those large ports where the Church does not look after our seamen? And there are many such ports; for instance, as Hamburg, Rotterdam, Rouen, etc.; this latter, visited by 17,000 English seamen last year. How do our sailors fare in such places? I have met with men who have told me that they were on their way to ruin, their pronunciation of Rouen, little thinking how true their words might be, for there is little doubt but that many seamen are ruined there both in body and soul; and not only there, but in those other ports where there is no provision made by our Church for their temporal and spiritual welfare. One great hindrance to the Church's work abroad is, undoubtedly, the unnecessary Sunday work which is carried on on board British ships. This practice demoralizes the crews, hardens them against religion, and prevents those captains who are religiously disposed from holding services at sea; for how can they face their crews, and read the Fourth Commandment? Surely it is the duty of the Church to raise her voice against this practice, and use every effort to get it discontinued.

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The Very Rev. WM. LEFROY, D.D., Dean of Norwich.

EVEN at this late hour I venture to put before you for a very few moments something in regard to a branch of the work which is represented by the thesis on the paper, and with which I happen to be familiar. I refer now to the work which we are doing among the tourists, who, for the purpose of health or recreation, resort to various

parts of the Continent during the summer season. That work is becoming of increasing importance, for a very obvious reason. England occasionally goes mad, and Switzerland occasionally goes mad. England went mad about national education, and Switzerland has gone mad about railways. They are having railways constructed up the mountains, and across I know not where, with the result that our mountain resorts are being inundated with what you may be pleased to call cheap-trippers. But the cheap-trippers have souls to be saved or souls to be lost, and there is a great amount of work to be done among the tourists, for I drop the phrase cheap-trippers. I am acquainted with the means which are taken by the Colonial and Continental Societies to seek to obtain faithful chaplains. I find that there are no less than 297 chaplaincies to be provided for. Reference was made to-night to complaints that appeared in various journals, but this year we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that there have been no complaints as to the inefficiency of the chaplains. Their criticisms extended not only to their utterances, which we might pardon, but to their administration of the Church. In regard to these, I have not one word of apology; but this I have to say, that if we are to have any improvement in the Colonial and Continental Church Societies' chaplaincies, or in the efficiency of the chaplains, it must be—and I beg to make this statement publicly—by there being more integrity in the clerical conscience. What I refer to is this—that a chaplain seeks to go abroad, certain enquiries are sent to him by the committee respecting the place he would like to go to and the like. He is asked the names of three clergymen who could be applied to in regard to various things that are interesting to the committee before they nominate him for license by the bishop, and I have seen the most startling replies to these enquiries. The committee, believing these replies, nominate the clergyman, and the Bishop of London licenses him; but really if the replies to the enquiries are not represented in the man concerning whom they have been made, we have no end of complaints. My plea is that referees should be more careful as to the character they give to candidate chaplains. One word more. It is this: a good deal has been said to-night about proselytizing. I must say that one of the reasons that constrains me to support the previous speaker on this subject, is this—that there is a distinct injunction given to everyone of the chaplains of the Colonial and Continental Society to avoid debatable subjects. This is of the greatest importance. The congregations upon the Continent of Europe represent every possible phase of thought, and if a clergyman attempted to intrude some of the burning questions of the day, very many of the ashes of which in many cases we are walking over, then the congregation would be divided, and no real good would be done. We live in a day when we are asked on all hands for the evidence of our religion. I venture to say I know of no evidence more vital, more telling, and more demonstrative of the vitality of the Church of England, than the mountain churches which are being reared on every part of the Continent of Europe, and especially in Switzerland. A French professor once saw me starting from one mountain to another where there was a church. He asked whether I really intended to go out in all the rain? I said I did so; and he said, "You English are a strange people; you must always have your God with you wherever you go." The fact of my going to a distant mountain where I might take part in the service of my Church impressed him very greatly. I can endorse, with all my soul, everything that has been said to-night against what has been called the *salle à manger* worship. Let us try to get rid of it, and wherever the population demands it, and tourists are numerous enough to justify it, let us strain every nerve to present the Church of England in all her sober comeliness and simplicity, and thus present another evidence to the many that already exist of our catholicity, and extension of the powers of the purest branch Church of Christ upon the face of this planet.

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#### Rev. A. T. BARNETT, English Chaplain of Bordighera.

I do not wish this evening to make a speech, but only, as it were, to ask a question. It is one of principle, and is one which wants to be thought out by Churchmen at large, and by the bishops of our Church. There was one statement which struck me with extreme force. It was made by the Bishop of Gibraltar, who said that, out of ninety chaplaincies in his diocese, ten were presented by the bishop himself, twenty by the committees and people in the locality, and sixty by the societies. I ask whether that is a right proportion in view of the important things we have heard about. It may have been good in the past, but now that a bishop is appointed, the

whole thing should be done differently. Now that the bishops have taken their place on the Continent, I think that every Churchman will see that they should be foremost in appointing the chaplains that serve under them. I do not think that we can express too much gratitude to the societies for their work done in the past, but I think it would be better and more agreeable in the future if these energetic bishops should appoint the chaplains which are to overlook their flocks, and that these bishops ought to have greater power to appoint than those which they now possess. The two people most interested in these appointments are, first, the bishops, and, secondly, the congregations; yet we find that in the Bishopric of Gibraltar only thirty out of sixty chaplains are appointed by the bishop and the congregations, and that out of that thirty, ten are appointed by the bishop himself. That is the question which I wish to urge upon the attention of Churchmen, and of those who want the Church on the Continent to exist on better clerical lines. It may be said in defence of the Church societies' system that they pay for the chaplains, and that therefore they should have the nomination of them. I think that is a mistake; they may pay, they may guarantee in certain places the money beforehand, but in the main the money is met by the congregation, and is paid directly out of their pockets. All Churchmen, if they have the welfare of the Church on the Continent at heart, will perhaps not decide this question one way or the other, but, at all events, give it their careful consideration.

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### The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

I AM sure that all of us who have listened to the important debate which has been held to-night in this hall have been very glad that the work of the Church of England on the Continent was included in the programme of the Church Congress at Folkestone. The Subjects Committee have had very hard things said about them on account of the subjects which were said to be left out. It would be easy to pick out a hundred subjects which might be said to be "excluded subjects" at the Church Congress, as if we had deliberately set ourselves to exclude certain topics on purpose. I am sure I need hardly say that there were good reasons for not discussing some of these subjects, and that one reason generally was, that they had lately been taken at other Congresses. But independently of that, the fact that the Church's work on the Continent should find a place in the Folkestone programme seemed to us to lie in the fitness of things, and I am quite sure that, if it had only been for the quiet record of work which has been put before us by speaker after speaker in modest and unassuming phrase, or, if I may single out one which perhaps has struck many of us with a fresh and unaccustomed force, for the contribution made by Lady Vincent to the debate of the evening, setting before us that admirable society, the Girls' Friendly Society, in its less known work on the Continent, this meeting would not have been held in vain. The debate has brought before us what is an often forgotten part of the activity of our great and growing Church, and perhaps also it may serve as a mark of sympathy and encouragement to men who are working over the water under conditions as trying to faith and perseverance as any which fall to the lot of Christian ministers.

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## CONGRESS HALL,

WEDNESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 5TH, 1892.

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 The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.
 

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 THE RESULT OF THE NEGLECT OF RELIGIOUS  
INSTRUCTION IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

- (1) AT HOME.
- (2) IN THE COLONIES.
- (3) IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

## PAPERS.

The Right Hon. the EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM.

WHAT will be the future of religious education in our elementary schools? Many issues will be submitted to this Congress; few will excite more general and widespread interest than this question, which lies, as it were, capsulate in the discussion we are now to raise. Will it be accorded increased prominence? will it at least maintain its present position? or is it destined gradually to disappear before the attacks of an ever-advancing secularism? And so vital do we know the answer to be, so deeply affecting the very well-springs of our national life, that we feel instinctively that he who could give it truly could tell us, too, what is to be the future of our beloved country. Is her star to rise still higher in the ascendant, or is it even now already on the wane?

But the interest which attaches to this problem is still further intensified by the circumstances of the hour, and the peculiar relation in which we stand to it as a Church and as a Nation; for nothing is more certain than that any continuous neglect on our part, or unfaithfulness on the part of the Church to her high and sacred trust, might, and almost certainly would, have the most disastrous effects upon the ultimate decision of this question, and that in the near future. It becomes, therefore, of great importance to inquire whether, as a Church or as a Nation, we do, in fact, neglect religious education, and, if so, to what extent, and with what results? We believe that the inquiry will reveal great grounds both of thankfulness for the past and of hope for the future, but reasons, at least equally strong, for some anxiety, for much increased activity, and, if it be possible, for closer combination with all whom we can claim as fellow-workers in the cause, whether within or without our own communion.

And, first, as to the Church. It is now twenty-two years since the Act of 1870 inaugurated our present system of national education. Many will remember the consequences with which it was believed to be fraught, alike by the opponents and by the friends of religious education. It was foretold, with ill-concealed satisfaction by the one, and something very like dismay by the other, that it was simply a

question of time, that slowly, but very surely, every Church school would cease to exist, and that we should find ourselves, so far as the public elementary education of the country was concerned, committed to a purely secular system.

Nor did it appear unlikely that these prophecies would work out their own fulfilment. The requirements of the Education Department were so greatly extended as to necessitate, in many cases, a large outlay for new buildings, the expense of which fell, in the case of voluntary schools, entirely on the subscribers, while the new Board school could provide them at the public cost. Nor did it escape observation that in many cases the principal supporters of voluntary schools would also be the largest payers of the school rate, and that it was very unlikely they would long submit to the double burden. These were not the only drawbacks. The Code was so modified as to include many more subjects. Thus the demands upon the time and attention both of masters and scholars, in order to earn a good grant, were greatly increased, and a very strong temptation presented both to managers and teachers to sacrifice the time devoted to religious instruction, and to substitute for it some subject for which a grant could be earned. Even if they decided to retain it, a further restriction was to be imposed—they were no longer free to teach it when they pleased. Religious instruction might still be given, but a definite time for it must be fixed, a provision very distasteful at that time to the clergy, but considered necessary in order that any parent who objected to it might withdraw his child if he pleased. Such were the conditions under which voluntary schools were still to be allowed to exist if they could, and even to claim a portion of the Government grant; but it was feared, or hoped, that they would be so heavily weighted in the race that they would soon be obliged to give up the unequal contest with an antagonist who would have at his command the unlimited resources of the public purse.

But what has been the result? Happily, the very reverse of what was expected. Some of the provisions in the Act which were most dreaded have proved to be blessings in disguise. The obligation to fix a definite time for religious instruction has had the best results. In religious as well as in secular teaching an orderly system is the best, and the effect has been to increase rather than diminish the work done, and to make it more thorough and precise. A great extension and improvement at once took place in our system of diocesan inspection, and the admirable spirit in which the diocesan inspectors have undertaken and carried out their difficult and delicate duties during the last twenty years has in no slight measure contributed to the success of our Church of England elementary schools.

But more yet. The Church of England, awakened by the near presence of danger, put forth all her latent energies to meet it. It is but just to add that other denominations have done their part in the good work. In twenty years, since the passing of the Act of 1870, over sixteen millions have been raised for the erection of voluntary schools connected with the various religious bodies in this country, of which no less than thirteen millions have been contributed by members of the Church of England. The number of voluntary schools has increased from 8,281 to 14,784; the number of children now attending Church schools has more than doubled.

Not only, therefore, may we absolve the Church at large from any direct neglect of duty, but we acknowledge with deep thankfulness that the educational crisis of 1870 has served but to show the extent of her resources and the depth and reality of her faith.

But is it enough, in order to clear us altogether from the charge of neglect of religious education, to point to these figures, or even to the further fact, satisfactory as it is in itself, that the scholars pass fair examinations in Bible history and moral subjects; or does not the deeper question remain behind—what is the quality of the instruction given? Surely in this, as in all other things, there is no safety for the National Church unless she keeps steadily before her the very highest ideal of all. If religious instruction is to perform its true function, if it is to awaken the conscience, to impart a sense of personal responsibility, to cultivate the idea of duty, to form the character—in a word, to influence the life, it must be no mere formal thing. What we need is an earnest, affectionate, personal endeavour on the part of the teachers to instil principles in the truth of which he himself believes, and the force of which are daily apparent in his own life and conversation. Judged by this standard, are there not many Church of England schools in every diocese which come short of it; nay, some which make no pretence to aim at it; some where the incumbent is seldom or never present, as he ought daily to be during the giving of religious instruction; where the teacher performs his task in a perfunctory manner; where the managers ask no questions as to how it is performed, and look for nothing but a good Government grant; while the subscribers take no interest in the subject at all? Can we believe that religious instruction in a school such as I have described is not really and dangerously neglected?

The result of neglect in such cases has come under my own notice, and must have been observed by many members of this Congress. In the first place, the opponents of religious education seize upon these exceptional cases, and, very unfairly, parade them as specimens of our whole system. Thus all are endangered by the neglect of a few. Secondly, the whole position of the Church in a parish is undermined. The Church of England has few weightier claims upon the gratitude of the country than are to be found in the attention she devoted to national education long before the State awoke to its responsibilities in the matter; none are more readily admitted; and the incumbent who falls short of his duty in this particular will find his own influence for good in the parish paralyzed, and in the end destroyed. Thirdly, such a school is certain, sooner or later, to succumb to a School Board. Subscriptions will fall off, for subscribers will fail to see why they should any longer take upon themselves a burden which they are entitled to throw upon the community, where religious instruction, the main object of their self-sacrifice, is persistently neglected; and managers, unable without subscriptions to carry on the school, will have to close their doors.

I trust that as one result of this discussion, active steps will be taken in every diocese to remove these blots upon our otherwise fair escutcheon, and that it will be recognized that their very existence is a source of danger to our cause; for that every such school, in so far as it falls short of the highest standard in its religious education, is bringing us nearer to the extinction of voluntary schools, and nearer, perhaps, to purely secular education. In this case I use advisedly the word "perhaps." I am



aware that many authorities, including the Bishop of Manchester, who has made this subject so peculiarly his own that his opinion is entitled to the greatest weight, hold a still stronger view, and are convinced that we have no choice between voluntary schools and a purely secular education. I think, on the contrary, that it is of extreme importance that no such admission should be made.

A good general, while defending his outworks to the utmost, will never admit that their capture will necessarily involve the loss of the fortress ; but, invaluable as voluntary schools are to us as a first line of defence, I believe there is yet a citadel in which we may entrench ourselves, if unhappily we are deprived of them.

I hope to make my meaning clear by passing, in the next place, to the second branch of our enquiry. Do we as a nation neglect religious education in our elementary schools ?

The position taken up by the State in this matter is not hard to define. It is not one, thank God, of actual hostility to religious education, such as, with its inevitable results, prevails elsewhere. It does not oppose, but neither does it directly encourage, the giving of religious education. Does this constitute neglect ? We cannot answer this question until we have asked another—viz., Is it the duty of the State itself to give religious instruction ? We think that it is.

It would be impossible in the time at my disposal to argue this important question at length, but I venture to state five propositions which I myself believe to be sound :—

(1) It is the duty of the State to encourage every influence which directly promotes and secures obedience to its laws.

(2) History and experience alike show that religion—or, in other words, a belief in a personal God standing behind the moral law—is the strongest of all possible inducements to the individual to obey the laws of the State, which, consciously or unconsciously, are founded in every case upon the moral law reflected in the conscience of the community.

The first Napoleon, undoubtedly the ablest administrator France has ever possessed, reinstated the public observance of religion in France on these grounds.

(3) Every State, therefore, which educates children at the public expense should give them a religious education.

(4) It is the duty of a Christian State to provide instruction in the Christian religion.

(5) Where a National Church exists, this instruction should be given by the ministers, and in the principles of the National Church ; but the State may allow, and even subsidize, sectarian religious teaching in voluntary State-aided schools, inasmuch as her interests are confined to those lessons which all Christian sects agree in teaching.

If this proposition be true, it follows that whatever we may do, either as a Church or as individuals, to provide religious education for our children, we ought never to admit that we thereby absolve the State from its paramount duty in the matter. Indeed, admirable as is our voluntary system, it is at best imperfect, for it neither does, nor ever can, cover all the ground, and so long as the attitude of the State is one of passive neglect, so long will there be School Boards who will find in that neglect an excuse for their own, and whose districts will be centres

of godless instruction, and sources of danger to our national well-being. The time may come when it will be necessary for all Christian people to unite in urging this public duty on the consciences of their fellow-citizens, and never, perhaps, until it is admitted and acted upon, will the cause of religious education be absolutely safe.

I may be told that there are great difficulties. I admit it fully ; but if the principle be right, they must, they can, be overcome.

And I ask, are there no difficulties on the other side, no solemn warnings against the adoption of a purely secular education by the State ? I have no wish to anticipate, save for the purpose of illustration, what will be said by those who will shortly address us upon the foreign and colonial aspect of this question, but what is the verdict everywhere ?

In France, M. Jules Simon says : “ Nous n'avons fait que des ruines. Nous avons abaissé les intelligents en les soumettant aux foules, et les foules en leur ôtant leurs croyances—voilà en deux mots notre histoire.”

And M. Keller, writing still later, says : “ The time is not far off when our children will receive an education no longer neutral in its character, but downright bad in its tendency.”

In Victoria, the Government Inspectors, reporting upon the result of secular education in that colony, say : “ Moral lessons appear to have failed in their object. They have now formed part of the instruction for six years, and there is little to show for the time spent on them. These lessons have not visibly raised the tone of the schools. Practically the subject is almost unknown.” And, again : “ There is some danger that the children will take an actual dislike to moral lessons.”

Turning from these to criminal statistics, we are met on all sides by the confession that the introduction of a national system of primary education has completely failed to exert any perceptible moralizing influence on the population, or to diminish the annual amount of crime. In Germany, we are told that the criminal tendencies of the population are developing at an abnormal rate ; in France, that crime has increased more than 133 per cent. in the last fifty years, and is still increasing ; in Italy, the figures are even more alarming. In our own country, Mr. Justice Matthew, in a recent charge to the grand jury at the Leeds Assizes, said : “ The facts disclose a most lamentable want of moral and religious training on the part of the children. I do not know the cause, but most of the children appear to be attending school, and it would seem as though the anxiety for their intellectual training was to the sacrifice of their training in other respects. It will be seen that the children, in most cases, are totally unconscious of any difference between right and wrong.”

I quote the following from a letter written to me by a gentleman at Birmingham, whose experience extends over thirty-six years as a Sunday school teacher, and fifteen as a member of the School Board : “ My view of the result of the secular education is expressed in the one word ‘disaster.’ The moral (really religious) tone of some thirty to fifty years ago has almost gone. A vestige here and there remains. The present and rising generation are hopelessly ignorant of the fundamental truths of religion and the morals arising therefrom, and there are no teachers that care to band and set themselves against the national godless system which has almost destroyed all sense of duty to God and to neighbour.”

Testimony at least equally strong comes from the workers among our children in great towns, especially in the East End of London, who tell us that in the absence of definite religious instruction they can make no progress whatever towards their civilization. Placed too often amidst vicious surroundings, in homes where decency is difficult, and privacy impossible, and constantly assailed by temptations to vice, no power short of religion is able to win them to a higher life. Secular education, then, is a failure, and the reason is not far to seek. If children were mere thinking machines it might answer, but they are living souls, formed in the image of God. If their thirst is to be slaked, it must be by deep draughts of the Water of Life; if they are to be truly fed, it must be with the Bread which came down from heaven; nor can they, any more than could the prodigal in the parable, satisfy their cravings with the husks which the swine should eat. Never, I think, was there an age or country where secular education would prove so dangerous an experiment as in our own. Old landmarks are fast disappearing, and the safeguards and barriers which our fathers thought essential to the very existence of society are being overthrown; on every side we see impatience of control, and the right of every man to be and to do what he pleases asserted in louder tones, and with a wider meaning than ever before. Surely, if liberty is not to degenerate into boundless license, if social reform is not to become anarchy, now, if ever, it is necessary to teach men from their earliest childhood allegiance to that Higher Power which reigns in the heart and conscience, and whose service alone is perfect freedom.

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J. G. TALBOT, Esq., M.P. for Oxford University, Falconhurst, Edenbridge.

THE subject of religious education is very old and very familiar, but yet it is always fresh and always urgent. It would be urgent if it were only because of the habitual indifference of mankind to things unseen, and because of the severe pressure of the competition of our age, which makes it always easier to dwell upon the subjects which "pay": but it is much more urgent, because there is in this country, as in others, a formidable party, whose influence and energy no one can deny, who assume an aggressive attitude, and avow that they will not be satisfied till the elementary schools are secular, as well as free. It will not do, therefore, to say, "We know all about it: we are all convinced of the necessity of religious education; there is nothing left for us to do." We have to meet a propaganda, hostile to what we believe to be true. I know no other way of doing this but by maintaining a propaganda of our own. If it be objected that a Church Congress is not the place where this needs to be done; that here, at any rate, we are of one mind on the subject—my answer is that I am acting under orders. I speak of the subject here because I have been asked to do so, not because it is my own choice or desire. But, at the same time, I will frankly say that, if by taking a share in to-day's discussion I can contribute in the smallest degree to arousing in the minds of Church-people a deeper conviction of the gravity of the issue, I shall not regret either the orders I have received, or my pains in executing them.

I may assume that we do not need convincing of the danger which would result, not to the Church only, but to the whole community, if religious education were to be feebly supported, and of the disgrace to our country if we could imagine so terrible a catastrophe as its complete suppression. Probably there are few, if any, except the avowed enemies of religion, who would contemplate so fatal a step as this last. But what is said, and repeated so often that it begins to be believed, is something of this kind: "Oh, yes! We are all agreed that to give the children of the people no religious education would be a shocking thing. We belong to a Christian country, and, of course, we wish all Christian children to have a Christian teaching. But you must look at things as they are. Remember our many religious divisions: some old-fashioned people call them 'unhappy'; others, more enlightened, consider them a sign of progress. At any rate, there they are, and you cannot ignore them. Why not be content with the beautiful, if nebulous, teaching of the School Board? That offends nobody, and is suited to childish apprehensions. Besides, remember, there is a Sunday in every week; on that day you Churchpeople, and you also, Dissenters on the right hand and on the left, can teach your children as you like." I do not think I have misrepresented the tone of those who are, perhaps, our most dangerous opponents. Avowed enemies of religious teaching are comparatively few, and when we meet them we know how to deal with them. But people who use such language as I have suggested are more plausible, and, therefore, more dangerous. And what I desire to establish is, that these last are, often unconsciously, playing into the hands of the anti-religious party, just as, strange to say, they are often found co-operating with them.

Let us look a little more closely at some points connected with the School Board religious teaching, with which we are so often assured that we ought to be content. It is a system which is in its very essence incomplete—it must not be based upon Catechism or formulary; it must not offend anybody's religious convictions. Now, I would ask in all seriousness, is this a kind of teaching which would be tolerated on any other subject? Is it a teaching which can equip the child for the battle which is sure to overtake him in life? When he grows up, he must face the temptations of the world. He will find himself surrounded by sin in many attractive shapes, and by unbelief, which is often coarse, and still more often bitter. Is this sort of thin armour the protection which he needs? He will have learned, perhaps, the beautiful ethics of the Sermon on the Mount and our Saviour's parables, though even with regard to these the School Board teacher, for fear of offending against Unitarian prejudices, must not teach him that their Author is Divine; the teaching I am speaking of must be "undogmatic"—therefore it cannot assure him of the existence of God, of the supreme fact of the Incarnation, of the in-dwelling of the Spirit; or if these great dogmas, by a happy inconsistency, can pass the barrier as "undogmatic," at any rate he cannot learn anything of the means of grace which, as Churchmen, we believe to be the heritage of the Church and of her members. But it is urged that Sundays can supply the deficiencies which we must admit on other days. Is this a satisfactory suggestion? I am very far from ignoring the energy or the self-sacrifice of thousands of Sunday school teachers. But they labour

under manifest disadvantages. They have no jurisdiction, no compulsion, direct or indirect: the children who most need their help, the children of the poorest, the most degraded, the most neglected classes, are just those whom it is hardest to collect into their schools. I hope I am not offending the feelings of any before whose self-denying devotion I ought rather to "cover my face," if I add that I fear many of these teachers are themselves imperfectly taught, and therefore unable rightly and completely to teach others. No! religious education *cannot* safely be left to the Sunday schools. It may be remembered that Dr. Hook, the great vicar of Leeds, in a pamphlet which caused a remarkable sensation at the time, advocated the separation of religious from secular teaching. The proposals called forth strong protests from Churchmen, and they were never carried into effect. But they differed from the plans now proposed to us, in that they involved free access to the State schools by the clergy of the Church and Nonconformist ministers on two afternoons of the week other than Sunday, for the very purpose of providing the religious education, which, of course, Dr. Hook would have been the last man to ignore. But the plan, as I have said, recommended though it was by so high an authority, was not approved; and I think experience has taught us that nothing short of a perfectly free teaching of religious truth in the schools belonging to the religious bodies can satisfy the fair claims of those who have established and are supporting them. "Do not suppose," said Mr. Chamberlain, in effect, to the anti-denominationalists, in his remarkable speech of February, 1891, "that those who have founded these schools on their own principles will take the trouble to carry them on upon yours." But I go a step further in demurring to the demand that we should be satisfied with the religious teaching given in the Board schools. I want to know, even supposing that we are satisfied with it as it stands, what security we have for its continuance in its present quantity, or even in any quantity at all? School Boards are mortal; they are even doomed by law to an early dissolution. What is there to ensure that the next Board in any place may not be less favourable than the present to the cause we have at heart? The modicum of religious teaching may be watered down to the bare reading, "without note or comment," of the Divine Word, of which the Psalmist says so beautifully, "All the day long is my *study* in it"; or even this may be forbidden, and the Bible may be placed upon the "index" of a worse than Papal tyranny. Such things have been, and are: they may be multiplied. Again, I say, we cannot be *satisfied* with the religious teaching of School Boards.

On this subject I should like to call attention to the state of things in some parts of the country, which has been too much ignored. *Ninety-one* School Boards, of which, I believe, seventy are in Wales, *allow no religious teaching whatever*; and I am told on authority, "There is no doubt that School Boards belonging to this class are slowly, but very surely, increasing." With regard to some of these places, I have received the following melancholy observations: "It may be safely said," writes a Welsh clergyman, "that the Calvinistic Methodists have on several occasions lamented the bad results of the exclusion of the Bible from Board schools." From another parish in South Wales the vicar writes: "At present the Board allows no religious instruction whatsoever. Two former mistresses of the school inserted the Lord's

Prayer in the time table, and began the school for some time by using it; but when it became known that the Lord's Prayer was so used, a messenger was sent to tell those teachers that they must discontinue the use of it. The result is, that there are hundreds of children in the parish who cannot say the Lord's Prayer. . . . The consequence of all this is a very deplorable depreciation of manners, morals, and religion. Complaints are made on all sides of the unruly conduct of the young, especially after chapels are closed on Sunday evenings. Dissenting pulpits send forth sad wails . . . on account of the existing state of things, and I have been asked by Dissenters to speak on the same subject from the pulpit."

In the year 1886 a Calvinistic Methodist minister is reported to have called attention in a public circular to the fact that "cursing, swearing, and using improper language in other forms, is most rapidly increasing amongst children in many parts of our own country."

The vicar of a large parish in Mid-Wales writes: "There is no religious instruction given in the Board schools of this parish. . . . The consequence is a great falling off in morality and religion. The rising generation use bad language, curse, and swear. They are given to drink and to be out late at night, and in coming home injure property and disturb people in their beds."

From a Pembrokeshire parish, where the Board allow no religious teaching, we hear: "The deterioration of the morality of the rising generation is very manifest. There is gross ignorance in spiritual matters, a growing waywardness of conduct, disobedience to parents, a want of truthfulness, of respect to superiors, of reverence towards God and things holy, and such intolerance of correction or reproof in young servants as to become in itself almost intolerable."

A Carmarthenshire vicar writes: "There is no religious teaching given in the Board schools in the parish. Unfortunately, there is no other school. The consequence is, that the religious state of the rising generation is deplorable. They have no idea what true religion means."

The principal of a Welsh training college writes: "Twelve years ago it was a rare thing to see loafers in the street or at railway stations on Sunday—now you may see scores. The young weaver or tinplater used to go to chapel, church, or Sunday school, almost without exception; now they loaf about the country lanes in dozens."

A Diocesan Inspector in Wales writes: "My belief, founded upon information given me at different times during my travels in the diocese, is that *no* religious instruction is given in the vast majority of Board Schools in the diocese. The ignorance of the most elementary facts of the Christian faith displayed by most of the children who have just entered National schools, after having been in Board schools, is astounding and deplorable. I rejoice that the Church Congress has decided to enlighten the public on the disastrous effects of the 'undenominationalizing,' or rather 'secularization,' of the rate-supported Elementary schools."

I could pile up many more extracts from Wales; but these must suffice.

And to turn from Wales, which yet, we know, has the character of being, at least outwardly, a peculiarly religious country, the vicar

of a large parish in Yorkshire, where there is practically no religious teaching in the school, notices amongst his people the four following melancholy characteristics : Great absence of knowledge respecting the Bible, a low state of spirituality ; a disregard of (*a*) Sunday and (*b*) parents ; loose moral opinions. And he adds these sadly suggestive words, " I fear the effect will be seen in a few years later, when the present generation become leaders, rather than now."

I will quote another warning which comes from one of the, as yet, happily, few parishes in England as distinguished from Wales, in which there is no religious teaching in the Board schools: " As far as the results of the system of education carried on at —, nothing can be worse. . . . Some of the children come to the Church Sunday schools ; their manners and behaviour are those of savages, and they do not know the rudiments of the Christian religion. . . . My husband asked leave to hold a service in the Board school in the evening, but this was refused. . . . The children. . . . are quite independent of their parents, and grow up under no sort of discipline. . . . Hundreds of boys pass through the most critical time of their lives absolutely ignorant of religion."

And once more, from a parish in Northumberland, which has eight Board schools and no others, comes this sad lament: " The fact of religious education being virtually abandoned in the Board schools in this district has had a most detrimental effect on the young people of this parish. I can plainly see a very decided lapse in morals, a total disregard to common courtesy to their superiors in the conduct of the children ; in fact, a very great difference in all respects in the demeanour of the children of this district from the time when they were taught to honour God and those placed in a position above them. I am a clergyman of long-standing in Northumberland, and consider the present state of things lamentable."

We may, perhaps, rightly allow some deduction from these sad pictures of an altered state of things, owing to the disappointment naturally felt by those who have known a happier time, as it seems to them, in which the outward signs of respect were more readily and universally given. But I fear the consensus of testimony is too great to admit of doubt that the religious fruits of the School Board system, especially in rural districts, whatever may be said of them intellectually, are not those with which, as English Churchmen, we can be content.

But I pass on to a branch of the subject on which I speak with greater diffidence and reluctance, and yet upon which it would be cowardly to be silent. I do not think we come to a Church Congress to flatter one another, nor to hug ourselves, as members of the Church, with our superiority to other people. At the same time, those who know me will believe that it is far from congenial to me to play the part of a censor, still less of a detractor, of those for whose work I have the deepest respect. But, if I am to speak plainly, I must ask those who hear me whether they consider the state of religious teaching in our Church schools to be what it ought to be ; and if any managers, be they clerical or lay, are conscious of deficiency, I would most earnestly appeal to them not to delay improvement in so vital a matter. We have heard, we shall probably hear again, from those who have a right to speak, of the

solemn responsibility for the children of the Church laid upon those who invite them into their schools. My duty is rather, as a politician, to take practical ground. I ought to say plainly, if I think so, that we have no chance of maintaining permanently our Church schools, unless we see that they are worthy of the name. And this for two reasons: first, because otherwise they will forfeit the respect which they have secured from men of the world, as being what they would call an imposture and a sham; secondly, because they must fail to command the continued support of Churchpeople, on which alone they can in the long run subsist.

Let me suggest some points upon which I think it would be well if we were to adopt a system of what I may call corporate self-examination, and see how far we have done, or at least tried to do, our duty:

(1) Is the religious education given in our Church schools what it ought to be? What, in truth, may be said to be the mark by which our schools are distinguished from others, and in particular:

(2) Is instruction in the Book of Common Prayer regularly given to the children of Churchpeople?

(3) Do the clergy themselves teach in the schools? or do they superintend the religious teaching given?

(4) Is care taken by managers, lay as well as clerical, that in the selection of teachers due enquiry is made as to their religious as well as moral character?

I take these three points separately.

(a) As to the instruction in the Prayer-book.

One of the Diocesan Inspectors of this diocese tells me: "I visited last year 163 departments in which the Morning and Evening Service, or part of it, or some of the Offices of the Church, might be taught. . . . There were twenty-six departments in which some of the Offices of the Church, together with the Christian Seasons, were taught, *i.e.*, about 15·9 per cent. There were thirty-five in which the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer or parts of them were taught, *i.e.*, about 21·4 per cent. I must add, however, that I was informed that in some schools the subject, though taught, was not put down in the syllabus of instruction as a subject for my examination. The numbers I have put down are of the schools in which I examined on the subject."

The other says: "I find out of 254 departments (boys', girls', and infants') that I have examined in the course of *this* year, the Prayer-book has been taught in only ninety-two, and this year is the best that I have had. It was not nearly this when I began to inspect five years ago, but it has been gradually improving. Of course, several of these are very small schools, with an inefficient staff of teachers, and several are infants' departments. In these one cannot expect any *distinct* teaching in the Prayer-book from the teachers. But the clergy ought to give it where the teachers do not."

I give the information as it reaches me; but without professing to ascertain how many schools do all they might in this matter, I would respectfully ask, why should not every Church school teach the Bible and the Prayer-book to every child whose parent does not object to such teaching?

(b) The teaching in the schools on religious subjects ought, in my judgment, to be more definitely recognized as an essential part of the weekly, if not daily, work of the parish priest. In well-worked



parishes, this used to be the case. From information which I have gained in many places, I am not sure whether it is so to the same extent now. Yet I much doubt whether any multiplicity of services in Church on the one hand, or any perfection of parochial machinery on the other, will in the least make up for the neglect of this most wholesome and most repaying work.

(c) The choice of teachers. This is, perhaps, the most important duty which devolves upon managers. It is one which involves much anxiety, and a great responsibility. It is hardly too much to say that upon its right discharge depends the well-being of the school.

A teacher must not only be bright, intelligent, active, firm; he ought to have within him the spring from which alone true Christian teaching can flow—a strong Christian faith, and the resolution to lead a pure Christian life. Happy is the school which has such a teacher. Perhaps more schools would have such if managers more largely recognized that it was their duty to seek for them.

The days of childhood are short: the time then lost is not easily regained. Is it not worth a great, a determined effort, to make our Church schools worthy of the Body to which they belong, of which Body we read that it is “the Pillar and Ground of the Truth”?

A great French Bishop (Dupanloup, of Orleans) said to his countrymen in 1856, “Impiety is fatal to nations—

“*Di multa neglecti dedere  
Hesperiae mala luctuosæ.*”

“You will see a fresh generation, who will have no respect, no principles, no manners. . . . You will become a people without an altar and without a God; and then you will see what kind of future the ceaseless advance of luxury, of indulgence in pleasure, and of the pride of materialism, are preparing for the strongest and most cultivated of nations.” To an English audience it would be unpardonable pessimism, as well as arrogance, if I were to utter so terrible a prediction. But I *may* say, look at history—modern as well as ancient—see what the effect of irreligion, especially amongst the young, has been. We have, in England, a bright possession in a public system which allows complete religious teaching, coupled with complete toleration. But it is a possession which is regarded with jealousy and suspicion by those who would substitute for it something else under the specious guise of liberty—liberty to all but those whose religious convictions are deep. Let Churchmen resolve that not in our days, at any rate, shall the English become a people “without an altar and without a God.”

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## (2) IN THE COLONIES.

The Rev. H. D. FRENCH, Rector of St. George the Martyr with St. Mary Magdalene, Canterbury.

WHEN we speak of the British Colonies, we include under that name a number of different states, each of which is practically self-governing, and, therefore, able to make regulations for the education of its people. This power has been generally used by the Colonies of Australasia and

of the Dominion of Canada for the purpose of introducing a State system of elementary education, which, with very few exceptions, is either secular or undenominational.

In Australasia, of which alone I propose to speak, four of the colonies—South Australia, Victoria, Queensland, and New Zealand—support a system of secular elementary education; while the education given in the public elementary schools of New South Wales and Tasmania is undenominational, and includes general religious teaching as distinguished from dogmatic or polemical theology. In Western Australia alone the voluntary schools receive public aid as in England.

Throughout those colonies in which a secular system of education prevails, the school buildings may, under certain conditions, be used out of school hours for the purpose of religious instruction; and in the elementary schools of New South Wales a portion of each day, not more than one hour, is to be set apart that the children of any religious persuasion may be instructed by the clergyman or other religious teacher of that persuasion. A similar permission to ministers of religion is also accorded in the Tasmanian schools.

Of course, in looking for the results of the neglect of religious education, as seen in the religious and moral condition of those who have passed through the State schools of a colony, it must be borne in mind that the general circumstances of a new country are widely different from anything with which we are familiar at home.

(i.) Still I think that the secularization of education may, to a great extent, be held accountable for the want of familiarity with Holy Scripture shown by many of the young people of Victoria and New Zealand. I noticed this ignorance of the Bible, which extends even to familiar scripture biographies, in most of the children that came under my observation in different Sunday schools. While in respect of intelligence and general knowledge they were quite up to the level of children of the same age and class educated in the best elementary schools in England, they fell considerably below them in religious knowledge. This inferiority is not to be set down to the shortcomings of the colonial Sunday schools, as compared with our own, but is to be chiefly attributed to the neglect of religious instruction in the day schools.

At the Melbourne Church Congress one of the most experienced clergymen in Victoria contrasted the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures possessed by the children of the colony before religious teaching was banished from the schools, with the ignorance of the Bible which was then shown by the young people educated under a secular system. He remembered the time when the elder classes of his parochial schools could pass a highly creditable examination in both Testaments, "But, now," said he, "we rarely find a child who knows anything of the Old Testament, and as for the knowledge of the New, it is for the most part of the very thinnest description. Children, too, are getting more and more possessed with the notion that what is not allowed to lighten their daily work and life, must be small or of no importance." (Paper read by Ven. Archdeacon Stretch, M.A., Melbourne Church Congress, 1882).

I do not think that in England we realize how much our Sunday schools are indebted to the day schools: how often the ready answer

given in the Sunday school, and which goes to its credit, is really due to the admirable instruction the child has received from gifted, trained teachers during the week. If you want to learn to what extent the Sunday school can be relied upon as a means of imparting religious knowledge, you must test it under conditions which do not admit of its receiving any help whatever from the day school, and whenever, in my experience, it has been thus tried, as in the colonies, it has invariably been found wanting.

(ii.) One of the worst features of colonial life is the want of respect shown by children to their parents and elders. Undoubtedly the duty of enforcing the lesson of obedience rests primarily on the parents, but the home training may be powerfully aided by religious education given at school. In Australia, this disobedience to parents has developed into a general tendency on the part of the rising generation to set at defiance all lawfully constituted authority, which is called "Larrikinism," and threatens, if not checked in time, to weaken the foundations of social order. Teachers have been blamed, and unjustly, for the lawlessness shown by the children. It is true that in the elementary schools of Victoria lessons on morals and manners suitable for the several classes must be given at least fortnightly, but how is the teacher to induce the child to practise morality if you deprive him of the power of appealing to the highest motive of all? You cannot expect a child to understand those refinements by which the philosopher attempts to satisfy you that he is brought to acknowledge the claims of duty. There is only one motive of constraining power that you can set before him, and that is drawn from a belief in God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

(iii.) An English clergyman, taking duty in Victoria or New Zealand, could hardly fail to be struck by the prevalence of unbelief. We are, of course, aware of the existence of a certain amount of unbelief at home, especially in the large towns; but in Australia freethought is an antagonist with which even the Bush parson must reckon. In many small townships societies exist for the purpose of propagating unbelief. I have often thought that the frequently quoted words prefixed by Bishop Butler to the first edition of "The Analogy," might without exaggeration have been applied to the state of religious thought in some parts of the colonies of which I am speaking.

Undoubtedly, the secularization of education is only one out of many influences that have contributed to such a deplorable result, but I believe that it has a strong influence in the direction of unbelief. It is usual to speak of the training received in secular schools as being neutral as far as religious bias is concerned, but this is scarcely a true statement of the facts of the case. Secular education cannot be neutral, it will at least make men indifferent to religion. Of systems of education, as of persons, it may be said, "He that is not for Christ is against Him!" Moreover, it is quite possible under a system of secular education to meet with instances in which the general tone of a school may be distinctly hostile to religion.

Happily, we do not yet see fully developed in Australasia all those terrible evils which are to be observed in some of the large cities of the United States of America, and which thoughtful persons have not hesitated to attribute to the neglect of religious education. But such

results as actually do appear are regarded with grave apprehensions by many colonists. And, unless the experience of the past and the warnings of the present prove to be altogether false prophets, those statesmen who neglect religion in a scheme of national education are sowing seed that will yield a crop of crime, vice, and pauperism which their successors will reap hereafter.

I have spoken of certain facilities for instructing children out of school hours which are granted in Australasian schools. And I will venture to relate my own experience of a joint effort made in an elementary school in Victoria by some ministers of different denominations to utilize the permission to give religious teaching, in order to show you some of the practical difficulties that beset such an attempt. We first met together and agreed upon a course of instruction, consisting of portions of our Lord's life and teaching, and a series of Scripture biographies. Our next step was to secure the permission of the local board of advice and the friendly co-operation of the teachers. This having been done, we presented ourselves, upon a day previously arranged, at the school just before the conclusion of afternoon lessons. The few children whose parents objected to their receiving religious instruction were sent away; the others were obliged to remain. I do not think that this disposed them to give us a hearty welcome. We divided the children between us and began work. There were excellent class-rooms, which enabled us to take each group of children separately. But notwithstanding the great advantage afforded us by the character of the school buildings, I am bound to confess that we could not have kept the children quiet for five consecutive minutes unless the regular teachers had kindly consented to be present and maintain order. I had had considerable experience of schools, but in that colonial school I soon discovered that my position was altogether different from that which I had held as curate or incumbent at home. I was an outsider, the children owed me no allegiance, I was simply a teacher of the Bible, and nothing more—and my influence over the general tone of the school was nil! What I chiefly missed, however, was that religious atmosphere which pervades a school that is established upon a definite religious basis. And I longed for such a school as may be had in any well-worked parish in England, where God is daily invoked in prayer; where the clergyman is frequently present as the friend and adviser of teachers and children; where the children are taught to live as members of Christ, the children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven; where confirmation is regarded as the goal of the course of religious instruction, and each child is taught to look forward to the grace conveyed by the laying on of hands as part of the equipment with which he will be sent forth to fight the battle of life. The holy influences and Divine power surrounding a child in such a school go to form the most important part of his religious education, and although it may be possible, under favourable circumstances, to impart a certain amount of religious knowledge in a secular or undenominational school, it is just this religious atmosphere that will be wanting in any school that is not fundamentally religious.

But this particular venture of which I am speaking cannot be said to have been successful, even for the purpose of teaching Scripture history. After a few weeks, most of the ministers found that they had

engagements which prevented them from attending at the hours agreed upon, and in the end the religious instruction of this large school was left practically in the hands of a very few.

Similar attempts were made about the same time in other parts of Victoria; and the clergy have also tried to make the most of such facilities as are available for giving religious instruction in the elementary schools of New South Wales and other colonies; but I believe that I am correct in saying that their efforts in this direction have not been crowned with any great measure of success.

To sum up what has been said, I have endeavoured to show, as far as my own experience goes—

(1) That the neglect of religious education in elementary schools has been prejudicial to the spiritual and moral welfare of the children educated in them, and is likely to constitute a source of future danger to the State in which it is allowed to exist.

(2) That any scheme for supplementing a system of common secular education by throwing upon the ministers of religion the responsibility of providing for the separate religious instruction of the children of their several denominations, either in or out of school hours, is bound to break down when tested, and simply plays into the hands of the secularists.

(3) That if such a scheme could be made to work, it would be radically defective as a means of religious education.

And the lesson which I would draw is one of warning to those who desire to see the School Board system, which under the pressure of a divided Christendom inevitably tends towards secularism, universally adopted in this country.

Many Churchmen do not sufficiently value the unique opportunities for doing good that they have in our Church schools, simply because they have never been without them.

Let us, however, in the light afforded by colonial experience, strain every nerve to maintain our present position with regard to elementary education, as giving us advantages possessed by no other branch of the Anglican Church for discharging aright the privilege and duty cast upon us by the Master of feeding His lambs.

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### (3) IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

The Rev. T. HOWARD GILL, Vicar of Tunbridge,  
Late Chaplain in Paris.

CONSIDERING the complexity of my subject, and the shortness of the time at my disposal, I must ask the indulgence of the Congress if I interpret the "other countries," of which I am expected to give information, in a somewhat narrow sense, and devote myself almost exclusively to a study of the one among them which, in this reference, is perhaps the most important, and of which I have myself had the closest experience, namely, France. In that country the secularization of elementary schools has been a burning point of theoretical dispute for twenty years; while for ten years it has been submitted also to the solution of practice. Opinions, therefore, have

had time to mature themselves, and in addition to opinions we are able to appeal to a considerable testimony of facts.

In France the present system of Elementary Education is, in the main, regulated by three laws, viz. :—that of 16th June, 1881, which rendered it gratuitous; that of 28th March, 1882, which secularized it, and at the same time rendered it obligatory between the ages of six and thirteen; and that of 30th October, 1886, which laicized the teaching staff. By the second of these laws, whilst religious instruction was left optional in the private, it was prohibited in the public, or as we should say, national, schools. By the same law, however, instruction in moral and civic duties was enjoined; and it was required that the schools should be closed one day a week, in addition to Sunday, "in order that parents, if they so desired, might have the opportunity of getting their children instructed in religion outside the school buildings."\* The practical effect of this requirement, however, has simply been to provide one weekday holiday, or to limit the number of whole working days to five, as in our own schools. By the third law—that of 1886—it was ordered that the teaching staff should be entirely lay, and that this laicization should be completed in the boys' schools within five years, in the girls' schools as soon as the term of office of the existing staff should, by death or resignation, have expired. At the present moment, the laicization is practically accomplished in the former case, and is nearing accomplishment in the latter.

In seeking to ascertain the results of these measures, we are confronted by innumerable difficulties. There are not merely the general difficulties incidental to every sociological problem, where the concurrence of causes cannot be overcome, as in the physical sciences, by artificial isolation in experiment. We can hardly argue, for instance, with a recent writer in our *School Guardian*, from an increase, in England and Wales, in the volume of offences, in the numbers of the police force, and in the sums spent on prisons, to the failure of our system of primary education. There are, fortunately, too many other factors to be taken into account in such a case; there is the rise in the standard of public morality, which has created, if I may use the word, a number of new offences, those, *e.g.*, connected with the cruel treatment of animals and children; the greater activity of our law-courts; the increased skill and vigour of our police; the growing licence of the press and of the theatre; and the influx of the country populations into towns, with the unsettlement of character and exposure to immoral contagion attendant on that movement. It may be impossible to distribute this complex causation, but it is culpable to ignore it. Nor must we ever forget, when tempted to draw pessimistic conclusions from statistics of crime, that these, after all, only give us one side of the question; that we have no statistics of virtue to set over against them; and that the intensity of life is increasing quickly enough in all directions to warrant the inference that every development of vice is at least balanced, if not even, as the Italian publicist, Poletti, maintains, outbalanced, by a corresponding development of virtue. I need hardly allude to another great difficulty attached to a question of this kind, in which so many conflicting interests are involved, viz.,

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\* Loi du 28 Mars, 1882, Art 2.

that of discussing it in an impartial spirit. I have been unavoidably impressed by the large personal equation in the opinions of many of my correspondents on this subject. The cases were not few in which a religious or political conviction had so evidently coloured my informants' statements as to render them of little direct service.

But, beyond these general difficulties, my task is beset by special ones; by such, that is, as arise from the special conditions of the case I have selected for your consideration. And it is, it appears to me, of prime importance that we should notice these conditions carefully, that we may not, by a neglect of them, be misled into drawing lessons from French experience which are in no way applicable to ourselves. We have to remember, for instance, that in France, the secularization of the country (by disbelief) has preceded that of the schools to an extent unparalleled in England; that, consequently, the factor of "home-influence" has quite different values on the two sides of the Channel. We have to remember, again, that the character of the moral-religious instruction given in France before the expulsion of the priests, did not resemble that which now prevails in our own schools. It is, I believe, generally admitted that the clerical instruction of the past went, in the majority of cases, very little beyond the formal repetition of the catechism and an elementary initiation into Church ritual. Nor, again, when seductive criminal statistics, which are an undoubted danger to an enquirer into this subject, invite us to turn them to our ends, can the fact be overlooked that France has been suffering throughout this century from almost continuous constitutional instability; and in that land of centralization, where, as Tarde has well said, the State is the first and most efficient policeman, such a weakness of government is peculiarly prolific in vice. There is, too, this other circumstance to which we must not close our eyes, that the secularization of the French primary schools has, after all, not yet been in force for more than ten years, a limitation of time which limits considerably the results chargeable to the measure.

My space forbids me to linger longer over this clearing of the ground. I should consider that I had already devoted too much room to negation, did I not believe that the avoidance of error is here the better half of truth. Circumspection is needful, not merely that we may do no injustice to our neighbours, but also that we may concentrate our attention on such effects only of their present educational arrangements as have a general, and not purely local, or national import; such effects, *i.e.*, as we might reasonably expect to see repeated should the same system be introduced into another country.

Dividing these effects, so far as they are ascertainable, into two classes, religious and moral, and giving precedence to the former, I would ask your attention in the first instance to the following point. Those who press for the secularization of our State schools are wont to take their stand on the two premises, that religion lies beyond the province of the State, and that the State should be neutral in matters exceeding its province. In order, however, that these postulates may logically lead to the conclusion that State schools ought to be secularized, the assumption must be made that "secular" and "neutral" are equivalent terms, in other words, that the State, in establishing secular schools, will be observing religious neutrality. This assumption,

however, Frenchmen of the most opposite parties (whose private prejudices, therefore, may be regarded as cancelling one another), and also Frenchmen of no party, combine in declaring to be false. Their experience has taught them that rarely, if ever, does the secular system succeed in maintaining the slippery balance of religious impartiality. "True neutrality in this matter," writes M. Frédéric Passy, "is most difficult."\* "It seems to us impossible that this teaching should maintain the neutrality which is the *raison d'être* of the secular schools," said the late M. Eugène Bersier.† M. Jules Simon likewise contends that it is quite impossible;‡ and I would specially insist on the importance of this testimony, coming as it does from one who is at once a deep thinker, a statesman, a friend of the present government, an independent in respect of religion, and an earnest student of this question. "Neutrality," writes M. Benjamin Couve, the able editor of *Le Christianisme*, "is almost impossible, and there is no doubt that many teachers violate it in the anti-religious sense, or the reverse. There are many communes in France where the children are still taught the catechism or taken to mass, and others where we find every extreme of anti-clericalism."§ "In order to secure neutrality in the school," says M. Pédezert, "it is not enough to neutralize the programmes; the men must be neutralized too. But does anyone entertain such a hope? The men, and it is to their honour, will communicate that which they have received, truth or error, faith or infidelity. We shall have neutral professors only when these professors have ceased to be men."||

But this is not all. It is not merely that religious neutrality has proved unattainable in the secular school. I would ask you to notice further on which side the neutrality is oftenest violated. It is on the anti-religious side. "In the immense majority of cases," says M. de Seynes, "the neutrality is violated in favour of the atheists, and the teachers strive to impress their pupils with the idea that God is an illusion (*un mensonge*). This has been innocently and verbatim repeated, as coming from their teachers, by children in various schools both in Paris and in the provinces."¶ Père Hyacinthe (Loyson) writes to me, "What is at present called the neutrality of the school is nothing else than the predominance there and in society of the positivism of Auguste Comte in its most objectionable aspects."\*\* Such statements as the following from a well-versed politician, the Comte de Montsaunin, "The young teachers of to-day believe that to stand well with the Government it is advisable to pass as atheists";†† or the following from one who for over fifty years has worked in the ranks of the teachers, and is a firm believer in the present system, M. Draucourt, "There is a strong temptation to-day for the teacher to pose as a free-thinker,"‡‡ I will pass over, because it is possible, though I think not

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\* Letter, 19th August, 1892.

† "La Laïcité de l'enseignement," de Seynes; 1884, p. 14.

‡ "Dieu, Patrie, Liberté." See Caps. VIII., IX.; especially pp. 337, 343, 347-51.

§ Letter, 29 August, 1892. 413, 424. || See "La Laïcité," de Seynes, p. 37.

¶ Letter, 12 September, 1892.

\*\* Letter, 13 July, 1892. †† Letter, 26 August, 1892.

‡‡ Letter, 19 July, 1892.



fair, to attribute the results embodied in them entirely to the peculiar conditions of contemporary French politics. But no one, I believe, will challenge either the truth or the universal applicability of such assertions as this from M. Grawitz :—"It is not necessary to say to a child, 'There is no God,' in order to excite doubts in his mind ; it is sufficient never to mention His name ;" \* or of this from M. Jules Simon, "It is of the nature of positive (anti-religious) instruction when the child knows that his teacher never prays, or, at least, hides himself when he prays ; when the law of the land forbids the teacher openly to avow his faith, if he has any ; when religion is at the most tolerated." † The truth is, the injunction of silence on religious topics during the hours of school is in itself a positive measure ; positive, that is, in its hostility to faith. Moreover, this injunction assumes a doubly hostile form when, as is the case now in France, and as would be the case, I presume, in England, moral instruction is retained in the curriculum after religion has been banished. Some religious impartiality might be looked for in an institution in which nothing but reading, writing, and cyphering were taught ; to omit the mention of God's name and love in connection with these pursuits might conceivably have a less prejudicial effect on the child's future ; but when morality is set forth, when the principles of conduct are expounded, when the clue that is to guide the pupil's steps through life is put into his hands, without any allusion to the ordinance and providence of a Divine Governor and Father, then, indisputably, the propagation of atheism has begun. Such dissociation of conduct from the Divine sanction denies by implication the existence of God at the point of His most vital contact with the soul. The secular school can never be neutral in the matter of religion, least of all when it is teaching morality.

This brings me to a second proposition, which the experience of our neighbours has gone far towards demonstrating. The ethical instruction given in their secularized schools, with such detriment to religious neutrality, has itself, up to the present at least, and in the majority of cases, proved a failure. A method of effectively imparting to children "the prejudice in favour of the good," without the assistance of religion, has not yet been discovered in France. If I had to reason on this question *a priori*, I might insist on the psychological cause of this failure. For who ever deliberately let go of God's hand without hoping to substitute for it the crutches of reason ? But the child is debarred from this substitute ; his evolution has not yet brought him to the stage at which the rational element plays any prominent part in life. To set reason in the room of authority, as a means of impressing the "ought" on him, is a blunder which psychologists will be the first to condemn ; and Handbooks of Morality for use in primary schools, ‡ which supply to infants of seven to eleven the dry bones of Kant's or Stuart Mill's system of ethics as a formative influence, would hardly meet with the approval, I imagine, of those who, like Mr. Herbert

\* "La Laïcité," p. 22.

† "Dieu, Patrie, Liberté," p. 347.

‡ See the various "Cours de la Morale," for use in the Primary Schools, by Compayré, Mabillean, Renaudin, Charpentier, Mezières, etc.

Spencer, have based their educational system upon the Darwinian theory. It is, however, no part of my present task to argue *a priori*; I am confined to the outcome of experience in France, and the confinement cannot be complained of as irksome. In 1889, after the system of a secularized moral education had undergone the test of a seven years' application, the then Minister of Public Instruction instituted an enquiry into its results. M. Lichtenberger, Dean of the Protestant Faculty of Theology of Paris—and his selection for the duty places his impartiality above suspicion—was entrusted with the task of analyzing the 558 documents which resulted from this enquiry, and which included the returns of 337 inspectors of primary schools in all parts of France. This M. Lichtenberger has done in an official pamphlet,\* in which he gives copious quotations from, and sums up, the various reports. I need hardly say that the latter exhibit some divergence of opinion. The divergence, indeed, is, in parts, extreme enough to be grotesque, and of itself suggests that the system under report is defective. One inspector insists on the necessity of furnishing every teacher with a good manual on the subject; another observes that the only teachers who succeed in his district are those who abjure handbooks. Here an inspector traces the teachers' failure to the fact that their instruction has been altogether of the concrete kind; there one says that until they abandon abstractions and give the children object lessons in morality, drawn from the life, they cannot hope to succeed. And as concerning the mode of imparting this instruction, so concerning the number and duration of the lessons, there is the same difference of opinion. Some advocate four lessons of one hour each per week; others think that one is quite sufficient.† One inspector attributes the superiority of the lessons in his district to the fact that they had been reduced to two:‡ whilst “a number of teachers in a certain district, under the pretext that morality comes by inspiration, not by instruction, have cut the knot by suppressing the lesson altogether. Morality,” they say, “diffuses itself like a perfume through the class, the children draw it in in deep breaths, and saturate themselves with it as with a precious essence.”§

We find, too, from the reports, that the moral and civic duties which the Government programme names together as subjects to be taught in the school, are often bracketed together in practice by the teacher to the detriment of the former; indeed, the latter, which are much easier to teach, are frequently made to stand for both. Thus an inspector, on asking a teacher what lessons in morals he had given that month, received the reply, “Sir, we have been speaking of the Ministries;” and upon the official expressing surprise, he was told, “Sir, we have been following the text book.”|| Another inspector reports that certain teachers believe they are giving a lesson in morals when they explain the functions of the Municipal Council.¶

In many districts moral instruction is not even nominally given. “In sixty schools out of a hundred in my circumscription,” says the Inspector for Angoulême, “moral instruction is practically absent; the lesson usually lasts from three to five minutes.”\*\* The Inspector for

\* “L'Education Morale,” par M. F. Lichtenberger, Paris, 1889.

† “L'Education Morale,” p. 8.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 8. § *Ibid.*, p. 5. || *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 12. \*\* *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Limoges reports that it does not exist in his district;\* and in that of Cosne, we are told, "moral instruction is neither given nor understood."† There are other reports of a much more favourable nature in the pamphlet; but of its general tone there can be no question. The total impression left on the mind after perusing it is very strongly this, that the attempt to teach morality without religion has failed. M. Lichtenberger does not make this admission in so many words, but he allows that "the results of the present system are as yet little apparent;" it is to "the future" he looks for its fruits;‡ he replies to those who ask for immediate results, that "we must not expect premature harvests;"§ and ultimately expresses it as his own conviction that "the religious sentiment is inseparable from morality," and that "moral teaching cannot be effectively given without its aid."|| With this conviction, he declares his readiness to see the school doors opened to the ministers of religion again, in other than the regular hours.¶ I may add that the general opinion I formed after reading M. Lichtenberger's pamphlet is supported by an authority which will certainly not be suspected of clerical leanings—I mean the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Commenting upon the Dean's extracts from the reports, the *Revue* asserts, "The majority, in terms that are sometimes startling, reveal the fact that with religious instruction all teaching of morality has disappeared; almost everywhere moral education is either dying out or altogether non-existent."\*\*

Nor does French experience at all confirm the hope that the loss thus sustained in the Day school will be repaired in the Sunday school. When the secularization law was first introduced, the Protestants, overjoyed at the abatement of the priest's influence, and, relying for their own security on the potency of their Sunday and Thursday classes, welcomed the new state of things without reserve. But they found themselves leaning on a reed of Egypt. The attendance in their Sunday schools has, as a rule, actually fallen off as religion has been discredited by the State; and even where this has not occurred, the recognition has been forced on them that a training which depends for its success on continuous habit cannot be effected at intervals, or character formed in the space of an hour a week. The Protestants, in fact, have been so schooled by experience that, instead of any longer hailing the secularization with pleasure, the editor of their leading journal, *Le Christianisme*, could write to me the other day: "We are all agreed that the results of that measure are deplorable."††

Let me append to these opinions some evidence of a practical nature. An official report, addressed, in 1888, by Inspectors of Workshops and Factories in Paris, to the Prefect of the Seine, contains the following observations: "We have noticed with pain the lack of moral instruction in these children (viz., the juvenile employees). Although they have attended *cours de morale* in the schools they have just left, they show little trace of it. It proves that this instruction is given in a most imperfect manner. It is an unpleasant duty to report, M. Prefect,

\* "L'Education Morale," p. 24. † *Ibid.*, p. 25. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 23. || *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 58.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 118. \*\* *Revue*, 15th Dec., 1889, p. 947.

†† Letter, 29th August, 1892.

that for want of moral education the children are losing all notions of respect and duty, and becoming addicted to bad language and obscene expressions. Their misconduct in the public street is often scandalous. Everyone is complaining, and many employers will no longer engage apprentices, on account of the troubles they cause. It is high time to put an end to these moral disasters (*désastres moraux*)."\* This report, I would remind my hearers, refers to the children of Paris, where the schools reach the highest intellectual standard, and also have been longest and most thoroughly secularized.

Finally, I would turn to an argument I have hitherto avoided, that which condemns the present system of education in France on the strength of the criminal statistics of recent years. Trusting that I have established my present point without the aid of this argument, I give it now for what it is worth. There has undoubtedly been a rapid multiplication of juvenile crime within the last decade. A deputy sends me a recent number of a paper, which he describes as "the most anti-clerical he knows"—a safe witness, therefore, for my purpose; it states the facts as follows: "The Houses of Correction are gorged with boys and girls. There is a proposal for pulling down the *Petite-Roquette* (the Paris jail for young criminals), in order to erect a larger establishment in its place. Juvenile crime is increasing at a truly frightful rate, if we may judge from the official statistics. In 1886 there were 5,606 prisoners under sixteen years of age; in 1888 they amounted to 7,351. The *récidivists* in 1883 numbered 89,169; in 1885 they rose to 91,332, in 1886 to 92,825, and in 1888 to 95,871."† Such are the figures. In interpreting them, not a few responsible Frenchmen cast the blame on the existing school system. The editor of the journal just quoted, in commenting on the above extract remarks, "The education given in our elementary schools is no longer a satisfactory moral agent." M. Guillot, one of the best-known French judges, called public attention in 1889, to the fact that the increase of juvenile crime was, beyond doubt, coincident with the changes introduced into the public instruction.‡ M. Gustave Macé, late head of the police force in Paris, speaks of the secularization law as "a reform that was conceived wrongly, and carried out in a practically inapplicable way;" and of the "young criminals, who spring up like weeds between the cracks of the pavement," as the natural fruits of it. "An immense risk is run," he adds, "when, without any preparation, without even having chosen a substitute for the proscribed instruction, all fear (he is referring to religious fear) is removed from the children."§

But there is another circumstance, and this brings me to my third point, which recent events in France have set in sharp relief, viz., that a secular system cannot be a national one. Notwithstanding the excellent quality of the teaching in the public schools of France, there are thousands and tens of thousands of families of all ranks who refuse to avail themselves of it. The secularization laws have incited them to withdraw their children from the State institutions,

\* *Bulletin Officiel*, 9th October, 1889.

† *La Démocratie du Cher*, 17th August, 1892.

‡ See *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Vol. 96, 1889.

§ "La Police Parisienne: Mon Musée Criminel," pp. 240, 242.

and to provide denominational ones of their own, often at great cost and self-sacrifice. Of the 6,308,632 scholars in primary schools of all sorts in 1890, nearly one-third (2,086,571) were in these denominational schools, and the proportion increases in favour of the latter every year.\* In Paris, where secularization occurred earlier than in the rest of the country, the proportion is yet more instructive, for nearly two-fifths of the whole are there to be found in denominational schools. Mr. Matthew Arnold, in his Parliamentary report of 1886, tells us that the Catholics of Paris had raised over fifteen millions of francs for scholastic purposes in the six preceding years, and were then educating one-third of the children of Paris; during the last six years both their expenditure and the numbers of their scholars have risen rapidly, whilst the public schools have remained almost stationary. On the 10th of last month, the editor of *La Patrie*, commenting on the recent reports of the *Conseils Généraux* (or, as we should say, County Councils), remarks that they clearly demonstrate that laicization is contrary to the popular will; and he instances the cases of the Department of the *Maine et Loire*, in which twenty-six schools were laicized last year. Prior to this there were 3,030 children in these schools, now there are 226, and the remaining 2,804 have been transferred to denominational schools erected in opposition to the Government institutions. In the latter the average number of pupils is now from eight to nine, in the former it is over 100; and the editor remarks, "it is everywhere the same."†

Mr. Fitch, in his Memorandum of 1891, reminds us that the same state of things exists in the United States; it exists, if I mistake not, in Holland; and it did exist in Belgium until the law of 1884 introduced a system very similar to our own, which is giving almost universal satisfaction. Mr. Fitch says truly, "Where the State system absolutely excludes religious instruction from its purview, there grows up, side by side with it, a rival system outside of the National school organization, and in part hostile to it, administered by religious bodies, maintained at their own cost and that of the parents, and receiving neither aid nor supervision from public authorities. Experience," he adds, "seems to prove that in such circumstances the number of voluntary and denominational schools tends to increase, and the separation in feeling and interests between such schools and the common schools to become more marked, while the area of the State's influence over public education becomes *pro tanto* restricted." He concludes, "A secular system, pure and simple, it would appear, is incapable of becoming a truly national system."‡

To sum up, we are justified, it appears to me, in coming to these three conclusions, as a result of a study of the case of France, viz., that (1) the secular school cannot observe religious neutrality; (2) it is practically impossible to give, at least to children, any effective moral instruction without the aid of religion; (3) a secular system of education will never become a truly national system. And with these conclusions before me, it is an inexpressible gratification to find that the cry for

\* "Rapport sur les résultats des Laicisation Scolaires," 1891, p. xii.

† *La Patrie*, 10 September, 1892.

‡ Education Department Memorandum.—T. G. Fitch, Esq., 1891, p. 38.

secularization in England, which was raised so loudly in 1870, seems to be dying a natural death; that a leading Nonconformist like the Rev. Hugh Price-Hughes has just publicly declared, "I do not hesitate to say that the most awful mistake the religious Nonconformists of England made, was when they accepted a secular platform for National Education;" and that we are assured on the same authority that "as a matter of fact to-day, all the great Nonconformist bodies of England have now, by express vote at their assemblies, repudiated the secular position altogether." \*

## ADDRESSES.

The Right Rev. H. B. BOWLBY, D.D., Bishop Suffragan  
of Coventry.

(1) ONE result of the neglect of religious education in elementary schools at home is the gradual fading away of religion itself out of the sphere of human interests. I am afraid, if the process continues, it will disappear altogether, for men will not take up in after life what in school they observed was passed over by their teachers.

Nothing can be more certain than the fact that a religious spirit and a religious basis are essential to all true education, and that religious principles are necessary for the formation of character, without which even the common business of life cannot be well done; but when this fact is so frequently set aside in practice, the way is made more easy to the open denial of it. Neglect, once begun, grows rapidly, and perpetuates itself. The mischievous heresy, which cleaves the living child, education, in two parts, religious and secular, is strengthened and encouraged.

That which is habitually neglected soon drops out of its proper place as a duty; it becomes an ornament, not the keystone of the arch.

It is no longer a fixed star in the heaven of faith and obedience, but the occasional meteor of a November night. The public conscience in the first instance is shocked, and then becomes accustomed and acquiesces. And so the unsound and unphilosophical division of education into two independent parts, religious and secular, is encouraged.

Secular instruction fills a wider space, and presents itself with greater urgency. Religious education is looked on as a thing apart, and becomes an accessory, "the sauce and trimmings of education, which anyone may add to it if he pleases," instead of an essential feature. It is shunted as a superfluity and an interruption, until the express train of secular knowledge has thundered past on the main line. Some teachers are now objecting to the over pressure of the religious element. "It interferes," they say, "with time already too much occupied." Some again say, "We, not being spiritual ourselves, are not fitted to teach spiritual things." I do not say this is as yet general, but I know it for a fact in more cases than it is pleasant to think of, and I fear it is likely to become more general. Just in proportion as the religious side of education is neglected, attempts to restore or maintain it in its proper place will be met in this way.

This way of putting asunder what God had joined together will become habitual and settled. It will come to be taken for granted. It would never have been so if religious education had not been neglected, and alas! too often by those who ought to have been its chief defenders.

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\* See "Review of the Churches," for August, 1892, pp. 323-4.

(2) Another result follows as a natural consequence from the first. Before very long, if we do not take care, religious education will be abandoned by the regular teacher, and left to *volunteers*. This is much to be deplored. However earnest and spiritually-minded these volunteers may be, their presence in the school strengthens the impression in the child's mind that religion is an *extra subject*, not a living power intended to fill the heart in every action of the day. Even the religious *instruction*, viewed for a moment apart from the religious *education* which develops the child's moral nature, can never be systematic or uniform, when it depends upon the infrequent and sometimes irregular visits of teachers who form no part of the school staff. Teachers are often changing, and each teacher has his own view, or the view of his denomination or party. S. Paul has told us how far we are from true religion, when everyone hath a "psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation." And surely, that "confusion," of which God is *not* the author, must bewilder the minds of children, and become a short road to unbelief. This is another sad result of the neglect of religious education by those to whom it has been entrusted by God. I take it for granted that the clergy of the parish will take due care of the flock so solemnly committed to them.

(3) I come to a third result of this neglect. The boys and girls, who in a few years will be the controlling power of this country, will have no religious principles, except such as they may have gained outside of the school. Already, many of them are refusing confirmation, and are seldom seen at church, and hardly ever at Holy Communion. If they do come to church, too often they have no habit of reverence, or sense of God's presence—they have not been taught the duty and blessing of worship. They become hearers, not worshippers, and often only forgetful hearers. They have never learned why they should come to church. The Bible, the Prayer-book, and Church History are sealed books. Their wonderful and instructive lessons are unknown. The judges of the land are struck with the large amount of perjury on the part of the witnesses who give evidence before them.

Gambling, dishonesty, embezzlement, crimes of violence, as well as of secret and unprincipled fraud, are staining our national life. Sunday desecration is more frequent and unblushing. Can we wonder that so many lives are wrecked upon dangerous reefs, when they attempt to navigate a sea of doubt and difficulty without chart and compass? Can we affect astonishment at the moral catastrophes which occur, when powerful instruments are placed in the hands of those who are conscious of their strength, and are driven by strong passions, but not restrained by religious principles? How can they ever know many things to be wrong, which really are so? Can we be surprised when young people fall into vicious and immoral habits? Will there be *peace between different classes of society*, when each class is bent upon advancing self, and neither fear God nor regard man? Where will be the faith, and the purity, and the love of the brethren; where the good order, and industry, and loyalty of the next generation, if they have never learnt what the fear of God and the daily sense of His presence, and of the blessings of His service, alone can give—self-restraint, and consideration for others, a deep sense of individual responsibility, and of fellowship with others for the general good?

Whatever growth of sin and selfishness, of misery, discontent, and strife, this and the next century may witness, will owe their parentage in large measure to the neglect of religious education, to human nature left to itself, bereft of light and strength from above, through our criminal neglect. We are our brother's keepers, and if we do not fulfil our trust, his blood will cry out against us from the ground before the face of God.

The safety of the nation, the safety of society, is imperilled. The whole force of religion is quite as much needed in the present age as it has ever been to curb human passions, and to guide the development of human activity. For what are the marks of the age? A high state of civilization, and with it new forms of vice; man's nature lashed into excess by new excitements; population increasing, and congested more and more in large cities, seething with the pressure of rapid thought and action; confederated in labour movements, strong, tenacious, and wide spreading; passions roused by the speeches of agitators; the community divided into classes, often at war with each other, tortured by jealousy and suspicion, unable to understand each other, embittered by strikes, filled by dreams of social reforms and new Utopias. How to obtain real reforms may well tax the brain of the wisest and most patient.

Many on all sides are sincerely seeking the triumph of right, and truth, and justice, but not always seeking it wisely. Many are preaching a gospel of plunder, and a crusade of outrage.

Never was pure and undefiled religion, not the distorted and perverted thing which often passes for it, but the genuine message of Christ, more needed to direct and sanctify these powerful impulses which are working in our age. Never was the wisdom from above more wanted to lead the giant of intellect and energy to divine work, and turn him from the blind rage which upheaves the rocks and flings them madly round, instead of building them together as foundations of the temple of righteousness and peace.

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### The Right Rev. JAMES MOORHOUSE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Manchester.

I SHOULD very much like to take up certain points that have been introduced to-day, and especially one that was referred to by the noble lord who read the first paper, who introduced the subject with incomparable eloquence and effect. But I have only a quarter of an hour, and therefore I am afraid that I must deny myself the pleasure which I should unfeignedly take in doing so. The subject before us is an important one, and it is the result of the neglect of religious instruction in elementary schools. I am afraid that it is very difficult to estimate in any particular case what is the moral result of the neglect of religious education, for that neglect is only one moral influence out of many, and it is difficult, in the first place, to isolate its effects, and, secondly, to take due account of those influences which have been set up by religious people to counteract those effects. For instance, as you have heard this morning, in France and in America, where education is purely secular, religious persons have not only endeavoured to set up, but have set up, religious influences in opposition to the general results of a secular education. Therefore, as those efforts to counteract the influence of secular education must have a serious moral effect, both direct and indirect, upon the population, it becomes exceedingly difficult to say what, precisely, is the result of the neglect of religious education in any such country. But, obviously, our hope of attaining to a definite result will be greater in proportion as the education of a country is purely secular, and the efforts made by religious people to counteract its influence are small. Well, now, those conditions meet in a Colony with which I am very well acquainted, and as I am set to speak about the Colonies, I confine myself to the one that I know. In the Colony with which I am well acquainted, the Australian Colony of Victoria, the elementary education is entirely in the hands of the Government. It is entirely secular, and it has swept into its net the whole population. If we except a small number of schools which with



noble fidelity the Roman Catholics have maintained, there are very few schools of a denominational character which have been established to counteract the influence of the secular system. I know that if I proceed to cite the criminal statistics of the Colony, I shall be met with the observation, "After all, you may be neglecting some special and very important circumstances in the Colonial life." Well, I may. I think that I have as little confidence in statistics as any of those who distrust them. But what are we to do? The secular educationalist will admit no other evidence. Therefore we are obliged to make the best of statistics, and to do all that we can to give them their true value. I must say that I do not think that in this case there are many possible causes of error, for first of all the Government have, as I said, swept all the children into the secular schools, and, secondly, the system has been long enough at work to reveal its true consequences, for it was established on the first of January, 1873; and thus it will have been twenty years in operation on the first day of next year. In the third place, the system has accomplished all which its most enthusiastic supporters hoped it would accomplish. It has attained a result which, as far as I know, is almost unexampled, making the Victorian people, perhaps, the most completely educated people of our race throughout the world. For what are the facts? Of the children of school age in the Colony of Victoria, 99·56 out of every hundred are being educated; that is to say, only one child of school age out of 200 is out of school. That is a most significant fact, because we were always told that as soon as secular education became universal we should see that it produced a striking effect in the diminution of crime. Therefore nobody can find fault with us if we take these gentlemen at their word, and say, "Since secular education has become universal, we have a right to ask, Has it, according to your promise, greatly diminished crime?" I find that the male population in this Colony has increased in the last decade by less than a third of what it was in 1880. I may just as well say that I am citing from the Year Book of the Colony of Victoria for 1890-91, which very recently came into my hands. In the same period the male criminals who were summarily convicted, or held to bail, were, in 1880, 12,469; in 1890, they were 20,189. They had increased by nearly one half. Again, if we consider the commission of more serious crimes, we get a result not very dissimilar, only, alas, not in favour of secular education. There were in 1880, 36 persons convicted of murder and manslaughter. There were in 1890, 56 persons convicted. This class of criminals had thus increased by nearly two-thirds. Again, if we look at the crime of robbery with violence, we find that in 1880, 245 persons were convicted of that crime, and in 1890, 465 were so convicted, or nearly double. That is to say, criminals have increased in number out of all proportion to the increase of the population. Secular education is universal. It was predicted that it would diminish crime. It has been totally powerless to do so. And there is this sad and most important statement to be made, that the most serious crimes are committed by the best educated criminals. I am sure that some of you must have thought in your own minds as I went on reading this awful list, "But perhaps, after all, the criminals to whom you have referred consist of the small selvedge of the population that has not received a complete secular education." Alas, the results leave us no such option. They tell us that in 1880, 74 out of a hundred criminals were able to read and write. In 1890, 89 out of a hundred were able to read and write. In other words, not only has the number of criminals increased, but the education of the criminals has also increased; and, as I said before, the most serious statement perhaps made by the Government statist of Victoria is, that amongst all the criminals the best educated are those that commit the most serious offences. But perhaps you will again say, "There may have

been some defect in this secular instruction ; the persons responsible for it may not have introduced into their programme of subjects that extraordinary morality of which we have heard so much in connection with the French schools." Well, it seems that some eight or ten years ago some such thought as that did cross the minds of those who were responsible for managing this system, and accordingly, by way of teaching secular morality without a religious sanction, they introduced into all the Government schools Hackwood's Moral Education Book, a book which consists of a great number of undoubted moral truths, but stated after the manner of copy heads. Well, what was the effect of the introduction of that book ? A little more than three years ago the Inspectors of Schools for the colony of Victoria made a report on the effect of the moral text book of Hackwood. These men, a number of laymen, are all appointed by the Government, and may be dismissed by the Government ; and to say the least of it, therefore, it is not their interest to report against any of the schemes of their masters. Well, now, what was their report ? With one consent they declared that this moral text book was—first, useless because it was uninteresting ; secondly, it was injurious, because it substituted a utilitarian morality for a healthy appeal to the human conscience ; and therefore they recommended that it be entirely withdrawn from all the schools of Victoria. Secular morality was without interest ; it was injurious ; it did not stop crime, and therefore it was high time that it went the way of all useless things. "Well, but," you will say, "surely the Churches must have been doing something all this time to counteract the effects of this terrible secular education ? Surely they did something on the Sunday, if they could not on the week-day." I believe the Churches did their very best to improve the organization of their Sunday schools. I was Bishop of Melbourne for more than nine years, and I know that I did my very best to put the schools into as good a condition as, with the materials at our disposition, we could bring them to. I will tell you the result of the work which we did. I had intended to explain it, but I cannot. I will only just say half-a-dozen words upon it. First of all, attendance at Sunday school is voluntary ; and, secondly, the Government had been doing all it could to teach both parents and children, practically, that religious instruction was a subject that might be neglected ; and therefore I told the people that under those circumstances they must not expect the attendance at Sunday schools even to be maintained, much less increased. I was told, "Oh yes, the Sunday schools will make up for all the defects of the secular system." These, however, are the facts. In 1883 there were seventy-one and a half per cent. of the children of school age attending the Sunday schools of the Colony. Seven years later, in 1890, there were only thirty-nine per cent. of the children of school age attending the Sunday schools. No wonder. If parents and children alike believe that religious instruction may be neglected, how can you expect them voluntarily to attend Sunday school ? I would call special attention to this result, because the Secularists are always telling us that, if only we allow the establishment of a secular system of education in the day schools, our Churches will make up for it. It is said that they are the proper teachers of religion, and that on Sundays or on weekdays they will make up for it. Well, again, I tell you that they tried every scheme that was possible in my time. There were lessons before the school began, lessons after it finished, and lessons on the Saturday half-holiday ; but they invariably failed, and no wonder. If you are obliged to have a compulsory clause to make children attend the secular instruction in the ordinary school hours, how can you expect them voluntarily to attend afterwards or before ? Can you think that the children will get up half-an-hour before the usual time, and come like good boys and girls to attend religious instruction ? Can you expect that, when they are tired with a long day's work, they will attend half-an-hour afterwards ? Can you expect that,

on the one day of holiday, they will give up play to come and attend religious instruction? The effort was made, and it signally failed. This shows to my mind clearly, that if you adopt secular instruction in the day school, sooner or later you will find a decline in the attendance at Sunday school, and then you will find that great, continuous, and terrible demoralization of the people which I have demonstrated as existing in the Colony of Victoria. I now only wish to make amends to the Colony of Victoria, otherwise I should now stop. I am thankful to say that the Colony of Victoria at last has found out its mistake. I was delighted to receive, by the very last mail, the news that the Legislative Assembly had passed a resolution to restore the name of our dear Lord to those lessons in the reading book from which it had been excluded, not by a contemptuous infidelity, but by a bastard liberalism. That is the first step, but I hope that it is not the last step backward to a reasonable and religious education. And while I ask you to take warning by the disasters of the Colony, may I be permitted to ask your prayers for that Colony which I love so well, and where I passed so many happy years, and did the best work of my life. May I be permitted to ask your prayers to God, that He will give to the people and the rulers wisdom and courage enough to acknowledge that they were mistaken, and to break off for ever from that desolating secular system that has left so many moral wrecks and ruins in its train.

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The Ven. B. F. SMITH, Archdeacon of Maidstone, Canon of Canterbury, and Diocesan Inspector of Schools.

BEFORE arraying myself in borrowed feathers, let me express my regret that my friend, Dr. Fitch, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools, did not see his way to comply with the request of your Subjects Committee to bring before you at first hand the results of his official inquiry into the public school systems of America and France, in so far as it relates to the exclusion of religious teaching.

The facts and figures contained in his official memorandum, which were published in the Report of the Education Department of last year, have not thus far been challenged; and, so far as regards France, I shall be able to confirm them by more recent statistics.

But to my mind they have so important a bearing on the problem of elementary education in England, that, at the risk of the charge of plagiarism, I shall venture, with his full concurrence, to place them, along with some more recent facts, before the Congress.

I shall be able to show from these facts and figures that the systems of public education now in force in America and France fail increasingly to meet the requirements of important sections of the community, or to command that universal acceptance which our system of public elementary education has happily secured in England; and I shall further show that this failure, with its attendant heart-burnings, and its serious educational consequences, is chiefly due to the absolute exclusion of religious instruction from the public school, against which the conscience of a large and increasing number of the community has been found to revolt.

There was indeed a time in England, at the outset of State intervention in elementary education, when some religious bodies held aloof, if they did not feel themselves excluded, from participation in the grants and inspection offered by the State. Happily, the educational policy of this country, both administrative and legislative, has been enlightened enough to respect the religious convictions even of minorities, and to aid voluntary schools solely on condition of their secular efficiency, leaving them perfectly free to organize religious instruction in accordance with their

fundamental principles. In consequence, the zeal and good-will of all parties in England have been enlisted in hearty co-operation with the Education Department for the furtherance of public elementary education.

It is otherwise, however, in the United States, where, various as are the systems of State education, they all agree in this—that religious instruction shall be rigorously excluded from the public schools.

On the first blush, this solution of the religious difficulty might seem in that country the only possible one, but experience proves increasingly that it has one fatal flaw, inasmuch as by exclusion from the public schools of religious instruction, it arrays against itself the conscientious convictions of a large and increasing section of the community, and notably of the Roman Catholic body. In consequence, denominational and private schools are being set up and increasingly resorted to, which are independent of State support and control; so as to raise grave doubts among thoughtful American citizens whether the purely secular system can be regarded as a final solution of the educational problem in the United States.

The hard case of those religious communities which find themselves debarred by conscientious conviction from accepting the purely secular education offered by the State has been ably and temperately urged, on behalf of the Roman Catholic body, by Archbishop Ireland, in a discourse delivered before a representative educational gathering in America, a French translation of which is now being circulated in Europe. The existing secular system, he contends, is as full of danger to the religious future of the Republic as it is unjust to those who conscientiously stand aloof from it. He suggests several possible remedies, but it is of special interest to us to notice that he points to Germany and England as examples of countries which have solved the problem of national education without violating religious convictions.

The Federal Commissioner, whose duty it is to collect at the central bureau at Washington what educational statistics he can from the several States, reports that there is continually going on a transfer of pupils from the State schools to the private and denominational ones, which in his view is of the greatest significance, and demands careful attention.

In 1888, the enrolment in these voluntary schools exceeded one million scholars, and the numbers on their books increased from year to year much more rapidly than those in the public schools.

In the fourteen States from which full returns had been collected, in 1890 the scholars in voluntary schools had increased 7 per cent., while those in the State schools had been stationary.

In a group of five of the Eastern States, whose statistics were considered most reliable, the increase in the State Schools since the last record was under five thousand, while the increase in private and denominational schools was close upon 13,000.

In New Hampshire, during the last ten years, above 6,000 scholars have been withdrawn from the books of the public schools, and nearly an equal number added to those of voluntary ones.

In North Carolina, the number of scholars thus removed from all State recognition amounted to 20,000; in Boston to 10,000; in Philadelphia to 20,000; in the City of New York to 45,000.

In Chicago, the new city, selected as the site of the World's Fair, out of less than 100,000 scholars in all, more than 50,000 were in denominational schools, and more than 7,000 in private schools, making together over 62 per cent. of the whole school attendance which is beyond the scope of State assistance and supervision.

The cause of this serious outflow from the State schools into the voluntary ones is

to be sought, in the oracular words of the Federal Commissioner, "chiefly in the increasing prevalence of a belief in the necessity of certain forms and subjects of instruction that the public schools do not and cannot give." Translated into plain English by Mr. Fitch, the Commissioner's words are thus interpreted: "That by far the most potent of all the influences which are thus detaching so many scholars from the common schools are to be found in the religious objections to the school system." "At great personal sacrifice," Mr. Fitch adds, "many of the congregations keep up elementary schools at their own cost, in order that they may impart in them the religious instruction to which the several religious bodies attach most importance." Well may a prominent educational writer in *The Forum* of March, 1891, conclude that "nothing could be more hostile to the steady growth of public instruction."

Similar phenomena present themselves when we turn from the State systems of education in America to that of France, from which, in like manner, all religious instruction is strictly excluded.

Of the whole five and a half millions of primary scholars throughout France in 1890, excluding infants, more than one-fifth were found in private and denominational schools; and in the city of Paris more than two-fifths were so found. These schools, however (it must be mentioned in passing), are so far under the regulation of the State that their teachers are required to possess a certificate of competence.

Moreover, each year shows an accession of scholars to the denominational schools at the expense of the public schools. The increased enrolment in private schools in Paris in 1888 was seven times as large as that of the public schools. In 1890, it is now officially reported, the whole number of scholars in primary schools in France fell off by nearly 22,000, attributed to the decrease of population of school age. But, while there was actually an increase in the voluntary schools of nearly 20,000, there was a loss of over 40,000 in the public schools. And these losses are gradually accumulating, for, in the five years ending with 1888, they amounted to a decrease of enrolment in State schools of above 127,000, with a gain to voluntary schools of over 117,000. The proportions of this secession from the public school system in France are still more striking in the case of infant schools. Out of the whole number of infant schools (10,682), more than half are voluntary ones, and these latter have increased in number during 1890 by twenty-nine, whereas the public infant schools have decreased by thirty-one; and while the former have added over 2,000 scholars to their numbers, the latter have lost 2,500 scholars.

Single departments of France, if we may trust *La Patrie* (September 10th, 1892), present even more startling phenomena. In the department of Maine et Loire last year, the remaining twenty-six clerical public schools were laicized, with the result that, whereas when conducted by the Christian brothers these schools had 3,000, they have now only 226 scholars, the remainder being now in voluntary schools unconnected with the Government. The master of the public school at Nerry is said not to have a single scholar, and to be reduced to spend his time in fishing. And in a village called Thilliers where a public school had been built, costing the Municipal Council over £1,000, there are said to be only five scholars in average attendance.

The educational authorities in France themselves express a doubt whether this exclusion of schools which give religious instruction from participation in State grants can, or ought to be, maintained. M. Gréard, Vice-Rector of the University of Paris, the virtual director of public education in France, has officially given his opinion that denominational education ought in some way to take its place in the national system, and that not only should its independence be respected, but its development should be encouraged. M. Gréard is pleased to look across the channel, and to find in England an example worthy to be followed by France, of the State

aiding voluntary schools on the sole condition of being satisfied with their secular efficiency. Amongst the advantages he anticipates for France of adopting the English system, M. Gréard enumerates the following :—A saving of expense to the locality ; enlightened competition between voluntary and communal education ; a counterpoise to the danger of over-centralization ; the enlistment of the help of patriotic men anxious for the welfare of their country ; the illustration that would be given to France of the fruitfulness of voluntary effort directed to the work of education.

Surely the experience of these two great nations should not be lost upon England. Their most thoughtful officials cannot resist the logic of facts and figures, which go to prove that the uncompromising secularity of their systems of State education has raised up against them an adverse force in the conscience of religious people which cannot be ignored or coerced ; it has created a breach through which an increasingly large section of their people is escaping out of the field of public instruction ; while a growing feeling of bitterness is being engendered by the denial of State help to those whose conscience forbids them to accept it on the terms on which it is offered, namely, the exclusion from education of all religious instruction.

The moral hardly needs pointing.

The experience of other nations may serve to reassure the Church in England that she has been playing no ignoble or unpatriotic part in insisting on perfect freedom in her schools to train her younger members in her faith, as the only sound basis of character and culture. She has been doing good service to her country as well as obeying her Divine Master ; for she has been helping the State to build up a stable and comprehensive system of national education, while she has been chiefly intent on the spiritual welfare of her own children.

And the State, in respecting the claims of religious conviction, and enlisting religious zeal to co-operate in the secular education of the nation, has not only earned for its system the goodwill of all voluntary schools, but has commanded the approval, not to say excited the envy, of thoughtful men in other countries, which are now trying the experiment of banishing religion from public schools, and encountering some of its inherent difficulties.

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## DISCUSSION.

The Rev. J. RICE BYRNE, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.

IN the short time that is allotted to me, with his Grace's permission, I will confine myself to one side issue which has been raised in the course of the debate, which has, I think, a real, though indirect, bearing upon the main question before the Congress. Religious instruction has been neglected. Who have neglected it ? Is it the clergy ? I contend that the clergy are under no obligation themselves alone to undertake the religious instruction of the children attending elementary schools, and for these reasons : first, because there is no sufficient time for it ; a fixed engagement of half an hour or three-quarters of an hour every day, every morning except Saturday and Sunday, would interfere greatly with the general spiritual administration of any cure of souls which is anything better than a sinecure. Secondly, because the clergy—I mean no offence by saying it—for the most part, are no school teachers. They have not been brought up to it. Teaching is an art, with its principles and its rules. The knowledge of it does not come by light of nature, nor may it be practised by rule of thumb. Again, to leave the religious instruction entirely in the hands of the clergy—men is tantamount to saying that religion—as was remarked by the Bishop of Coventry—may be considered a study apart and separate by itself, an art which requires to be taught by an expert in that kind, by a professor of the art. And again,

it is putting an indignity on the head master or mistress to deprive him or her of the privilege of teaching the greatest of subjects on their curriculum. Again, it has a tendency to relax the teacher's sense of responsibility to take out of his hands an all-important subject, because the teacher should himself be charged with the responsibility for the whole teaching and administration of the school. Anyone who has experience of schools knows that the well-being of the school hinges on the teacher—it is a good teacher that makes a good school. And again, such a proposal tends to damage or destroy the discipline, by depriving the teacher of the strongest motive that he has to present for enforcing discipline in its widest sense. But granted all this, it must still be held that religious instruction ought to be given. How? By selecting, and carefully selecting, a religiously-disposed and religiously-instructed teacher, and putting religious instruction entirely in his hands; stipulating, however, that it shall proceed on certain lines, and be founded on certain guiding principles. And the first of these is, that he shall systematically instruct the children in the fact of God's omnipresence, of the omnipresent activity of Providence, of the supervision of the supreme conscience of the universe. It is clear that this doctrine, which he ought always to have in view, pervades every line and every word both of the Old and New Testament. It rests like the Holy Spirit Himself, in the form of a dove, as it were, over each page of that two-fold book of the New and Old Covenant from cover to cover. And it is expressed in those four weighty words of Holy Scripture, "Thou God seest me." It has sometimes been asked, and jestingly asked, "What is an 'undenominational religion,'" or what was once wittily called "the common denominator of all the denominations?" I would say this is the undenominational religion, and it is not a thing in itself to be laughed at. The second principle which we should always keep in view is to represent God as the sanction and as the endorsement of morality. No other sanction but that is worth having. Convention shifts from nation to nation, from time to time, from individual to individual. Utility is not always a safe guide; it does not always pay to be good—at any rate in the immediate present. For instance, if at this moment an offer were made to me to abjure my religion or to perish at the stake, it would obviously pay me best to perjure myself and go quietly home to dinner, instead of roasting in the fire. I say that this is the only proper sanction and endorsement of moral instruction. Let the teachers always keep it in view. When anything presents itself to him in the form of a moral command, let him turn it over and see what is at the back of it. Who backs this bill? Is it endorsed with the autograph signature and sign-manual of the King of kings? That is to clothe duty with the most tremendous of sanctions. And it will be always found—I speak with some thirty years' experience as an Inspector of Elementary Schools under the Committee of Council on Education—the most effective instrument for enforcing duty; far more efficient than the heaviest of punishments, more serviceable and more convincing, and more cutting than the handiest of canes. I will only further say that I intended to speak on specific doctrinal instruction, but I find my time is up.

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The Rev. D. ELIOT YOUNG, Woodstock, Capetown.

I VENTURE to intrude myself at this late period of the meeting in order to speak one word with regard to Capetown and the educational work there. We are governed there by the Dutch vote, and the Dutch people, being essentially lovers of their Bible, have regained the right to give a distinctly religious education in all the schools, public and denominational. The result is that in country districts, where they have these schools entirely in their own hands, they are simply now propaganda of the Calvinistic way of looking at religion. But in the immediate neighbourhood of Capetown the education is necessarily, by reason of our divisions, essentially secular, and religion is for the most part entirely excluded from our public undenominational schools. The effect of that is exceedingly visible. When children come to our Sunday schools we can at once tell whether they have been brought up in our Church schools or in one of the public undenominational schools. Again, when people come to us for Confirmation, we find they do not even know where to find the places in their Bibles. If we ask them to find some passage in the New Testament, they will look for it in Genesis; and if we ask them to find a place in the Old Testament, they will look for it in the New. If the children are asked the most elementary question about religion, they have no notion whatever about it. The Catechism is an unknown book

to them, and the Lord's Prayer in many cases is unknown or stammered over; the Apostles' Creed is equally unknown. We have, again, another difficulty to contend with, which I do not think has been mentioned here. The Roman Catholics in all the colonies have exceedingly good and inexpensive schools, owing to the number of excellent voluntary teachers they can command, and if there is one thing that the colonist looks well after, it is to get the best article he can at the cheapest rate. He therefore sends his children to these schools, sacrificing in doing so their highest interests. Now, I will say this for the Roman Catholics, that in their schools they do keep very strictly to their undertaking, that they will not attempt to influence the children on the subject of religion. But what is the result? Indirectly the child is influenced. At a certain hour every day the Roman Catholic children are withdrawn for religious education, while the Protestant children are left out in the cold. The natural influence of this upon every child is to leave them under the impression that religion is something which the Roman Catholics value, and which their own parents do not. And the final result is that our children in after years look back to the influence of the Sisters who trained them in secular education, and won their hearts by their gentleness and love, and so are drawn away from the Church of England into the Roman communion.

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### The Rev. CRESSWELL STRANGE, Vicar of Edgbaston.

THE consideration of this most important question by the Church Congress will hardly have been in vain if it sends back every member of a School Board, or Church Committee of Managers, to his own parish determined to look this matter thoroughly and honestly in the face, and every clergyman determined to make use of the opportunity that he still has left to give religious instruction to his children in the short half-hour now at his disposal. I believe that the very briefness of the time now allowed by the Code has acted as one of the chief discouragements with the clergy, and has led them, in too many instances, to give up all attempt at personal instruction in their day schools. Yet I have no doubt whatever that if that half-hour is honestly used, and instruction given on the lines of a carefully prepared, continuous, and progressive syllabus, and on sound and distinct Church lines, too, the result of that teaching will not only be invaluable, but surprising. I would venture to remind my brethren who may be tempted to look upon the talent entrusted to them as a small one on account of the short time allowed them, of the fate of the man who kept his despised pound laid up in a napkin; he lost it altogether. "From him that hath not even that he hath shall be taken away from him." This is precisely the danger with which we are threatened in some of the great centres of our population, where, spite of the fee grant, it is every year becoming increasingly difficult for voluntary schools to hold their own against the practically unlimited resources of the School Board, and where, as is the case in the neighbourhood in which I live, a majority of the ratepayers has decided that, so far as the Board schools staff is concerned, the Word of God shall be *read* only, without explanation, and every teacher's mouth muzzled into taciturnity, lest haply, out of the fulness of his heart, he should give any teaching about God or His revealed will, or utter by accident the Name which is above every name. With regard to our great centres of population, there can be no doubt, however, that this question of religious instruction in our elementary Board schools presents to us the gravest difficulties. It is, it must be, a question for the ratepayers to decide; that is, a body composed of all sorts and conditions of men, and we, as Churchmen, cannot, in our large towns, expect to have everything exactly our own way; so that we are practically face to face, as far as our Board schools are concerned, with this question:—"Shall we leave the children with no religious instruction whatever, or give them teaching on which the bulk of religious people in this country are agreed?" Now, I am one of those who believe that the differences between us as Churchmen, and the various bodies of Nonconformists, are essential differences; essential, I mean, to the honest handing down of that Catholic Faith once for all delivered unto the saints, which we have received in unbroken succession from the Apostles, and which we are bound, as loyal sons of the Church, to hold fast to, and in turn hand on. But I cannot, for all that, believe that there are not great fundamental truths which our Board school teachers might set before their children without any danger whatever of undermining the Church's teaching, and that an agreement of this sort would be infinitely better than the present system of sending them into the world as spiritual waifs and strays to pick up chance scraps, with the



certainly of trial and temptation, but with no higher knowledge of the grace which can help them to bear the one and face the other. I myself, in a case such as I have mentioned (and Mr. Talbot has told me there are ninety-one such), should be content if the children were to learn the *ipsissima verba* of our blessed Lord, with such reasonable explanation of the meaning of words as would be allowed with any class book, believing that, as the Bible is God's Word, the Holy Spirit will bring it home to the hearts and consciences of our children. But those who view the matter from a different stand-point say, "We teach the moral fitness of things, which is quite sufficient." I venture to say that I believe a greater delusion than that never entered into the human heart. If you want the moral fitness of things to get into a boy's heart, you must make him see it on the authority of One who has a right to rule, and a right to the boy's obedience, and who has laid down His Divine Commandments, not in the spirit of an arbitrary despot, but out of love to that boy, and in regard to his present and future well-being. Take, for example, the command, "Thou shalt not steal." Give it to him as his Heavenly Father's utterance, both of authority and love, and we may have every hope of its coming home to his heart and life; give it him as the utterance of his teacher based only on "moral fitness," and probably the only fitness he will see will be that of his schoolfellows' marbles to his own finger and thumb, and the fitness of the vicar's apples to his own mouth. I would ask all present to use, wherever they may be placed, their utmost influence to prevent the spread of a great social mistake, and to remove from the path of those little ones, so dear to our Lord, and therefore surely dear to us, the danger which at present threatens of doing them a great moral wrong.

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### EDWARD I. GOODWIN, Esq.

I AM not used to public speaking; it is only a sense of duty which brings me here. I am an attached member of the Church of England, and, at the present time, I should be very sorry to see it disestablished or disendowed. In the year 1870 there was a sort of disestablishment, and, in a sense, religion was dissevered from the State, which I think was very wrong. I think in every school in the kingdom the Scriptures should be taught with simple explanations, as also the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, and that that teaching should be compulsory. In the year 1871 I was elected a member of a School Board consisting of five members, and I was the only one, except the clergyman, who took any interest in the religious education of the children. My first endeavour was that they should have an hour's teaching in Scripture and prayer, and that hymns should be used. I soon turned my attention to the examination of the children as regards their religious knowledge. I became a member of the Diocesan Board of Education, and made application to the Board to examine the children, but I met with a direct refusal. I then called in a neighbouring clergyman to examine them, and he gave me a most excellent report in regard to the children. I must tell you that this parish of which I was elected a member of the School Board is distinguished for three things. For sixty years, with some bright exceptions, it has had some of the worst clergy in the kingdom; it is one of the most drunken parishes in the kingdom; it pays the highest school-rate in the kingdom, traceable to the neglect of the clergy. I have made all these things the subject of earnest prayer, and I have met with answers to prayer in regard to many public and private things. I think that whenever there is an election for a School Board in any parish, not only the members of the Board, but the clergy and laity, should make it a subject of earnest prayer and deep interest as to who should be members of the Board. Then, again, when there are vacancies for masters and mistresses or assistants, that should be made a subject of earnest prayer and deep interest on the part of all. Then there are many other things. Although the Diocesan Inspector refused in 1872 to examine the children, yet since then they have come to a better state of mind, and when application was made two or three years ago for the children to be examined by the Diocesan Inspector, after various delays that came about last November, and the Diocesan Inspector gave a most excellent report, which was published in the *Maidstone Journal*, and some of you may have seen it. If we get Scripture taught in Board Schools with simple explanations, and with prayer, the Catechism may be taught out of the schools.

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## THE THEATRE,

WEDNESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 5TH, 1892.

The LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER in the Chair.

CANON LAW, IN CONNECTION WITH THE  
DISCIPLINE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF  
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

## PAPERS.

The Worshipful THOMAS HENRY TRISTRAM, Q.C., D.C.L.,  
Chancellor of the Diocese of London.

THE expression "canon law," when used in connection with the ecclesiastical laws of England, may have a twofold signification. It may be used to signify the Roman canon law, or the English canon law referring to the laws, canons, and constitutions of the Church of England which were in force in this country prior to the Reformation. But it has been established by numerous decisions of the Courts, that no rule of the Roman or English canon law is of binding obligation in this country, unless it can be shown to be comprised in what are termed "the King's Ecclesiastical Laws."

Lord Chief Justice Tindal, in delivering the opinions of Her Majesty's judges in answer to questions proposed to them by the House of Lords in the "*Queen v. Millis*" (10 *Clark and Finnely*, p. 680), states that the canon law of Europe does not, and never did, as a body of laws, form part of the law of England, has been long settled and established as law. Lord Hale defines the extent to which it is limited very accurately:—"The rule," he says, "by which the Ecclesiastical Courts proceed is the canon law, but not in its full latitude, and only so far as it stands uncorrected either by contrary Acts of Parliament or the common law and custom of England; for there are divers canons made in ancient times, and decretals of the Popes, which were never admitted here in England."—(Hale's "*History of the Common Law*," cap. 2.) "Indeed," the Lord Chief Justice continues, "the authorities are so numerous, and at the same time so express, that it is not by the Roman canon law that our judges in the Spiritual Courts decide questions within their jurisdiction, but by the King's ecclesiastical law, that it is sufficient to refer to two as an example of the rest. In *Cawdrey's case*, which is entitled '*Of the King's Ecclesiastical Law*,' in reporting the third resolution of the judges, Lord Coke says:—'Albeit the Kings of England derived their ecclesiastical laws from others, yet so many as were proved, approved, or allowed here, by and with a general consent, are aptly and rightly called '*The King's Ecclesiastical Laws*.' In the next place, Sir John Davies, in '*Le Case de Commendam*' (in the Irish Courts, temp. Jac. I.), shows how the canon law was first introduced into England, and fixes the time of such introduction about the year 1290, and lays it down thus:—'Those canons which were

received, allowed, and used as in England, were made by such allowance and usage part of the King's ecclesiastical laws of England. Yet all the ecclesiastical laws of England were not derived and adopted from the Court of Rome, for long before the canon law was authorized and published (which was after the Norman Conquest), the ancient Kings of England—viz., Edgar, Athelstan, Alfred, Edward the Confessor, and others—did, with the advice of the clergy within the realm, make divers ordinances for the government of the Church of England; and after the Conquest divers provincial synods were held, and many constitutions were made in both the kingdoms of England and Ireland, all of which are part of our ecclesiastical laws at this day.'"—*Sir John Davies*, 69<sup>b</sup> and 70-72<sup>b</sup>.

I do not propose in this paper to enter into the consideration of the question in what particulars the Roman canon law was or was not accepted as law in England at various times prior to the Reformation. In matters relating to Church order and discipline, some of its provisions are embodied in, or their observances expressly enjoined by, the Anglican legateine and archiepiscopal constitutions promulgated subsequent to the Conquest. These constitutions would appear to have been intended to form, and did, I think, in fact form, a code in the main sufficient for the government and discipline of the Anglican Church in those times. The regulations contained in them, so far as they were consistent with the doctrines and discipline of the Anglican Church after its renunciation of the errors of the Church of Rome, will be found to have been in great part embodied in our system of ecclesiastical law—some few of the rubrics, as, for example, the regulations in the marriage service as to banns inserted there, doubtless for the information of the people, as well as to give them the same Parliamentary sanction as had previously been given to marriage licences, and many more in the royal, and archiepiscopal, and episcopal injunctions and orders issued prior to the publication of the canons of 1603. These canons of 1603, having received the sanction of Convocation and the Sovereign, are held to be binding on the clergy, but, not having received the sanction of Parliament, are held not to be obligatory in matters affecting the laity, except in so far as they embody correct declarations of the King's ecclesiastical laws. Thus the 62nd canon, which directs—"That no minister shall celebrate matrimony without a faculty or licence, except the banns of matrimony have been first published in the parish churches and chapels where the said parties dwell, and that no minister shall join any persons so licensed in marriage but either in the said churches or chapels where one of them dwelleth"—might have been so read as to preclude a minister from marrying by licence two persons, neither of whom were his parishioners.

But it was held otherwise, on the ground that the laity prior to the Reformation having been entitled under the archiepiscopal constitutions to be married by licence in a church out of the parish of either of the parties, and that as the right of the bishops to grant such licence was reserved by 25 Henry VIII., cap. 21, sec. 15, this right could not be abrogated to the prejudice of the laity by a canon unconfirmed by Parliament (see canon 8 of the Westminster Canons, A.D. 1200, canon 12 of Archbishop Mepham's Constitutions, A.D. 1328, and canon 7 of the Constitutions of Archbishop Zouche, Archbishop of York,

A.D. 1347.—Johnson's "English Canons," Part II.). And it will be found, on referring to the registers of licences issued in the dioceses of Canterbury and London, as well as in other dioceses, that between 1603 and 1753, the date of Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act, which first compelled parties married by licence to be married in their parish church, that marriages by licence were very commonly solemnized outside the parish of the parties.

Again, in the case "*Middleton v. Croft*," decided in 1736, the Middletons had been articted in the Ecclesiastical Court for having been married at an uncanonical hour—not between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon—as enjoined by the 62nd canon. They moved the King's Bench for a prohibition on the ground that the limitation as to time was introduced by this canon, and that the canon, being unconfirmed by Parliament, did not bind the laity, and that they, therefore, were not liable to be prosecuted under it; and Lord Hardwicke, in delivering the unanimous judgment of the King's Bench, held this objection to the suit to be well founded, and a prohibition was granted on this point (2 Atkyn's *Reps.*, p. 650).

There are passages to be found in Hooker's great work, "On the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," maintaining to the full extent the ruling of the judges, that the canon law has no force *proprio vigore* in this country:—"It is a thing (says Hooker, Bk. VIII., cap. vi., sec. 8) most consonant with equity and reason that no ecclesiastical law be made in a Christian commonwealth without consent as well of the laity as of the clergy; but, least of all, without the consent of the highest power. For of this no man doubteth, that in all societies, what severally each shall be bound unto, it must be with all their assents ratified. Against all equity it were that a man should suffer detriment at the hands of men for not observing that which he never did, either by himself or others, mediately or immediately, agree unto." And he proceeds to cite as authorities for these propositions Popes Nicholas and Innocent III. Hooker adds:—"Pope Nicholas (A.D. 865), although otherwise not admitting lay persons, no, not Emperors themselves, to be present at synods, doth notwithstanding seem to allow of their presence when matters of faith are determined whereunto all men must stand bound."

He then cites the 42nd canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (A.D. 1215), said to have been drawn by Adrian III., as expressive of Adrian's opinion that:—"As the laity should not hinder the clergy's jurisdiction, so neither is it reason that the laity's rights should be abridged by the clergy."

What portions of the early English canon law, or of the Roman canon law, are now in force in England may be supposed, after so great a lapse of time, to have been for the most part determined. But questions still arise from time to time in courts, which involve the consideration whether or not the rules of the English or Roman canon law, or either of them, are applicable to their solution. Thus, in the "*Queen v. Millis*," the case to which I have already referred, the question debated was whether the rule enjoined by the laws of Edmund, and by one of Archbishop Lanfranc's Constitutions (A.D. 1076), that a marriage celebrated without the benediction of a mass priest was invalid, or the rule as laid down by a decree of Gregory IX., which declared that a

marriage by consent merely was valid, had been adopted as part of the common law of England. The lords were equally divided on the question; but on a technical ground the judgment was that the rule of the English canon law had been adopted.

But it does not follow that rules of the English or Roman canon law, which are not comprised in the King's ecclesiastical laws, are for that reason to be discarded as unworthy of weight or consideration in the Ecclesiastical or Civil Courts of this country, when they are germane to the question under consideration. They may serve a useful purpose in one of three ways. They may be relied upon, or even adopted in doubtful cases, as being in the nature of precedents, or they may be of use for the purpose of elucidation or illustration—in like manner as Lord Mansfield and our Equity Judges, when new cases arise, have sometimes fallen back on the rules of the civil law. A reference to the "Ecclesiastical Reports" will furnish numerous instances in which our Ecclesiastical Judges have referred to the English or Roman canon law for one or more of these purposes. Sir John Nicholl did so in "*Kemp v. Wixe*," where the question of the validity of baptism by a Nonconformist minister or a layman was raised (3, Phillimore's "Reports," 264). So did Lord Brougham, in the case of "*Escott v. Mastin*," where the same question was again raised in delivering the judgment of the Judicial Committee (4, Moore's Privy Council Reports, p. 104).

So did Sir Herbert Jenner Fust in his judgment in the stone-altar case, "*Faulkner v. Litchfield*" (1, Robertson's "Eccles. Reports," p. 184), and so did Lord Stowell, in very many of the judgments he delivered in the Consistory Court of London; and in his great judgment in "*Dalrymple v. Dalrymple*," he speaks of the canon law "as a system which, in spite of its absurd pretensions to a higher origin, is in many of its provisions deeply enough founded in the wisdom of man" (2, Haggard's "Consistory Reports," p. 64).

Where the canon law, be it Roman or English, is at variance with the doctrines and principles of the Reformation, or with the common or statute law of England, it should have no place on questions relating to the discipline or government of our Church. When it treads on neutral ground, it is entitled both to consideration and weight as expressive of the deliberate opinions of men of light and learning in the only system of ecclesiastical law that for centuries dominated in Western Europe.

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The Worshipful LEWIS T. DIBDIN, D.C.L., F.S.A., Chancellor  
of the Dioceses of Durham, Exeter, and Rochester.

In the primitive Church the weapons of discipline, in the sense of correction were two:—(i.) Admonition; (ii.) Excommunication. ". . . If he refuse to hear the Church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican" (S. Matt. xviii. 17). "A man that is heretical after a first or second admonition refuse" (Titus iii. 10). But the property, the person, the worldly status of the sinner, were unaffected.

It is difficult to give a date for the beginning of canon law. Its germ is in the New Testament, in such passages as I have quoted.

Its development was gradual, but until Gratian arranged them in his *Decretum*, there was no order in the mass of decrees of Councils, decisions of Popes, opinions of divines—some genuine, some traditional, some forged—which were accepted as binding in the Roman Church. The great Roman canon law, the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, began with the *Decretum* about 1250, and was enlarged from time to time by the decretals or statutes of various Popes for about two centuries. It covers the whole area of sacred things, places, and persons; but for the purpose in hand it is sufficient to note that sin is punished by loss of temporal privileges and position, loss of preferment and imprisonment, as well as by excommunication.

When canon law meets us as a developed system, we have got far away from the primitive Church. The world of Gregory VII. was a very different world from that of S. Paul. Christianity had long ago become the religion of civilized Europe. The State had armed the Church with coercive power. The very idea of religious toleration was unborn. It was considered obvious that an offender against religion, whether in life or belief, must be punished. No one doubted that it was the duty of the Church to punish him, in person or pocket. The primitive discipline of simple exclusion from the Christian society, for the sinner's own sake, for the sake of others who might suffer from his example, for the sake of the Lord Himself, Whose body, the Church, must be holy, had grown into a system of external and even worldly penalties not very unlike those which the secular power has always and everywhere enacted for the protection of society.

I have spoken so far of the Roman canon law. Although taught in the English Universities, used on appeals to Rome from English Church Courts, and profoundly influencing our law and its administration, the foreign system was never acknowledged in its entirety in England. Certain parts of it were received here. These portions of the Roman canon law, together with the constitutions of our own provincial synods and of two Papal legates, the customary or common law, and the statutes of the realm, formed the ecclesiastical law of England. Here, as in other countries,\* the sovereign's consent was necessary to constitutions made by the Church. On doubtful points of practice the Roman civil law was referred to. The relation between all these is thus stated by Burn:—"The civil law submitteth to the canon law, both of these to the common law, and all the three to the statute law." †

In its general character the English canon law does not differ from the Roman. For centuries before the Reformation, and (except in Edward VI.'s reign) until the beginning of the Civil War,‡ the Church of England superintended the morals of the people, laity as well as clergy, and administered canon law by means of a multitude of Courts—Provincial, Consistory, Archidiaconal, Capitular, and Peculiar (there are said to have been 200 of these last)—scattered throughout England. Justice, or at any rate law, was thus brought to every man's door.

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\* *E.g.* France. See, as to the Gallican Church, Dean Church's notes in "Ecclesiastical Courts Commission" (1883), Vol. I., p. 171.

† Burn's "Ecclesiastical Law," Vol. I., Preface xv. (7th ed.)

‡ 16 Charles I., ch. 11, sec. 4.

These courts were the police-courts of the time. They exercised a wide and constant, and on the whole, I think, a healthy restraint. Adultery and assault (of the clergy), brawling and breach of faith,\* defamation and drunkenness, perjury and profanity, sacrilege, simony and Sabbath-breaking, usury, heresy, and witchcraft—these and such as these were the matters dealt with:† the punishments were fine, public penance, excommunication, and even imprisonment.

When, in 1640, the High Commission Court fell, the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction fell too, and although at the Restoration‡ it was—except as to the High Commission—reinstated, the machinery of lay discipline worked feebly and fitfully, and became extremely unpopular. Rightly or wrongly, it was believed that the Consistory Courts were made instruments of extortion by greedy proctors who raked up antenuptial sins long after the parties had been decently married, or fomented idle scandal, and so disturbed the peace of families. Defamation (*i.e.*, unjust accusation of a spiritual offence, especially incontinence) and brawling in church were the only two offences which within living memory were still frequently dealt with by the Church Courts. From 1827-30 there were throughout the country 331 suits for defamation, and 22 for brawling.§ The jurisdiction as to both was abolished in 1855 and 1860.¶ As to other offences, there were, from 1827-30, two or three cases of fornication, one of smiting in church, one of profanation of church, and one of non-attendance at church.§ The last public penance is said to have been performed at Ditton in 1849.¶ I need not say that discipline over the laity by means of the Ecclesiastical Courts has died out and disappeared. But, except in the two cases mentioned, there has been no abolition by Act of Parliament, and although proceedings would be promptly stopped as too absurdly obsolete, I suppose every erring layman is still theoretically liable to a disciplinary suit “for the health of his soul and the correction of his manners.”

With regard to the clergy and Church officers—*e.g.*, churchwardens, sextons, and parish clerks—the case is different. The proper discharge of ecclesiastical duties and (as to the clergy at least) the maintenance of a sober and godly life have remained down to the present day the recognized and peculiar care of the Ecclesiastical Courts. The discipline of the clergy thus administered has been that of English canon law, supplemented by the canons of 1603, and controlled by statute. The new Discipline Act which came into operation on Sept. 27th, 1892, in a great measure supersedes the Church Discipline Act of 1840, just as that Act took the place of a pre-Reformation statute of 1485.\*\*

\* All sorts of secular disputes were brought under this heading. The action for breach of promise of marriage had its ecclesiastical equivalent, and commercial contracts were enforced on the same ground of compelling men to keep their word. See “Hale’s Precedents,” Nos. 30 (1482) and 599 (1588).

† See “Hale’s Precedents” and “Ecclesiastical Proceedings at Durham” (Surtees Society, Vols. 21, 22).

‡ 13 Charles II.; ch. 12, sec. 2.

§ See “Report of Ecclesiastical Courts Commission,” 1832, Appendices C and D (11).

¶ 18 and 19 Vict., ch. 42; 23 and 24 Vict., ch. 32.

¶ Hook’s “Church Dictionary,” art. Penance (14th ed.).

\*\* 1 Henry VII., ch. 4.

The revival of discipline amongst the laity is a large subject, on which it is well to speak with caution. On the one hand, it is so easy to think the state of things we have grown up into cannot be much amiss, and, on the other, it is not less easy, and in the present day it is perhaps more usual, to indulge in cheap indignation at things which seem wrong, without stopping to consider whether they can be put right.

In the first place, what is the discipline we want to revive? I cannot think that a resuscitation of the system I have described is desirable, and I am quite sure it is impracticable. Those who saw the system in operation "greatly doubted whether any beneficial effect resulted."\* Its gradual but complete disappearance shows more emphatically even than an Act of Parliament how impossible the punishment of sin by means of litigation and in the grotesque form of public penance had become. It is, I venture to think, simply inconceivable that it can be revived under present conditions. The truth is that Church discipline, as developed in the canon law, depended upon, and took for granted, the active assistance of the civil power. The time is apparently passing away when States will be willing to lend this assistance, at any rate for this purpose. It seems to follow, then, as a logical result, that any effective Church discipline of the future must return within its original limits, or, as I prefer to put it, must recover the simplicity of its first institution. The practical question is whether discipline in its primitive shape of exclusion from communion, following on neglected warning, can be revived.†

English canon law will have to be re-written and recast before it can help or even fit in with a discipline of the primitive type. It will continue to be of the utmost value and importance in other departments of Church law, but with regard to the correction of sin it has become, so to speak, irrelevant. In the first place, it embodies, as I have tried to explain, a system of penalties dispensed by Church Courts, which is hopelessly defunct. But, further, the whole conception of the canon law is archaic, so far as the English Church is concerned. As Sir George Bowyer puts it:—"The canon law regards the Church as a monarchical body, of which the Supreme Pontiff is the head."‡

The Papal power is in fact the very *raison d'être* of the Decretum. Henry VIII.'s legislation left English canon law standing *minus* the Papal supremacy, and the efforts to re-arrange it having failed, so it remains. But it must be admitted that canon law without the Pope is rather like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. The result is that English canon law is hard to study (one cause of its unfortunate neglect), and extremely difficult to apply in practice. Again, as a code it ignores completely the power of the laity, for the simple reason that it belongs to an age when the laity had no power. The recent Discipline Act contains an instructive illustration of the changed condition of things. Hitherto a criminous clerk has been punished for his soul's health, without much regard to the health of the souls of his parishioners, but

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\* "Report of Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," 1832, p. 64.

† Throughout this paper I pass over what may be called private discipline, *i.e.*, the guidance of the individual spiritual life by the private admonition of a director. The Penitentials gave full instructions as to this sort of discipline, but canon law proper has nothing to do with it.

‡ "Readings in the M. Temple," p. 177.



now (and it is a remarkable novelty in legislation), "in considering the sentence regard shall be had to the interests of the parish, and not to precedents of punishments." \*

I venture to think that the spirit of that enactment will be more and more conspicuous in the Church legislation (whether canon or statute) of the future.

But however obsolete the present canon law may become, some canon law in the sense of canons made by the Church's authority for the management of her own affairs and the observance of her own members, is a necessity likely to be increasingly recognized as time goes on. Disestablishment, for instance, would at once leave the Church entirely dependent on her own resources, both as to legislation and government. It is not, therefore, the abolition, but the reform of canon law which such a change as the revival of discipline seems to render necessary. This tendency to change, revolutionary as it may sound, need not alarm us. Canon law, according to its usual division, consists of "Human" and "Divine" law. Its disciplinary rules belong to the former, and the customs and constitutions of human ecclesiastical law are necessarily variable. Speaking of this, the canonist Fleury writes:—

"The law which men have established is much more variable. Not only may the needs which they wish to supply change, but as time goes on they may perceive that they had not employed the most suitable remedies." †

Again, our own Archbishop Potter says:—

"Neither is it possible in things of this nature to give particular rules which shall never need to be varied. . . . What in one age and country is decent, in another may be highly indecent." ‡

I will only add that this liability of Church law to grow out of date and unsuitable, no more shakes the power of spiritual jurisdiction which we believe our Lord to have confided to His Church, than the repeal of obsolete statutes reflects on the wisdom of Parliament.

But while it would be idle to ignore the difficulties which must attend, and the conditions which must limit, a real revival of discipline in the Church of England, I cannot be content simply to state them. I cannot forget that our Church in the Homilies asserts most positively that one of "the three notes or marks" of "the true Church" is the "right use of ecclesiastical discipline." § I cannot forget that good men, from the Reformation right down till to-day, have mourned over its abeyance in the Church of England. It is needless to support an assertion so notoriously true by quotation, but one fact has greatly impressed me. Of the Churchmen who, in the last generation, after heading or helping the great Oxford Movement went over to Rome—such men, I mean, as Newman, Manning, Hope Scott, and Robert Wilberforce—nearly all, if we may judge from their writings, seem to have been specially influenced by the decay of discipline in our Church. If this decay has

\* 55 and 56 Vict., ch. 32, sec. 6 (1).

† Fleury's "*Institution au Droit Ecclesiastique*," Vol. I., p. 39 (ed. 1771). I have translated the passage quoted.

‡ Potter's "*Church Government*," p. 265 (ed. 1861). See also Hooker's "*Ecclesiastical Polity*," vi., ii. (2).

§ Second part of Homily for Whitsunday.

disheartened friends, it has equally been the constant taunt of enemies. To quote words written by Mr. Gladstone in 1843, but still applicable : \*—

“The great strength of Dissent in this country lies, as we believe, in the impression of serious-minded persons of the middle and the lower class that the Church of England is a faithless and adulterous Church in her neglect of discipline over her lay members.”

It is said to be good to see ourselves as others see us. Trying, therefore, to look at things as they appear to the outside public, I venture to state my own impression of what I see and hear around me. And, first, as to the clergy. Men have been, and are, shocked at the too frequent immunity of evil-living clergy, who, if actually few in number, are yet sufficiently notorious in their own neighbourhoods. The sad spectacle of immoral, or drunken, or dishonest priests remaining commissioned to teach others the way to heaven is, it must be confessed, enough to provoke the sneers of the world. It is to be hoped that the new Act will prove an efficient remedy, thanks to the combined efforts of both political parties ; for without Mr. Gladstone's personal and strenuous exertions against the obstinate obstruction of some of his Welsh followers, the Bill would probably have been lost.

But the demand is scarcely less loud for some machinery, administrative rather than judicial or punitive, such as the Pluralities Amendment Act, 1885, seemed intended to provide, for the removal of square men out of round holes, for dealing with impracticable, insolvent, or idle incumbents, who, although they are not criminous, and may not even be blameworthy, are nevertheless doing nothing but mischief in their parishes. The scandals of simony and the, I fear, very numerous cases of sales of advowsons and next presentations, which, though legally unassailable, are yet in truth and essence mere trafficking in cure of souls, have done much to alienate and shock people, who, not appreciating the idiosyncracies of the House of Commons, cannot understand why year after year passes away without reform.

With regard to the laity, I think the charge against the Church of England is shortly this—that in actual practice as distinguished from theoretical teaching she treats the bad and the good both alike. Take one point, the most important of all. I am anxious not to overstate anything ; but is it not a fact that the worst man in England might present himself at the Holy Communion next Sunday morning at any church in the country where his face was not familiar, with very slight danger of being refused ? Is it right that a man who is a rake, or an unbeliever, or a swindler, should be able thus to intrude himself ? On the other hand, is there not something defective in the condition of the Church when thousands of more or less regular churchgoers are equally regular in their neglect of Holy Communion, without this neglect being regarded as a bar to Church office, or exciting any surprise ?

It is strange that a Church which uses admirable and anxious care in ordaining men to dispense the Sacraments should show so little caution in their administration. But let us lay the blame on the right shoulders. It is not that the Church's rules are lax, but that we and our fathers have been too careless in their observance. I need not remind you

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\* “Gleanings of Past Years,” Vol. V., p. 79.

that the Prayer-book \* and the canons † provide safeguards against the admission of unworthy persons to Holy Communion. (1) Notice is to be given to the curate by intending communicants the day before. This rule has fallen into complete abeyance. (2) The clergyman, if reduced to that lamentable necessity, is to repel notoriously unfit persons, not as a final step to be taken on his own authority, but as a temporary measure, pending report to the bishop, who (3) is directed to take, but now cannot take, proceedings against offenders, and, further, the bishop is to give the clergyman directions in the matter. I know something of the difficulty which now attends the practical application of these safeguards—a difficulty which, it must be admitted, is due in some degree to the fact that establishment makes Church privileges also to some extent legal rights. I have, however, referred to the rubric and the canons, not so much for the letter of their directions as for their spirit. They show that the establishment of some form of discipline with regard to Communion would be no more than a return to purer practice, and a realization of the Reformers' intentions.

I daresay I shall be told that such a revival is impossible. I do not believe it. It seems to me that to sit down with the conviction that the primitive discipline cannot be recovered implies want of confidence in our Church, and even want of faith in our religion. It ill becomes English Churchmen of our generation, with recent history before them, to be faint-hearted about reform. The cold rationalism of the eighteenth century so nearly quenched the light of the Church of England, that even Bishop Butler's calm judgment pronounced her downfall certain and imminent. Yet the Evangelical revival of personal religion awoke the Church to life. Sixty years ago the practical abuses of pluralism, of sinecure endowments, of slovenliness and neglect, had made the Church so utterly out of touch with a nation boiling over with reforming energy, that it was a commonplace of friend and foe alike that the Church must go. Yet, instead of going, the last half-century has seen an extraordinary increase of moral, spiritual, and material vitality; so that in all probability the Church of England has never, at any period of its long history, done its work so adequately as now. The special feature of the present time is, if I mistake not, the spread of the English Church abroad, pioneered by a remarkable development of missionary activity. In the ever-increasing extension of our communion we may find not only encouragement to attempt reform, but the measure of our responsibility if we neglect it. The Churches abroad cannot but suffer if the Church at home be lax.

I am very glad this subject has been selected for a Church Congress, for it is one which pre-eminently needs to be looked into, and I cannot help thinking must sooner or later take root in the public mind. It is public opinion, the opinion of the Church public, which will work the needed reform of discipline when it is accomplished. Canon law, and Acts of Parliament, and Church Courts are all very well, but the really potent influence in this matter resides in the consciences of Christian men and women. The spirit of the age is certainly not the spirit of obedience, and the independence of the Anglo-Saxon nature, almost excessive in the present day, must always tend to make the notion of

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\* See Preface to the Communion Service.

† Canons 26, 27, 28.

discipline unpopular. Yet I believe the conviction is deepening amongst Churchpeople that sanctity and strength, both for the individual character and for the Church as a whole, are to be sought rather in the sacrifice than by the assertion of self-will. With the growth of that conviction, and in proportion as it grows in the minds of clergy and laity alike—in the cultivation of this grace of obedience, I venture to suggest that the clergy must lead the way—shall we see, as please God we shall see, a revival of discipline in the Church of England.

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The Rev. C. J. RIDSDALE, Perpetual Curate of S. Peter's, Folkestone.

BEING no expert, and yet in a very true sense of the word *expertus*, I shall take leave to address myself in these few lines *ad populum*; but, of course, *ad populum Christianum*. There is no argument for canon law with those who are not in love with the Church of Christ—His kingdom upon earth, His Bride, His *Altera Ego*.

For it is none other than the law of that kingdom as decreed in *her* councils, or as sanctioned by the powerful sanction of *her* use and custom. It is the law for her own internal government, and for the right ordering of her spiritual subjects, as the kingdom of righteousness, which will burst forth one day into the kingdom of glory.

There are curious misunderstandings about canon law. Some suppose it to be obsolete, which it certainly is not; some suppose that it is an intolerable tyranny when vigorously administered by the bishops, who are its guardians and judges; whereas it was canon law which pointed out to secular governments the milder way of equity, and provided for merciful dispensations, being ready to suspend its own rules when any good and sufficient reason is urged. Some suppose it to be a mere *antique*, whereas the Church has always power to modify and even to abrogate her laws, and make new ones, according to the needs of the age. It is only the prohibitions of the State which make it nowadays well-nigh impossible for the Church in England to make new canons suitable to her present wants. She groans (but with far too bated breath) under her disabilities, and has not hitherto overcome them; but I expect she will. Some suppose canon law interferes with the laws of the State; which it does not, but confines itself to the internal affairs and conduct of the Church. Some object that it constitutes the Church an *Imperium in Imperio*. That, we must confess, it does; and it must be so, if indeed our Lord Jesus Christ has any kingdom of His own on earth, and then I should submit that in the phrase "*Imperium in Imperio*," the "*Imperium*" stands in this case for the State, and the "*Imperio*" stands for the Church. For the greater, which is Catholic or world-wide, must contain the less. Some, lastly, accredit canon law with the thumbscrews and flames of persecution, whereas canon law knows no other than the *spiritual* penalties of censure, degradation from the ministry, and excommunication. It has ever been the State power that has intermeddled (no doubt with good intention), and annexed corporal punishment to spiritual censures. The Lollard's Tower at

Lambeth, and other episcopal enormities, had their sanction, not from canon, but statute law, as may be seen plainly in the statute 2 Henry IV., cap. 15, and in the Royal writ *de comburendo hæretico*. Canon Dixon, the latest historian of the sixteenth century, writes that one of the first of the various attempts to combine the two great systems of canon and of statute law was the statute of Henry VIII., which imposed the Six Articles as tests of heresy, with the penalty of confiscation and death :—"The latest of these attempts" (he says) "is the present Public Worship Regulation Act, in which the presented parson stands in the position of the heretics of old." And an awful attempt at combination it has been ; a hybrid confusion of canon law and criminal law, of canonical jurisdiction and civil jurisdiction, ecclesiastical and temporal judges rolled into one ! Such comes to pass when the secular legislature interferes in the internal affairs of the Church. It only produces monstrosities like the Sphinx, and in the end, probably, this modern Sphinx will imitate the old, and dash her head to pieces against the Rock.

As against all which attempts the constitution of England in Church and State stands clear and decided, as stated in the Statute of Appeals, which commits their respective business to the spiritual and temporal separately, with the declaration that it is the duty of each to help and not destroy one another :—"And certain it is" (says Lord Coke) "that this kingdom hath been best governed when both parties, the temporal and the ecclesiastical, have kept themselves within their own proper jurisdiction, without encroaching or usurping upon one another."

Lastly, some suppose that canon law implies our subjection to the Pope ; whereas it was rather by the violation of canon law and by canonical decrees, acknowledged now by Roman Catholics themselves to have been false and forged, that the Papal supremacy grew up.

The only true way, however, of estimating the value and authority of canon law in the government and discipline of the Church of England, is to consider what it is and whence it is.

Canon law is that kind of law which our Lord Jesus Christ empowered the Apostles and their successors to make when He appointed them a kingdom (S. Luke xxii. 29), and gave them the power of binding and loosing (S. Matt. xvi. 19 and xviii. 18)—a kingdom of which the eternal Father, as the source of all jurisdiction, had set Christ as King, and Christ in turn, in the plenitude of that power, set up His Apostles as rulers : "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." For very soon, as a matter of fact, we find the Church carrying out the idea of a kingdom, and the Apostles and elders acting as rulers and legislators in it. And in the Acts of the Apostles we find the beginning of the creation of canon law, when the Apostles and elders came together, and finally agreed on a legally expressed constitution which was to be binding on the faithful ; in which there was, first, a sweeping abrogation of the whole Mosaic ceremonial law ; secondly, an enactment of certain laws which they judged it prudent to make, viz., to abstain from things strangled and from blood ; thirdly, a re-enactment of the ancient law of nature, which the heathen had lost sight of, viz., to abstain from fornication. Moreover, they claimed the Holy Ghost as the authority by which they presumed to legislate. And,

lastly, they published or promulgated the constitution or canon by sending it through messengers to the local churches.

All this has been the model and keynote of all subsequent canonical legislation, and it should help us to reverence aright the whole body of genuine and valid canon law, where it is valid upon its own pure and original principles, without the help of a Papal Cæsarism within the Church, or of secular law from without.

Canon law is One, as the Church herself is One, all over the world. But as the Church Catholic is made up of many local Churches, so local canon law has local peculiarities, while everywhere it is in subordination to such canon law as possesses the wider or more œcumenical authority.

It is a piece of ignorance to call the whole system of canon law Roman, or the Pope's canon law; for not only, from the earliest days, has the English local Church made constitutions of her own, but such portions of canon law as had their origin in the decrees of Popes or other foreign Councils did not become Church law *proprio vigore*, or on their own strength, but on the strength of their being accepted in the local Churches. That has been the rule here both before Henry VIII.'s time and since, as many instances prove.\* It was no new thing at the Reformation for the Provincial Church of England to resist the encroachments of the See of Rome. But by the providence of God, the Church of England expressly held to the great body of canon law, however *foreign* in its origin some of it might be called, remembering that the Supreme King and Lord over the whole Church and the fount of her jurisdiction was a foreigner to us by birth, and His first appointed rulers, the Apostles, were all foreigners, and that to cut ourselves off from the unity of the law of the Church because of any so-called foreign origin, would be very much like cutting ourselves off from the unity of the Church itself.

So far I have tried to show that, as members of the Catholic Church, both clergy and laity are bound by religion to respect and observe canon law, whether enforced by State penalties or not; and, as a matter of fact, it is to this day by our Constitution included in the law of the land, and *under the protection of statute law*.

I propose now to show that this protection of statute law has proved a smothering protection to canon law and its administrators, the bishops.

In former days the civil power refused to interfere in the internal affairs of the kingdom of Christ. Compare the Emperor Valentinian's "*Sibi, qui unus ex laicorum numero erat, non licere se eiusmodi negotiis interponere,*" with Queen Elizabeth's message to the Commons, "We will that no Bills concerning religion should be preferred or received there unless the same should be first considered and liked by the clergy." Also James I.'s proclamation attached to the Articles.

"In matters spiritual," says Bishop Gibson, "the spirituality may be presumed to be the most proper judges as of what assistance the Church really needs." "But if," he says—and Bishop Gibson lived before

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\* See John de Athon's comments (in the fourteenth century) on several of the canons:—"This constitution has not been accepted, and therefore does not seem to be binding."

the Public Worship Regulation Act—"the State assistances are *imposed* when there is no need of them (that is, when the ends may be attained as well or better in the ecclesiastical way of spiritual censure only), or are given upon such terms as destroy or weaken the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or transfer business of a spiritual nature from spiritual to temporal hands, in such cases the interpositions of the State cease to be real assistances to the Church." A word of remonstrance from Bishop Gibson meant a great deal in those courtly times. We should say that State assistances, as he courteously calls them, in the shape of Acts of Parliament concerning the Church, have fallen on her in such smothering abundance since the Reformation, that she is in danger of the fate of the maiden in Roman history, who, asking for gold and silver, received such a shower of the precious metals from the passing hosts that she was crushed to death.

What sort of assistance has it been to the Church, on the part of the State, to have a Court of Appeal set over her of purely secular jurisdiction, with powers to rehear every sentence of every canonical court, on the plea that the Sovereign *must* be the last resort of every Englishman for justice? The Royal Supremacy was nothing new in Henry VIII.'s time. The Sovereign was always the last resort for justice, even after an appeal to Rome; but it was not thought necessary then for the Sovereign to have an appeal court of his own.

Having established the Church as the kingdom of Christ within their dominions, the kings *trusted* the canonical courts of the Church, and gave their subjects to understand that the best justice they could give them in spiritual causes was to be got in the highest Church court, and not in some composite court of their own.

Similarly, at the present day the State trusts the Scotch Kirk, where we suppose the Sovereign is as supreme as in England over all causes. In the Scotch Kirk there is no appeal to any Crown court from their own Church officers. Why cannot the State trust likewise the present English Church and her Courts Christian? and why, therefore, cannot the State now give her subjects to understand that the best and truest justice she can give them in spiritual causes within the Church is to be got in the highest spiritual, not temporal, court, which would be, not a court founded on Royal Commissions, but one receiving its jurisdiction from the Church? *Our Appeal Court would then (according to all canonical precedent) consist of the Metropolitan, assisted by the com-provincial bishops.* So we should get back to the ultimate authority of Christ and His Apostles.

The fact is, the Church has been undergoing gradual disestablishment ever since the sixteenth century; for establishment can only mean establishment in autonomy or self-government on the Church's own principles. Any other kind of establishment is a misnomer, and should be called Distrust, Dishonour, and Disintegration.

Moreover, under the present system of *smothering* statutes, it cannot be said that canon law (or the law of the kingdom of Christ) is administered in the Church courts at all. If it is a question of rubrics, both council and judge prefer to treat them as statute law under the Parliamentary Act of Uniformity rather than (as they primarily are) of canonical obligation: and extraneous Acts of Parliament, of which the Church knows nothing, are foisted into the pleadings and judgments

of ecclesiastical courts, which are supposed to interpret the mind of the Church. Let Church Courts administer canon law and nothing else, or let them be abolished. Spiritual causes might almost as well (under present circumstances) be heard by the civil courts. Under the true system, if a spiritual judge, judging rightly upon the basis of canon law only, should offend against some statute, it would not be his fault, but the fault of the contrariety of the two kinds of law. Such a judgment could but receive a prohibition from the State courts, but, as an officer of the Church, the judge would have done his duty; whereas, nowadays, under fear of the Royal Supremacy and civil law, lawyers and judges in the Ecclesiastical Courts seem to cower like sparrows under the hawk. And as canon law goes for so little in their courts, of course the practising canonist pure and simple is hardly to be found, and the ecclesiastical lawyer, half civil and half canonist, is overpowered by the majesty and dignity of civil law, supported as it is with surefooted corporal penalties, and he is tempted (unless a man of strongest faith) to forget the *læse majesté* which he is in danger of incurring towards Christ and His lowly bride. One conspicuous exception, however, we have seen lately in an ecclesiastical judgment, delivered by no delegated official, which boldly sought ancient canonical precedent, instead of halting on Acts of Parliament and past judgments of secular judges, and the boldness of it has proved to be its safety. "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength." It, perhaps, will come to pass before long that the bishops, seeing the universal dissatisfaction with the present style of ecclesiastical law courts, without waiting for the State to withdraw her oppressive "assistances," will form pure and free courts of their own, after the precedents of the first four or five centuries—courts in which only Church law will be administered, and only spiritual censures applied. They would be, doubtless, only voluntary courts at first, but probably they would, by force of their genuineness, soon draw to themselves all men of good will, and the old courts would die a natural death. For what should we think then of those who should prefer to fly to the secularized courts on spiritual matters? They would appear to unsophisticated minds who knew their New Testament, and believed in the holy Catholic Church, to have a treasonable preference for Cæsar before Christ. And Providence is surely showing all parties in the Church by the ordering of events, that "it is better to trust in the Lord than to put any confidence in princes."

One word more, and that is that canon law ought surely to have an influence on the lives of Churchmen, without talking of lawsuits. The valid constitutions of English provincial councils would solve many a vexed question to minds that are loyal to the Church, such as fasting Communion, the law of marriage and divorce, and the general habits and comportment of the clergy.

And lastly, canon law surely has a message to our Fathers in God on the subject of diocesan synods. They are part of the sacred constitution of the Church, and are necessary, both for giving full weight to the ordinances of bishops, and effect to the provincial synods. It is probably the neglect of diocesan synods which has hitherto stamped Convocation with comparative sterility. Conceive the force of Convocation, if the bishops took up with them to the provincial synod the



aggregate of the wishes of all their clergy as formulated and passed at previous diocesan synods. It would be irresistible.

But to make a conclusion :—If our premises are true, loyalty to Christ and His kingdom demands—

(1) That all who bear any office in the Church should acquaint themselves with canon law. Lyndwood's "*Provinciale*" and Gibson's "*Codex*" are in every cathedral library, and Wood's "Regal Power of the Church" is easily procurable.

(2) That we should look at canon law from the theological standpoint before the political—*i.e.*, tracing it down from its Divine source before considering how it is affected by the law of the State.

(3) That we should unceasingly strive for the repeal of such statutes as have smothered the canonical jurisdiction of the Church—to wit, notably, the Act which set up the present Court of Final Appeal, and the Public Worship Regulation Act.

(4) That, according to our English Constitution, "the bishops and clergy in Convocation be allowed to deliberate of and do all such things as concern the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England," and notably that they be allowed under the Broad Seal to form *within* the Church a synodical court of final appeal on canonical principles, which, by the Sovereign's Commission given to it, should become also her Majesty's highest court for spiritual matters for her Church subjects.

(5) That, failing that, the bishops, as the divinely appointed rulers and judges of the Church, be prayed to erect, alongside of the present secularized courts, voluntary courts of their own, without coercive jurisdiction, culminating in the court of the provincial synod, as was seen in the early centuries of Christendom, and as the Colonial Churches have done in our time.

In short, we desire, as a matter of loyalty to Christ, to see canon law restored to its rightful position, with or without the assistances of the State; or, in the words of Magna Charta, *that the English Church be free, and all her rights and liberties inviolable.*

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## ADDRESSES.

SIR J. PARKER DEANE, Q.C., D.C.L., Vicar-General of the Province and Diocese of Canterbury.

IN listening with as much attention as I have been able to pay to the three papers which have been read, I regret to say that I find myself somewhat in a peculiar position. The question as I understand it, and from which we are not to depart, is—"The Canon Law in connection with the government and with the discipline of the Church of England." I understand these words to mean this—"What has the canon law to do with the government of the Church of England? What has the canon law to do with the discipline of the Church of England in the year 1892?" Now, considering that question, if I am right in putting the meaning upon it I have, I come to this. We have several collections, and one collection in particular, called the canon law, which professes to be under the authority of various Popes, by whom it has been sanctioned—a concordance of differing canons. Anybody who looks carefully at these canons will find that the concordance is very often like other

concordances, a differing one. They do not agree. There are a good many things which, for instance—I am speaking, I presume, to persons acquainted with canon law—are called *palea*, and which apparently have the same authority as the distinction in a letter written by Gregory to S. Augustine, very early indeed in the history of canon law. You will find this—Gregory writes to S. Augustine—“Pay great attention to the habits and customs of the people of England.” We have never departed from that, for whether it be our insular position geographically, or our constitutional habits, we have always stood strictly upon our ancient customs. And the greatest canonist known in this country, or who ever wrote in this country, Lyndwood, who wrote in the time of Henry V., says, “Above all things observe the customs of the country.”

Now, I have referred to that in order to trace very briefly indeed the history of canon law in this country, dividing it, if you please, into two periods. The first period will run, at all events so far as the canon law stands now, from that letter which I have alluded to. From the Conqueror down to 25 Henry VIII., you will find that the canonical authority in this country was according to the strength or weakness of the Pope, the weakness or strength of the sovereign. You will find that without exception. You may go, if you please, to Hallam, or you may go to that very learned work, which it is not for me to praise, of the present Bishop of Oxford, and you will find constant differences between Church and State. Each won as the other was weak.

The climax came, of course, in King John's time, when he handed over the whole government of this country, civil and ecclesiastical, to Innocent III. Curiously enough, that climax, reached in King John's time, had in it very shortly, in the succeeding reign of Henry III., the seed of weakness. From the moment that under Simon de Montfort, in the reign of Henry III., altered our constitution and brought in the middle classes, from the moment the boroughs returned members to Parliament, and the new class acquired independence thereby, you will find that the canon law began to decay, and did actually decay. In Henry III.'s time was passed a statute, and, singularly enough, it is the only statute I believe to be found in the great collection of Lyndwood. It is the statute known to us lawyers as the statute of *Circumspecte Agatis*. It is not in the shape of a statute, but is a letter written to the temporal judges, bidding them not to interfere with (the Bishop of Norwich, for example) the ecclesiastical tribunals by way of prohibition in matters merely spiritual. This statute establishes beyond dispute what Blackstone describes the canon law to be in England, “A law under a weightier law.” And the statute limits the power of the temporal courts only in matters merely spiritual as distinct from matters ecclesiastical. Lyndwood says:—“Observe always the distinction between the word ‘spiritual’ and its meaning, and the word ‘ecclesiastical’ and its meaning.” In spiritual matters the Church may be supreme. In ecclesiastical matters the great body of the Church—I repeat, with your leave, the words, the great body of the Church—of that Church, which consists not of clergy alone, but of clergy and laity—that great body of the Church is supreme; and I care not whether it be supreme under an ecclesiastical court, or under a court called a civil court. With respect to the statute *Circumspecte Agatis*, one word. It was with respect to prohibitions. The temporal court had always exercised this authority over the ecclesiastical court in the way of prohibitions, and that so far back as from the reign of Henry II. These prohibitions continued down to the present time, I might almost say. Fortunately, the prohibitions have almost ceased. The previous speaker referred to the great Lincoln case as being a jurisdiction which the Church accepted. You will forgive me—I daresay say I am wrong—if I think he is mistaken in this. My recollection is that when it was first known that the Archbishop of Canterbury would sit in judgment in that case, a very considerable

portion of the clergy objected to his exercise of that jurisdiction. I think I am right in my statement. The alteration of the constitution under Simon de Montfort having given rise to this middle class, you will find that the middle class extended its powers, as it extended its knowledge, and as it gained its independence.

I come at last to my second division, that which took place in 25 Henry VIII. I pass over the earlier sections of that statute which is called "The Submission of the Clergy." I pass over the earlier parts of that, and I come to the very last section. And the last section—referring again to customs, constitution, synodal, and matters of that sort, all familiar technical words—says that those canons shall remain which are not repugnant to the laws and customs of the land, or hurtful to the King's prerogative Royal. You see the words are "customs and laws" and so forth. Now I have endeavoured to show that the customs with respect to the observance of canon law have been gradually weakening, and weakening down to the time at all events of 25 Henry VIII. But if customs were to be regarded as matters which were not to be dealt with by anything repugnant or contrary to them, how much more must the law of the land be observed. Now I put this test to anybody who has studied the matter. I am dealing with the government and discipline of the Church of England. Will anybody put his finger upon one single title of the canon law, from the first title in the *Decretum* to the very last title in the Extravagances, which is not at once met by the statute law of this land? Put me to the test; I will do the best I can to meet it. What is a matter of ecclesiastical law? Simony. There are in the canon law several articles on simony. If my friends, Chancellors Tristram and Dibdin, or any other lawyer, I care not of what school, had a case put before him on simony, would he refer to the canon law, or would he refer to the Acts of Elizabeth and Queen Anne? Try it by that. Try canon law upon the government and doctrine and discipline of the Church by that one test. If there is one thing which is called spiritual as distinct from the ecclesiastical, it is pluralities, the residence of the clergy, and matters of that kind. Would my friends refer to these titles in the canon law? Not a bit of it. They would refer at once to 1 and 2 Queen Anne, chap. 106. That is where we look for our government; that is where we laymen look for the discipline of the Church of England. Again, I ask this, in answer to a question which may be put to me, when I am asked to prove my test of the discipline of the Church of England. Where do I look for that? I do not look for it to the canon law—not one bit of it. I look at once to the statutes referred to, and I look at several Acts of Parliament passed for that express purpose. And I may be pardoned for saying that the result of these Acts has been most satisfactory to the laity. I am dealing with a serious subject, and I do not like to introduce anything which might seem less than serious. My lord, you and your brothers on the bench might, if the canon law applied to them, be the envy of every public school boy in the kingdom. My lord, you and your brothers on the bench are by the canon law forbidden—actually in words forbidden—to read any pagan author.

[The Right Rev. the Chairman, amidst loud laughter, reminded the Speaker that the time allowed for him had expired.]

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### The Rev. GEORGE BAYFIELD ROBERTS, Vicar of Elmstone.

WE have just heard the public confession of an ecclesiastical lawyer, and the enunciation of principles which would sweep the canon law from off the face of the earth. It is, therefore, all the more necessary that, as my contribution to the discussion, I

should submit to the Congress certain fundamental principles of canon law which directly bear on the subject. But, at the outset, I must define what I understand by canon law as binding in England. Roughly speaking, our canon law consists of such oecumenical canons and customs as have not been canonically abrogated ; of the Roman canon law, as received in England ; of the provincial and legatine constitutions ; and of the canons of 1603. The Roman Canon Law requires our special attention, because some people seem to be under the impression that it became automatically binding upon the subjects of the Papacy in all other countries, with a happy exception in favour of England, in pre-Reformation times. As a matter of fact, there never was any peculiar English privilege. The Roman Canon Law nowhere obtains binding force, until it has been duly promulgated by proclamation throughout every part of the community. Even the disciplinary decrees of General Councils are not binding in a province until they have been canonically promulgated. A case in point is the famous decree "Tametsi" of the Council of Trent—a General Council from the point of view of a Roman canonist—by which clandestine marriages, viz., marriages not celebrated *in facie ecclesie*, were declared to be null and void. But that decree has never yet been promulgated in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and parts of Germany, to say nothing of England ; and consequently, notwithstanding the decree, civil marriages in those countries are still valid, according to Roman canon law, although irregular. But a limitation has been suggested. It is argued that a great deal of oecumenical, no less than of Roman canon law, has been abrogated in England by disuse ; and a wild theory is now proudly stalking about the land to the effect that canon law is abrogated by a disuse of forty years. But, as a matter of fact, what abrogates is not disuse, but contrary custom ; and even contrary custom has no inherent force in itself to abrogate canon or custom. It is the consent of the legislator which alone gives force to contrary custom, and is an essential factor in canonical abrogation. Who is the legislator ? For diocesan law, the bishop of the diocese ; for provincial law, the synod of the province ; for oecumenical law, the *unus episcopatus* of the Catholic Church. They alone can abrogate who can make laws. Otherwise there would be no stability in laws of oecumenical authority, which would be absolutely at the mercy of every petty province. Oecumenical law would be reduced to a state either of fluctuating chaos, or of absolute nullity. Thus even a provincial synod cannot, by its sole authority, abrogate oecumenical law.

Having thus cleared the ground, I proceed to lay down the canonical principle that *canon law, which of course includes procedure, is not subject to limitation, variation, or abrogation by the action of mere statute law*. It has been maintained, and by eminent ecclesiastical lawyers who have preceded me upon this platform, that the canon law must follow the statute law ; that it is of no force apart from statute law. Quite so, so far as civil sanctions and penalties are concerned ; but as certainly not so, absolutely not so, so far as the binding force of canon law upon the conscience is concerned. I denounce this monstrous claim as the offspring of that one-sided study of the subject for which the ecclesiastical lawyers are responsible. The Church is the kingdom of Christ, and is subject to no rulers or governors except the bishops, the vice-gerents of Christ. What does this monstrous claim amount to ? Why, that the divinely appointed legislators should abdicate their high office, and hand over their spiritual functions to Cæsar. In all human probability the State before long will legalize marriage with the sister of a dead wife. The Episcopate will then have to face this question, and what will your lordships do ? Will the bishops admit that the State has actually abrogated the canon law ? or will they, following a fatal precedent, hastily enact a canon, just before the third reading of the Bill, in order, to use the jargon of the day, to bring the law of the Church into

harmony with the law of the land? I, at least, have sufficient confidence in the bishops to believe that, should such a contingency arise, they will pursue neither course, but boldly defend the rights and liberties of the Church.

As to the Canonical Court for the trial of offenders. *The Provincial Synod is the only Canonical Court for the trial of a bishop.* Lord Chief Justice Holt's decision, in the case of Bishop Watson, was based on a misapprehension. His lordship rejected the canon of the Council of Antioch, which is absolutely decisive of the question, on the ground that it had never been received in England, because it was not a canon of one of the first four Œcumenical Councils. Eminent lawyer as he was, his lordship was apparently unacquainted with the fact that the Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon gave œcumenical sanction to all the canons of the Council of Antioch. A metropolitan, if he sits as sole judge of one of his com-provincial bishops, can sit only as vicar of the Pope. Personally, I object to popery.

*For the trial of a priest, the Bishop's Court is the Canonical Court.* The bishop is the minister of judicial power in the *forum externum*, but he usually exercises this power through his vicar-general. The vicar-general has, of course, what is termed ordinary jurisdiction, but can only investigate causes referred to him by the bishop. He cannot adjudicate upon them. It is *ultra vires* for him to punish, deprive, or suspend a priest. Should an appeal arise, it lies to the synod of the province. The appeal to the Court of the Metropolitan is a survival of extraordinary powers conferred by the Pope upon certain metropolitans. Another canonical principle is, that *a court which derives its authority from the State possesses no spiritual validity.* And from this proposition follows the corollary—that the Bishops' Courts are at present in abeyance, for the Church Discipline Act of 1840 expressly prohibits any proceedings to be taken, save as is "enacted or provided" by the Act. *Mutatis mutandis*, I am reminded of a singularly pertinent question, addressed by Archbishop Tait to the present Bishop of Oxford, then Canon Stubbs, during the sitting of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission (1883). His Grace said, "Supposing there was a commission of the bishops sitting under the royal authority, say of the delegates. If they consisted entirely of the bishops, would the fact of their sitting there make the court a bit more spiritual than it was before, if the authority proceeded from the Crown? Is it the person, in fact, who exercises the authority, or the person from whom the authority proceeds, that constitutes it?" I have always regretted that Canon Stubbs declined to answer the question on the ground that it was "rather out of his line." But it is very much in the line of the canonist, and the reply of the canonist would be this—*The character of a court is not determined by the character of the judges who sit in it, but by the nature of the authority from which it derives the sanction of its procedure and decrees.* This is a principle which has been accepted and endorsed by vast numbers of Churchmen. It is the principle upon which the jurisdiction of an eminent living ecclesiastical judge has been utterly and effectually repudiated. His lordship was indeed appointed to his office by the two archbishops; but, because they acted under the authority of an Act of Parliament, Churchmen were unable to admit the claims of his court to any spiritual jurisdiction.

Another canonical principle is that *the judge, whether of the Bishop's or the Archbishop's Court, must be an ecclesiastic.* Upon this principle, all canonists without exception are agreed. I need only mention the names of such illustrious canonists as Barbosa, Lancelot, and Lyndwood. I might also refer to the English provincial constitutions, as yet not canonically abrogated. And this principle is based on the first principle, that ruling is part of the pastoral office, and therefore cannot be exercised by a layman.

To the canonist it would appear that there is one, and only one, remedy, by which the Church can be extricated from her present state of bewildering confusion in all that is connected with the canon law, viz., the repeal of the Church Discipline Act of 1840 and of the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, in order to restore the paralyzed action of the Bishops' Courts, the old Courts Christian.

The importance of the study of canon law is now generally recognized. I would venture very respectfully to suggest to the Episcopate that it should form part of the examination of every candidate for Holy Orders. And even if, for lack of competent examiners, it be impracticable at present to carry out this suggestion in every diocese, yet surely a beginning might be made here and there. And this I should regard as the first step towards a consummation devoutly to be wished—that, of the canons residentiary, in every cathedral, one should occupy his stall as canonist of the diocese.

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The Worshipful and Rev. THOS. ESPINELL ESPIN, D.D., D.C.L.,  
Chancellor of the Dioceses of Chester and Liverpool,  
and Prolocutor of the Convocation of York.

In dealing with canon law in connection with the discipline and government of the Church of England, we may dismiss one part of a large subject with brief notice. The "Clergy Discipline Act" of 1892 may not be in all respects satisfactory to the canonist. It has some novelties in procedure which ought, perhaps, to have been adopted by the synods before they were enacted. It ought to have expressly provided that graver sentences should always be pronounced by the bishop in person with assessors, as is required by canon 122 of 1604. Yet the Act is a great improvement. It restores to the ancient and canonical Consistory Courts a portion of their jurisdiction which had been taken from them by the legislation of 1840, and we may hope, notwithstanding the silence of the Act, that the bishops will in person pronounce sentence of deprivation, when unhappily it is necessary to do so; and all the more because the letters patent of many diocesan chancellors expressly reserve the right of the bishop to preside at pleasure in his Consistory Court. The point is important, for there is no principle of canon law more firmly established than this—that spiritual functions can only be recalled by the same authority that bestowed them. No canonist would admit that a layman can deprive or degrade; he would as soon admit that a layman can ordain or consecrate.

It might no doubt be urged also that canon law forbids a layman to sit as judge in a spiritual court at all. Nor is this to be regarded as mere mediævalism. On the contrary, the point was strongly and repeatedly urged by the Puritan divines, both at the Hampton Court Conference and to King Charles II. before the Savoy Conference. They complain on the latter occasion: "That by reason of their disability to discharge their duty and trust personally, the bishops did depute the administration of much of their trust, even in matters of spiritual cognizance, to commissaries, chancellors, and officials, whereof some were secular persons, and could not administer that power which originally appertained to the pastors of the Church."—CARDWELL, Conference, p. 280.

This is plain enough, and good canon law, too. Yet in truth the qualification of the judge in the spiritual courts was probably sometimes of a rather formal nature. He was, I suspect, sometimes put into lesser orders, and received the tonsure so as to save the canon. Provided then that graver sentences are always pronounced as required by our 122nd canon, I should not myself regard the point as one of substantial importance. Of course the canon law in this particular was repealed, so far as an Act of Parliament can do so, by 37 Henry VIII., c. 17; but we find the

archbishops repeatedly attempting to get back to the old clerical qualification in the canons of 1571, 1583, and 1597, and indeed in the 122nd and 127th canons of 1604. Whatever be now thought of this particular, all will admit that it is of vast importance to get rid of "criminous clerks" as promptly as possible; and we may very well bear with defects of detail which do not compromise the interests of justice if the Act do its work well.

We must be more punctilious about suits touching ritual and doctrine, and ask for a strict adherence to canonical principles, for the courts that determine such questions must give decisions binding *in foro conscientie*, otherwise the decisions will be treated as null and void, and the scheme of judicature will not work. Chancellor Brunel, writing twenty years ago in "The Church and the Age," says, indeed: "The chief, I might almost say the only, machinery which directly makes law for the Church of England, is the Imperial Parliament. It is therefore to the statutes of the realm that we must first look for the sources of our ecclesiastical law."\* Fully admitting that any procedure which touches the temporal rights and liberties of the citizen must be according to statute, we must yet, on the other side, affirm that spiritual jurisdiction cannot from the nature of the case be founded wholly on Act of Parliament. Parliament itself has recognized the principle that: "The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith" (Article xx.); and further that "we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's Word or of the Sacraments" (Article xxxvii). Propositions like these declare quite canonically that the ecclesiastical state has an authority independent and original within its own sphere. Church and State may, and ought, to deal with suits of this sort *pari passu*. We do not intend either to surrender the national status and establishment of the Church, or yet to own that the Church is a mere creature or department of the State. Church and State have grown up together in England, worked together, suffered together. We do not wish them severed. Yet as surely as the State has its own functions and responsibilities, so also has the Church. Each ought to recognize and succour the other, but the two jurisdictions must not be blended. If a court is to order that such and such a ceremony is or is not to be used, one would certainly ask that the court should speak with the direct formal authority of the Church, for to her this department belongs. And since the doctrine of the Church is identical with that of the Bible, the court which determines that such and such a thing is or is not Church doctrine does interpret the Word of God, and so minister that Word. We must, at all hazards, maintain that these questions shall be determined by spiritual courts, even, if it come to that, abandoning the hope—which in truth we see no reason at all for abandoning—that the State will still uphold and enforce decisions of such courts duly arrived at.

Is such a claim un-Scriptural? No. We have a perfect example of the exercise of plenary power, legislative and executive, in the Acts. When the Apostles and elders decreed, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things" (Acts xv. 28), they dispensed with some of the laws of Moses, which God had given, and they enacted some things which became positive duties, binding the conscience simply because of the authority that imposed them. Did the Church cease to have and use such authority when the Apostles passed away? On the contrary, it is evident that she remained as they left her, an organized society—let us call it rather a kingdom, for Christ is a King in it—with legislative and judicial functions delegated from Him. The canon law is the

\* "The Church and the Age," 2nd series, p. 111.

accumulated result of the exercise of this power through the Christian centuries. Nor can it, so far as the Church of England is concerned, be summarily dismissed as a tangle of papal casuistry. Our Church lawyers in past generations no doubt studied Gratian, Van Espen, and other scientific canonists of Western Christendom, but our courts never directly admitted the whole body of the canon law as of authority here. In fact, English Church law is distinctly domestic in type and tone. Lyndwood's "Provinciale," perhaps our leading book of reference, is quite national in character; and even the Constitutions of Otho and Othobon, which are in that great work, and were enacted under the presidency of papal legates, say little about the Pope, and do not offer themselves at all as valid by virtue of his authority. We cannot in this Church renounce the canon law. It stands associated with the fundamental ideas of the Gospel. We rather welcome the tokens that interest in that system of law is reviving. Several books have been published on it of late years. The Bishop of Oxford's *Lectures\**, the Rev. Edmund G. Wood's *Essays*, Mr. Reichel's manual entitled "Elements of Canon Law" (a very good little book), Mr. Owen's "Institutes of Canon Law," Mr. Dodd's "History of Canon Law," Mr. Brownbill's "English Canon Law," are all of recent date. We may hope that our Universities will resume the teaching of it and granting degrees in it. Meanwhile, I venture to remark that there appears to be nothing to forbid the Archbishop of Canterbury from granting degrees in canon law. We may hope also that as our Church courts are restored to vigour, clergymen will once again take up the study, and practise as Proctors in the courts, for the laws and rules of the kingdom of Christ are surely sacred things. The canonist should be first a theologian, for the sources of his science are in Holy Scripture.

Are claims like these consistent with the principles of the English Reformation? With its *principles* certainly they are. Nothing can be more clear in itself, or more pertinent to the argument than the oft-quoted preamble of the great Statute of Appeals (24 Henry VIII., c. 12), which "bears clear traces of the king's own hand" (Report of Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, 1883, p. xxx.). There it is declared that "the body spiritual" of the empire is no less meet and sufficient of itself to declare and determine all "causes of the law divine or of spiritual learning" than the temporality is to do the like "for trial of property of lands and goods." The great principle laid down is the independence of the realm from all foreign jurisdiction; there were to be no more appeals to Rome; spiritual suits were to be finally determined at home by the King's Courts Spiritual, in which "judges of the spirituality" were to give sentence.

Such was the condition and understanding on which the papal supremacy was renounced; and though we have in the very next year another Act which gave an appeal from the Archbishop to the King in Chancery† yet the Commissioners—afterwards known as the Court of Delegates—might be constituted of spiritual persons only, and indeed until the Act was passed twelve years subsequently that "Doctors of the civil law being married men may exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction" (37 Henry VIII., c. 17), all ecclesiastical judges must no doubt have been in orders of some sort. Doubtless in after years the theory was treated with small respect. The Commissions from 1751 till the Court of Delegates was superseded by the Judicial Committee did not contain any bishops. Still, up to 1832 there was nothing in the law to prevent the Crown from keeping faith with the Church in this matter. And it

\* "Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History." By W. Stubbs, D.D., Bishop of Oxford. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

† 25 Henry VIII., c. 19. "An Act for the Submission of the Clergy."



is particularly to be noted, although in fact the Delegates were for near three centuries the Court of Final Appeal, yet that the arrangement was never intended to be perpetual. It was an *interim*, to be superseded when the great revision and codification of the canon laws should be ready. This great project was provided for in the Act of Submission itself, and was to be effected by a Royal Commission of thirty-two persons. When it could not be completed within the limited time, the powers conferred on the King for this purpose were renewed by 27 Henry VIII., c. 15, and again by 35 Henry VIII., c. 16. Even so, however, it was not ready, and the project was resumed in the following reign (see 3 and 4 Edward VI., c. 11). It is known, indeed, that Cranmer and Peter Martyr worked hard at this undertaking throughout the reign. It had not, however, become law when King Edward died. Again it was resumed by Archbishop Parker in the reign of Elizabeth, and the whole was carefully revised and supplemented by him and his colleagues, and was published in 1571. If, then, we would know what was the mature judgment of the leading English reformers respecting the right method of administering the authority of the Church, we must turn to the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*. And what do we there find? \* The appeal is to go from archdeacon or dean to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop, from the archbishop to the Crown (*ad nostram majestatem*). When there the cause is to be finally determined—if grave, by a Provincial Council; if otherwise, by three or four bishops appointed by the Crown for that purpose. I need hardly do more than recall the fact that the Royal Declaration prefixed to the Articles speaks quite in the same sense. Nothing can be more clear than that the legislation about the Spiritual Courts of 1832, 1840, and 1874, by Parliament alone, was a departure from the principles of the English Reformation. In fact Queen Elizabeth, the greatest of the Tudor Sovereigns, again and again manifested her determination not to allow Parliament to meddle with Church affairs at all. The Royal supremacy, as understood in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was one between the Sovereign personally and the Church; the Sovereign having the right and the duty to protect the Spirituality, and to see that its functions were duly performed. The Church, renouncing allegiance to the Pope, entrusted herself to the faith and piety of the Sovereigns of England; they were to govern the Church through the Spirituality.

Doubtless many arbitrary things were done in Church as well as State by the Tudor and Stuart princes, and were often acquiesced in or even solicited by our prelates. The times were critical. The Church was hard pressed between Rome and Geneva, and had to take the readiest help she could find. Those who quote precedents from those reigns and apply them to our times, should recollect how different the circumstances are, and how altered are the political forces at work then and now, altered in themselves, altered in their relations to each other. The Royal Supremacy is now put into commission, and the commissioners are not selected for that purpose by the Church. And if Parliament were now what it once was, if it were very much like the Lay Houses of Canterbury and York, a good deal would willingly be conceded that is now matter of scruple and resistance.

In the reform of the courts dealing with doctrine and worship, we shall do well to fall back on the principles set out in the Great Statute of Appeals and the *Reformatio Legum*. Our position is thus much stronger than if we claim novelties unknown to English history, and at variance with Anglican precedents. We must not think of getting rid of the Royal Supremacy, which, of course, means disestablishment, but should ask that that supremacy be exercised according to the pledges given when the

\* *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum. De Appellationibus: cap 11.*

papal tyranny was cast off. A series of Courts—such as some desire—that should be, not Queen's Courts, but of solely ecclesiastical origin and commission, would, of course, be jealously watched by the Civil Courts, and hampered in every possible way under a vigorous government, by continued application of the *Appellatio tanquam ab Abusu*.

Those who have not realized how effective this weapon is, should read the account of its operation in France in Jervis's "History of the Gallican Church" (Vol. I., pp. 71-77), and the evidence given by Dean Church before the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission in 1882. No; we do not need any ecclesiastical revolution. We need a conservative reform of our present methods of discipline and government of the Church.

Nothing has been said about the Court of Intermediate Appeal—the Court of Arches in this Province, the Court of Chancery of York in the other. In truth the reform we need here is little more than a repeal of the Act of 1874. To this should be added one or two particulars recommended in the Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, 1883. Nothing has been said also about the securities which the State would properly insist upon when civil rights or the possession of property are involved in the results of a suit, which is primarily one of faith or worship. No doubt such a Final Court as that laid down in the *Reformatio Legum* would need legal assessors. No doubt the Crown would be bound to discharge the duty of securing full and fair trial, with a proper appeal. Nor have I discussed the objection that bishops are not well qualified to act as judges. The objection has, after recent occurrences, lost much of its speciousness; and really, to say that a man has not judicial aptitudes, is tantamount to saying that he is not fit to be a bishop. Jurisdiction is as much an Episcopal function as is ordination. All these, and many other matters, I omit, as not directly in the line suggested by the wording of our subject, and not at all because I do not own them to be important and difficult. At present our chief contention is that spiritual causes should be determined by judges of the Spirituality—the principle of the Great Statute of Appeals.

## DISCUSSION.

Rev. the Hon. W. H. FREMANTLE, Canon of Canterbury.

I SUPPOSE in a discussion like this, that the best thing to be done is, as far as possible, to set forth the facts one knows, and the conclusions to which they seem to point. I should like to say (and I hope I shall not create any offence by doing so, for I do not wish to throw the smallest blame on the Committee of Selection, of which I was myself a member) how very much I feel that the Congress loses, in reference to a full knowledge of facts, by the absence from it on this occasion of the venerable and learned Canon Jenkins. I suppose the real interest of this discussion is this—the question whether we shall be governed in reference to a large part of our lives by clergy-made law or by national law. That is a very clear distinction, and I will address my remarks to that. Take the canon law in regard to its origin. That is a very complicated matter; but I think it is clear that it was vitiated at its outset, by what are called the false decretals, which were the most stupendous instance of successful fraud that ever existed anywhere. Some of these decretals were not false, but those only tended to make the false go down more readily. This was the vitiated source from which a large part of the canon law was drawn. Another point is that so much of canon law was made simply by the Popes. Mr. Roberts seemed to deny that, but certainly the great Innocent III. made between 3,000 or 4,000 decrees, all of which are incorporated in one way or another in the *Decretum*. But we do not admit the Pope's authority in England. These are the chief sources of canon law. Of course, it includes the decisions of Ecumenical Councils, but the great sources are those which I have shown to be vitiated. Now, in England, this canon law was never admitted in its entirety, though parts of it were introduced by Constitutions of the archbishops who had authority before the Reformation. It has

been argued by Mr. Roberts that England was not different from any other country in this respect. I venture to differ from him to some extent. No doubt in many other countries canon law did not exist in its entirety, but there is no country but England where the rulers of the country were so careful for the rights of the laity, by checking the introduction of foreign clergy-made law which was adverse to the laity. For instance, in Edward the First's time, Archbishop Peckham proposed, in an assembly of the clergy, Constitutions in many respects contrary to what the King and his council required, and to the customs of the realm. His action was opposed by the King, who sent him a messenger begging him to desist; and, after an altercation, the archbishop desisted. The kings constantly exercised their authority in this way, from the time of the Conqueror, and even in the Saxon times before. Now what was done at the Reformation? Chancellor Dibdin made too strong an assertion when he said that canon law was left standing. In a certain sense it was; but what was done was this—a statute was passed which said that in future no canon whatsoever should be passed by the Convocations of the Clergy, except with the sanction of the king first obtained. That was as regards the future, and really the terms of the statute virtually put an end to clerical legislation. As regards the old canon law, a commission of thirty-two persons—half laity, half clergy—was to be appointed, who might go through the canon law to see what parts of it had really been sanctioned in England, so that those might be retained and left standing, and the rest finally abolished by the national power. That commission never reported. Under other statutes, as Chancellor Espin has just told you, the commission was re-appointed, and a final report was made, which is called the *Reformatio Legum*, in the time of Edward VI. The report was brought up by Archbishop Cranmer. It was not passed into law, and the reason is well given in a paper written by Mr. Gladstone a little over two years ago, which showed the extreme weakness of this "reformation of ecclesiastical law." Chancellor Espin has given an instance of this weakness in the proposal that appeals, instead of being regulated either by canon law or by the national power, were to be determined by three or four bishops appointed by the king for that particular occasion. Canon law is only valid so far as it has been made in England, and so far as it has not been superseded by the statutes of the realm. Ecclesiastical law grew up at a time when the clergy were almost the only educated men in Europe. The Pope had tremendous authority all through the West, and in those early days certainly the discipline enacted by the clergy was in many respects very excellent, and, as has been said by previous speakers, it furnished many precedents which have been developed by great legists in our own day. But the clergy ceased to occupy that position, and at the Reformation you had a great uprising of the laity, not as against the Church, but certainly against the clerical *regime*. What the laity said was this, "No! we are the Church; you—the clergy—are the ministers of the Church." The ecclesiastical law, which before was the Pope's law or the clergy's law, became the king's ecclesiastical law. When we are told by friends here not to go to the nation for our laws, but to the bishops, I say, "No." When you say that the bishops have divine authority, I say, "No;" the nation itself is the Church. I protest against the injustice, from a Christian point of view, of being ruled by a law which is merely made by the clergy, that is, only by one part of the community. We do not want the promulgation of enactments by a separate ecclesiastical authority, but, as Hooker concluded, after a full discussion of the subject, by the Parliament of England, which, he said, with the Convocation attaching to it, has competent authority. That is my opinion, also; and I am following a very good precedent. Convocation is a body of experts, who may be consulted from time to time, but the law by which we are governed, according to the system which the clergy at the Reformation accepted, is the statute law made by the nation itself under the Queen; the clergy have no right to act on any of these questions if the Queen chooses to withhold her permission; we are ruled by the national power, and I protest against legislation on any narrower basis.

### The Rev. MORRIS FULLER, B.D., Vicar of Bishop's Tawton.

WHEN our blessed Lord would found His Church and send His Apostles to propagate the Gospel in foreign parts, He spake during the great forty days those marvellous and mystic words, "Go into all the world, and make disciples of all nations." These words were direct, immediate, enabling, and enacting, *i.e.*, taking effect at once. By them He gave to His Apostles "mission" and "jurisdiction." Mission:—"Go ye; as My Father hath sent Me, even so," just as, in the same way, "send I you." "Jurisdiction," "into all the world," *i.e.*, He gave the whole world to His Apostles as

their diocese. And these words mean things which form the basis of most of that canon law about which we have heard so much this morning. These empowering words of the risen Christ, to whom all power had been given in earth and heaven, carry with them the credentials of the canon law of the Christian Church. But it must be evident to any reasonable man that this "mission and jurisdiction" could not take effect without some organization and canonical arrangement. It must be disciplined and carried out in due order. The question is, how could this be done, and what was the intention in the mind of the Divine Founder when He gave this charter to His newly formed society, for as Clemens Romanus tells us, our Lord foresaw and warned His Apostles that there would be presently contention touching the Episcopate. The answer will be found in critically considering the persons to whom our Lord addressed these words. They were His Apostles—S. Peter and the twelve—so that they were the Apostolate, and the Apostolic College, *i.e.*, the Episcopate. For there is no need to prove before a Church Congress the historic fact that the Episcopate succeeded to, and took the place of, the Apostolic College. We must therefore bear in mind that we have to deal with two ideas, the Apostolate (as such), and the Episcopate, which took its place. The first is represented by S. Peter, and the latter by the Apostolic College. And this will account for the fact that the *collegiate* idea of the Episcopate soon became rooted in the mind of the Church, *i.e.*, a metropolitan with twelve diocesan bishops, which was Gregory's notion when he sent Augustine to Canterbury, and also in his orders touching York. The enacting words of Christ do not apply to a mere presbyterate (as some would think), but to the Apostolate and the Episcopate, although the presbyterate is included. The medium of Church authority was the collective Episcopate—the Church being a visible organic body. But the point is, how was it organized? It was organized as a monarchical Episcopate, grouped round metropolitical centres; in other words, by a Hierarchy. The Hierarchy is only an organized Episcopate. This is brought out clearly at the First General Council. Its watchwords were, "Let the ancient customs prevail." *τὰ ἀρχαία κρατεῖτω*. What customs? The answer is, metropolitical rights, and these were even in A.D. 325 ancient customs. At that time we thus find the metropolitical jurisdiction in full swing, and certain strong centres already settled by canonical arrangement. Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, were even then patriarchal sees; and Jerusalem by that council; and Constantinople was subsequently raised to the front rank. By a system of metropolitans the Church was divided into provinces (with central strong points), and these again sub-divided into dioceses. The patriarchate was merely the metropolitanate writ large. Thus the Apostolate, or Peter, lives in the metropolitanate, and the Apostolic College in the Episcopate. And this is why the canonist Thomassin calls a metropolitical centre a *sedes Apostolica*, and its occupant an *Apostolicus*. Apply this to our own communion. This Church and realm accept the four general (Ecumenical Councils, and profess in canons, articles, and Prayer-book, to be guided by the Primitive Church and ancient customs. But how has she shown her value to this old conciliar arrangement? Look over the world, and notice the marvellous spread of our now great Anglican communion, and how many archbishops have we got? Only four, Canterbury, York, Armagh, and Dublin. Scotland has none—though the Roman Church has two—where she should have two. America has none, and we are told she would not tolerate this acute emphasizing of the monarchical principle. But this will hardly stand, as the Roman Church in the States has twelve archbishops and a cardinal. Our colonies have none, though the Roman Church has twenty-one archbishops in every one of them. The total number of the Archiepiscopal and Episcopal Sees, Vicariates-Apostolic, and Prefectures-Apostolic in the British Empire is 158. (R.C. Directory, 1892, p. 62.) Some will say, But we have primates and metropolitans, yet, as Dr. Neale reminded us, people will never believe that they are the same as Archbishops, though Shakespeare says, "A rose by any other name will smell as sweet." Isidore says, "tenet enim (Archiepiscopus) vicem Apostolicam et proesidetam metropolitani quam cæteris episcopis." Supposing my contention to be correct, my suggestion is that we ought to have archbishops in every one of our colonies, owing due, *i.e.*, canonical obedience to the chair of Canterbury. The Scotch and American Churches should likewise have their archbishops, and thus the whole Anglican communion would become welded together on the old conciliar lines into an Anglican patriarchate, and the occupant of the throne of Canterbury would be acknowledged to be at the next Lambeth Conference in name what he is in fact, as Dr. Lightfoot (the Bishop of Durham) pointed out—the patriarch of the English Church. One of the previous speakers had referred to the *Reformatio Legum—Tit de Appellationibus*—when a

*causa gravis* should be submitted to the archbishop, and three or four diocesan bishops. This shows what was the mind of the Church, at all events in those days, that the archbishop with assessors should in his court exercise the executive, and not refer the case to Convocation, thus confusing legislative and executive functions.

### PHILIP VERNON SMITH, Esq.

I DISPUTE entirely the notion which has been propounded this morning that Christ has committed authority to legislate for the Church exclusively to the Apostles and their successors, the bishops. To whom was the power of binding and loosing given? Was it to the Apostles, or to the whole Church? If the words conferring the power in Matt. xviii. 18, were spoken to Apostles and their successors, the bishops alone, then the promise in the following two verses ushered in by the words, "Again I say unto you," namely, that where two agree in asking anything it shall be done, and where two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, there is He in the midst of them, were also spoken to the Apostles and bishops alone, and the prayer of S. Chrysostom ought never to be used except at a service at which not less than two bishops are present. The instance in Acts xv. has been rightly referred to by Mr. Ridsdale as the origin and first precedent of canon law; but how did it justify him in assigning to Apostles or bishops the exclusive power of legislation? An Act of Parliament bore on its face a statement that it was passed by the Sovereign, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons; and the authors of the law in Acts xv. were similarly mentioned. We read that it pleased the Apostles—but not them alone—the Apostles and elders, with the whole churches (to promulge the decree), and the decree runs in the names of the Apostles, and elders, and brethren. The power of legislating for the Church resides in the bishops, the inferior clergy (to use the expression in the bidding prayer), and the laity jointly. It is at present exercised jointly by Convocation, representing the Episcopal and clerical element, and Parliament, representing, though it must be confessed imperfectly, the laity. If ever the Church is, unhappily, disestablished, the power will undoubtedly be exercised by an assembly consisting of the bishops, representatives of the inferior clergy, and representatives of the laity, and no canon would be passed without the concurrence of all three orders.

### The Rev. J. PRIESTLEY FOSTER, Vicar of Poulton, Gloucestershire.

I DESIRE to say a few words which I cannot but think are in connection with the subject now in hand. I desire to give one or two instances of the way in which the statute law has overridden the canon law, and very much to the detriment of the clergy of the Church of England. And it is in reference to the fees payable by the clergy that I desire to speak. I do not think it is quite a laughing matter, the question of these fees.

### The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

I HOPE the speaker will confine himself to the question immediately before the Congress. I admit that the point he desires to raise is one worthy of the fullest consideration and discussion, but I am afraid it must be postponed to another occasion. It is a matter of detail, and we cannot, in discussing the larger question, enter into every point of detail.

### The Rev. J. PRIESTLEY FOSTER.

My remarks will be based chiefly on the Constitutions laid down by Archbishop Stratford, and on the 135th canon, in the year 1603. I shall be glad if you would call me to order, should my remarks call for it. By the canon law laid down—in deference to the wishes, I believe, of Archbishop Corboyle—in 1126, it was specially enacted that nobody should be ordained for money in any way. In 1342, in the Constitutions laid down by Archbishop Stratford, which have already been quoted by Sir James Parker Deane, it was specially enacted that no clerk, that is to say, nobody in connection with the bishops, should receive more than sixpence from those who were to be ordained to the ministry; and it was further ordained at the Provincial Council held in London under Archbishop Stratford, that the bishops of the Church should be bound to assign to their ministers, that is to say, to their registrars and to their officers, due and sufficient stipends, and that the clergy should not be charged for letters of orders more than sixpence, and for institution to

their benefices more than twelvecence. At the present time a clergyman cannot enter upon his benefice in the arch-diocese of Canterbury without having to pay £11, notwithstanding the constitution of Archbishop Stratford. But now I desire to call attention to the canon of 1603, which enacts: "Furthermore, that no fee or money shall be received, either by the archbishop or any bishop, or suffragan, either directly or indirectly, for admitting of any into sacred orders. That canon was altogether overruled by a statute in the year 1867. I can appeal to Sir James Parker Deane. When he was a witness before the committee appointed by the House of Lords, he was asked this question: "Were the clergy consulted in any way with regard to this change in the Canon Law?" His answer was this: "That no notice, as far as he knew, was given to the clergy, except the very inadequate one of publication in the *London Gazette*." That Bill of 1867 was introduced by the archbishop, and it was amended in the Commons—so amended that the clergy were to be charged a certain amount, and no more. I regret to say, however, that although it became an Act of Parliament, the Commons' amendment was not adhered to. But what I now want to remark also is this, that during the last ten years those who have taken Holy Orders have paid in fees no less a sum than £35,000 for their letters of orders "indirectly" to the Bishops, because paid to their officers whom they employ, but do not themselves pay.

### Lieutenant-Colonel FREEMAN.

If I felt any hesitation in following, as I do, so long a list of speakers, clergymen and lawyers, well qualified by their studies to deal with the question of canon law, I should find support in the consideration that I am the first layman who has had the opportunity of speaking at this debate. I use the word layman advisedly, in its correct sense of "non-professional," for every speaker who has preceded me has been either a clergyman or a lawyer, and as both professions are intimately interested in canon law, neither a clergyman nor a lawyer can, in a discussion such as this, be deemed a "layman," each being a professional man as regards one of the terms in the phrase "canon law." Of what I had intended to say a good deal has been admirably said by Canon Fremantle, so that I need not now repeat it. In the limited time allowed me I will confine myself to one point. The sources of canon law are thus enumerated in a recent manual which has been more than once referred to in this debate. First, the Bible, not as the Bible, but after its precepts have been applied by the Church power, *i.e.*, the clerical power, to particular persons and cases; second, tradition; third, custom; fourth, constitutions, divided into canons of councils, decrees, the dicta of the Fathers. The time during which canon law was formed is also important. The first code is dated about the middle of the sixth century, the last in the year of Luther's birth, a most significant date. Now, both as to source and time of arising, canon law is positively saturated with the spirit of professionalism. The clergy and the lawyers in those ages had it all their own way. They are no worse than other men, but it is not in human nature for the members of a profession, when they find themselves able to shape the development of their profession, not to do so with greater regard for the interest of that profession than for those of the outside world, and so it comes to pass that canon law is, before all things, the expression of clerical trades unionism. So, to-day, every speaker who preceded me, clergyman and lawyer, has assumed that canon law is a necessity to the Church of England, while the rights of the laity have had no recognition.

### The Rev. T. OUTRAM MARSHALL, Secretary of the English Church Union.

AN attempt has been made to excite prejudice against, and to discredit, canon law, the law of the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, by calling it mere "clergy-made law." May I remind those who uttered this taunt, and who perhaps thought that it was an argument against canon law, that the great symbol of our faith by which we are all bound, the Nicene Creed, is a piece of clergy-made law, and, *pace* Mr. P. V. Smith, I will add that the decree of the Council of Jerusalem, recorded in Acts xv. as that which "seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," was mere clergy-made law, for (ver. 6) it was only "the Apostles and elders" who "came together to consider the matter." What is attributed afterwards to "the whole Church" and to "the Apostles and elders and brethren" is merely the taking of practical measures to send copies of

that decree to the Churches. Moreover, as is, or ought to be, well-known, the second "and" is not in the best versions, so that the words would be more properly rendered "the Apostles and elders, brethren"—*two* orders, not *three*. Another speaker tried to carry the audience away by protesting that "the nation is the Church." To such a statement it is sufficient to reply that the nation included Jews and other unbaptized persons. "Pope-made law" was another taunt aimed at the canon law of the English Church. This had been answered by anticipation by Mr. Bayfield Roberts, who pointed out that only so much of "Pope-made law" was of force among us as had been received and promulgated by the English Church. Such papal decrees, therefore, owe their authority over us not to the Pope, who made them, but to the English Church, which received them. This is a parallel case to the quotation of a passage from a heathen poet by S. Paul. We accept those particular words as true, not on the authority of the heathen, who wrote them, but on that of the Apostle, who quoted them. But what chiefly led me to send in my card, after listening to the magnificent papers and speeches of such experts as Mr. Ridsdale, Chancellor Espin, and Mr. Bayfield Roberts, was the feeling that it might be useful for an ordinary Churchman to say one word to this large meeting of Church people, and to point out that the question of the authority of canon law was not an academic question, which concerned only a few experts in the room, but a question of vital and practical importance affecting the conscience and duty of every man and woman in the English Church, and that in two respects. Canon law (i.) is a body of law to which, in Christ's name, we owed obedience; and (ii.) it provides a method of legislation and of judicial procedure which loyalty to Him compelled us to do our best at all costs to secure the adoption of in all future legislation and adjudication on spiritual matters. Canon law challenged our obedience. The canons of 1603, following the unvarying teaching of the English Church, forbade absolutely and in every case such a thing as divorce *a vinculo*. They allow only divorce *a mensâ et thoro*, or what we now call judicial separation, and require that in all such cases *both* the parties (the innocent no less than the guilty) shall be bound to contract no other marriage during the lifetime of the other. Obedience to Christ, therefore, requires every one of us at the present time to use our utmost influence to prevent the continuance of two such enormities as (i.) the granting by any bishop of a licence to a divorced person to marry someone else, while the real husband or wife (however guilty) is still living; (ii.) the celebration of such pretended marriage by a priest of the Church, and in one of our consecrated buildings. Again, canon law gives us a divinely appointed method of legislation, and of judicial procedure. Loyalty to Christ, therefore, required that those of us who had learnt the truth as to canon law should henceforth insist at all costs that legislation on spiritual matters and judicial proceedings concerning them should be conducted in accordance with the provisions of canon law. I can hardly feel sure with Chancellor Espin that the clergy discipline legislation which took place this year was in such accordance. The Canon so hurriedly pushed through our Convocations *does not* authorize the bishop to *deprive* the criminous clerk, but only to *declare* that his benefice is vacant and his cure of souls taken from him, and that, as the Act of Parliament shows more particularly, *from the date of the sentence of the civil or criminal court*. This substitution of "declare vacant" for "deprive" threw a terrible doubt on the authority which the bishop would henceforth exercise, whether it was really derived from the Church or from the State. Then, as to judicial procedure, they must insist, as Mr. Ridsdale has so well done, that the Appeal Court must (according to all canonical precedent) consist of the metropolitan, assisted by the comprovincial bishops. These words of his had been curiously overlooked by Sir J. Parker Deane, who had entirely misrepresented his meaning. What Mr. Ridsdale, and thousands of other Churchmen, accept with so much thankfulness was not *the Court*, whose jurisdiction, in common with the Bishop of Lincoln, they solemnly protested against; but the fact that the Archbishop, in giving his judgment, sought, for the most part, "ancient canonical precedent," instead of resting on "Acts of Parliament and past judgments of secular judges."

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#### HALL ROKEBY PRICE., Esq.

I AM afraid I must call myself an ignorant layman, but I beg the forbearance of the members present whilst I make a few remarks upon this subject, interesting to so many of us. A great statesman once said he was on the side of the angels. I beg

to say I am on the side of Sir James Parker Deane and Canon Fremantle, without saying they are angels. What we have heard to-day appears to me to amount to this—are we, at the end of the nineteenth century, to be governed by canon law alone in matters which concern everyone of us, our children and our descendants. I am one of those who, as a layman of the Church of England, object to any body of men setting themselves above the Imperial Crown. We had a reference by one of the previous speakers to the *Reformatio Legum*, which showed that our ancestors at the time of the Reformation must have known what the meaning of the canon law was—decrees published in Rome. They very properly, I think, took the course of making the Church, so far as concerned Acts of Parliament, subservient to the Imperial authority. The liberties of this country have depended almost entirely upon its Protestantism, from the Conqueror downwards. A gentleman, who does not agree with me in my particular opinion, has told you that Henry VIII. was not a great reformer, and that the Reformation was the climax of Henry VIII.'s time. Some parts of his conduct were unfortunate, but as a strong man for the work of the Reformation, and as a governor and king, he upheld the rights of the laity of this country. With Canon Fremantle, I regret that Canon Jenkins, a very old member of the Chapter of Canterbury, and a man well-known to the whole Church of England, should have been unfortunately—I use the word deliberately—ousted from the opportunity of discussing this question. I will not, however, enter into a discussion of the exclusion of Canon Jenkins. It was Mr. Ridsdale, or Mr. Roberts, who suggested that the canon law should be a part of the examination of every candidate for ordination. That means that the clergy of the Church of England are to be governed, or to be taught to be governed, by the canon law. With all deference to those who differ from me, I beg to say that I believe there is in Englishmen now the same spirit which prompted them in former days to resist ecclesiastical tyranny.

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The Rev. CHARLES C. HOYLE, Curate of Emanuel,  
Holloway; formerly Solicitor of the Supreme Court.

I OWE members of Congress an apology for my appearance here this morning. I have been in Orders but three months, and so claim your kind indulgence at this, my first Congress meeting. Having been for some years previous a student of canon law, I have naturally felt much interest in this morning's proceedings. After hearing the three magnificent *apologia* for canon law which we have listened to, I do not propose to take up your time by a historical survey of the subject, especially as the case for canon law, viewed from an historical standpoint, has been proved, and proved up to the hilt. I would endeavour to lend a more practical interest to the subject by giving three reasons for the study of canon law. Canon law should be studied on account of its high sanction and authority. We have heard from Canon Fremantle of the distinction, the unfortunate distinction, between clergy-made law and national law. I venture to suggest that this distinction is not *ad rem* as regards canon law; it is the question of "authority" which must decide. For whilst statute law is dependent for its force upon the will of the prince and the voice of the State, canon law, in germ and principle at least, has received the direct sanction of Holy Scripture, and therefore it will be a question, and a serious question, if the two should come into conflict, which must prevail. But I would advocate its study on the ground also of the great evidential value which canon law possesses. It is no small testimony to the historic continuity of the Church of England that canon law has come down to us after so many years, and through so many changes, in such a lucid and perfect condition; and in the third place I would advocate its study by all clergy and theological students, inasmuch as canon law has for its fundamental principle this—"that spiritual matters should be dealt with by spiritual judges." I have searched the *Corpus Juris Canonici* from beginning to end, and I can find no trace or vestige of the mischievous principle that spiritual matters are to be dealt with in secular courts. For these reasons I recommend the earnest study of canon law by all who are interested in the maintenance of the true liberties and privileges of our National Church. May I conclude by offering one or two suggestions, which I trust may be found practicable in the study of canon law. It is greatly to be regretted that of recent years the systematic study of canon law in the



two great Universities has fallen into disuse. I speak under correction, but I believe that it is perfectly competent for a student in the University of Oxford to appear in the schools and challenge a degree examination in canon law, and I do trust that ere long this may be done, and the question thoroughly ventilated, for as recently as the time of John Wesley, degrees in canon law were conferred after examination; but all this will, of necessity, take time, and until "chairs" of canon law are established will be a matter of some difficulty. There is, however, an easier way of solving the problem. It is the prerogative of the Archbishop of Canterbury, resting in part upon the maintenance of canon law itself, to grant degrees in the various faculties, and the exercise by his Grace in suitable cases of this, his undoubted right, would undoubtedly do much to strengthen and extend the study of English canon law in England. For it is a study which, in view of recent circumstances, is eminently necessary, and especially in the case of us, who, whilst ever obeying the law of God, should also be careful students of the laws of man.

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### CONGRESS HALL.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 5TH, 1892.

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The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

### THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TO THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION IN VIEW OF

- (1) THEIR SPIRITUAL NEEDS;
- (2) THEIR SOCIAL NEEDS;
- (3) THEIR INCREASED RESPONSIBILITY AS CITIZENS.

### PAPERS.

The Rev. C. I. ATHERTON, Treasurer and Canon  
Residentiary of Exeter, and Canon  
Missioner of the Diocese.

#### (1) THEIR SPIRITUAL NEEDS.

THE progress of the Church among the urban populations is a matter of history far more than opinion, for it has advanced with amazing rapidity during the last quarter of a century, and has taken hold of vast territories once occupied by an ill-informed religious sentiment, or by a self-complacent indifference.

But the work of the Church among agricultural populations has not been marked by the same activity; it cannot be said to have advanced, and, indeed, it may be questioned whether it has held its own under changing circumstances. But before we can determine the Church's duty, in the face of this fact, we must discover the hindrances to her work in this direction.

(1) In country places life proverbially runs in a more sluggish stream than in towns, and thought has not the exercise necessary for its growth; nor are the problems of the day so constantly brought before the mind, so that intelligent appreciation or rejection is gained. The idleness of

busy men is said to exceed the business of idle men, and the art of "doing nothing" is not easily acquired by those whose minds are constantly at work. Few could express it, or had a right to express it better than Charles James Fox, when he said, "There was only one thing better than lying on the grass with a book, and that was lying on the grass without a book." But it is quite another thing to find life, as in country places, running into quiet eddies, or becoming stagnant for want of outlet; and it is this want of movement in the mind of a specially busy age that has to be reckoned with.

(2) The tendency of country life is to the towns. In the last ten years the increase in the urban districts has been 15·3 per cent., but in the rural districts it has only been 3·4 per cent. From the sparsely populated counties, such as Devon, Cornwall, Dorset, and Somerset, the largest contribution is made to the already crowded life, for of the 343 out of every 1,000 that come from the country to London each year, 24·7 per cent. come from these specially rural counties, against 4·6 per cent. from the more urban Midlands. All this is striking and significant, for it means no "bitter cry of outcast London," or "deep sigh from darkest England," but a slow and gradual depletion of the rural districts. The labourer does not grumble or agitate; this is mostly done for him by the paid agitator from the town; but as the deep impression forces itself upon him that there is nothing for him but to try elsewhere, he quietly throws down his spade and hoe and departs. Nor does he go alone. The village shopkeeper finds himself losing his customers; the regular weekly visit paid to the neighbouring town, and to the co-operative store, lessens the chance of the village shop being patronized except for oddments, and so the shopman follows suit, and the place knows him no more. The village tailor, with his wonderful patterns and the same size all round, has been superseded by the ready-made suit purchased at the town shop; and in a village where three such men once dwelt and thrived, one is dead, one is in a workhouse, and the third is cutting out a new line of his own in drinking and poaching. The village joiner and smith have almost entirely joined the majority, and the former declares he has little more to do now than to make coffins for those who have not been fortunate enough to escape, for what with the cots and farmsteads being left without repair, and the introduction of costly reapers, steam ploughs and thrashing machines, hand labour has scarcely any place; so they too pass away and leave the region and sleepiness, as one has described it, "of eternal turnips."

(3) Nor is this depletion altogether unnatural. The nearness of the towns and great centres of civilization through an extended railway system, the increased education and wakening of ambitions, have given tastes for other things; the lads become restless and dissatisfied, the cheap excursion has introduced them to wider fields; and having ventured into the busy life, clothed as it is to them with romance, of the crowded city with its gay scenes, cheap theatres and music-halls, it has made the dark lanes, miry ways, and dull village inn contrast unfavourably with the brightness into which he has been for a time plunged. In vain it is to point out the feverish unrest of these busy scenes, for the labourer is no philosopher, and as he sees his present life means dullness and struggle, he is disposed to move to what seem to him brighter surroundings. So we cease to wonder that out of 1,995 districts in England

and Wales dealt with in the last census, 945 show a decline of population, and where, like Lincolnshire, the county is nearly all agricultural, there are as many as forty-seven districts out of fifty-five which show a decrease.

(4) But there is yet another cause for what seems to be the change in the rural districts. The old patriarchal and feudal systems have gradually fallen into decay. The squire has had to reduce his expenditure in consequence of falling or failing rents (often 25 per cent. and upwards), and in some places, notably in Lincolnshire and Essex, land has gone out of cultivation. All this affects the squire's habit of life by which he was endeared to the tenant and labourer in the olden times. Decrease of income prevents the keeping of horses for hunting, and the large home parties for shooting, and the alteration of the game laws contracts the power of the landlord, and prevents the quiet necessary for good sport. Everyone demands and many take permission to pass wheresoever they will, over vale and hill, and no one is to check the liberty of the British subject.

But with all this, one of the signs of an advancing age, the old fealty between squire and tenant has in some places been shaken, and seeing that there is a sort of unwritten agreement supposed to exist between the squire and parson, the influence of the Church also suffers, for it is not difficult to see that if it is accepted that the parson takes the side of ownership as opposed to occupation, the influence of the Church will be weakened with the labourers.

Then there is another feature that has to be reckoned with. The rector is found dining with the squire, but the Nonconformist minister, or local preacher, takes "pot luck" with the tenant and the labourer, and in this way sympathy is awakened that is found afterwards difficult to counteract. It is in the cottage and the farmstead that discussion takes place as to the question of poor dwellings, and low wages, and unjust demands; and these are not always fairly stated, nor are the true principles of political economy known. It is supposed that the squire and parson are on the side of possession, and that they will combine to oppress, or at any rate to get the best of the employed, and when words of leading politicians are carefully retailed that, "The labouring man is in the grip of the squire and parson," it is no wonder that a heart and lip rebellion is set up, and that at the village inn, or on the village green, these opinions, that seem to have some foundation in fact, and are never fairly answered except in public utterance, when very little is really grasped, take hold of the agricultural labourer and make him almost believe that the parson is not his friend. It is not that there is any real antagonism to the Church or clergy, for if the labourer were free to choose, it is more than possible the Anglican clergyman would gain his vote; the working-man has a keen appreciation of the honest and straightforward gentlemanly ways of the trained scholar, and the freedom of the parson from lower influences; the sermon he preaches he may not understand so well as the plainer utterance of the local preacher; in fact, it is a question whether, like the Scotch woman, he would "ha' the presumption to understand" the utterance of his rector, but the man he likes and respects. But all this regard is not proof against the poison continually administered by those who have an interest in weaning confidence from its natural source, and who desire

to make the Establishment appear only as an institution existing for dispensing gifts, and possessing only one special purpose, as the link between the squire and his doles and coals ; and that now these can no longer be what they have been, the way to possession for themselves will be by listening to charmers who charm not wisely but too well.

With these changing circumstances, the Church has to consider how to improve if she possesses, or regain, if she has at all lost, her influence over the agricultural populations. Prejudices have to be met, alienated affections have to be won, lost positions have to be retaken, and all this in the very widest spirit, with the deepest sympathy, and with the most exalted motive and end. We do not want to obtain influence to use it for the promulgation of certain facts or opinions, either social, political, or religious, still less that we may assert and exercise an autocratic power for the advancement of this or that system, but simply and altogether that the Church, whose history, teaching, and position, have made the nation what she has become in the past, may show how she can adapt herself to the expanding life of the present and future.

Three things, then, seem to be necessary for increased influence :—

- (1) Hopefulness among the clergy.
- (2) Thoroughness in the working of the Church's system.
- (3) Sympathy with the people.

(1) The Church's influence will only be gained as the clergy of the rural parishes become themselves more hopeful.

What can be expected from the paralysis that comes over a man of education and culture, who has perhaps just left his college fellowship, or the busy scenes and constant occupation of a city parish, and finds himself with a handful of people, slow of instinct, backward in intelligence, and obstinate in conviction? It is said to be difficult to carry the thought of individual responsibility to the minds of those living in London parishes where there are 10,000 people crowded into about sixty acres, but it is just as hopeless a task to create any sense of corporate life or due sympathetic interest, where, as in one Devonshire parish, 3,000 people are scattered over 56,000 acres ; or where a rector, when asked whether he had any outlying hamlets, said, " I have in my parish seventy miles of roads." No wonder is it, therefore, that a clergyman from the North of England, taking a summer holiday in our lovely western county, said he found so many who " used " to do this or that ; they had tried the Bible class, the cottage lecture, the reading room, but all had failed. And no wonder need be expressed if in sadness of heart the hands begin to hang down, and the knees grow lax in prayer, and as the fire of past days is dying out, the careless life sometimes follows, and the pursuit of river, or field, or lawn, takes the place of the once earnest desire to fulfil the ministry given of God.

Then we must add to this the despair that sets in with some who have to face the depreciating income, and who see pass with it the power to help either their own family or their people. When a man of education has honestly striven to do his duty in his curacy, and has been presented to a benefice, he may naturally hope to find himself, at any rate able to educate his children, and to help his parishioners in their hour of distress. But the income falls, tithes depreciate, the glebe farm becomes vacant, and hardly bare subsistence follows. No doubt this subject is calling for prompt and sympathetic action, and much is being done in

this direction. It can hardly long be deferred, when the Church awakens to the close connection existing between this cause of weakness and its influence upon those amongst whom we minister.

For it is not to be supposed that the spirit of irreligion and carelessness to the Church's ministrations is worse than it was years ago; it has only changed its form. It has been well described that, "forty years ago row after row of sadly-faced men regularly attended Sunday Morning Service in their dark green smock-frocks, elaborately stitched on the breast and back, and their weather-beaten faces grimly attentive to the service, which few of them followed with books." More came to church, perhaps, but was there more religion? They came because told to come, as they went to their farm duties before and after, but was religion any more a part of their life?

The first duty of the clergyman seems to be to realize his solemn duty and responsibility. We are too much inclined to believe that good service is only found on the side of the "strong battalion," and we forget the special duty and privilege of the little band of the forlorn hope. The issue of the battle does not belong to us: ours is the duty, and His the reward. The tired servant who had laboured in vain, had a vision of the Master, who said to him, "I gave you the rock to smite, and though you would desire to break it, my wages will be paid to those who smite as they are bidden." There are ways opening up by which the powers and talents of the rural clergy may be further used—some as lecturers for the Church reading societies in various places; and some, as in the Society of Mission Clergy in our diocese of Exeter, now numbering fifty members, who are able to keep up their studies more systematically and deeply than the busy workers in towns can, and who during the Church's seasons, and at other times, come forth to enrich the minds and stir the souls of the residents in the town parishes by courses of sermons and well-prepared instructions. In our western diocese, thirty or forty of the clergy of the rural districts will be found moving about in Advent and Lent in organized order, to the great profit of the parishes they visit, and to the good of their own parishes and themselves; for this exchange of duty stirs the sluggish corners, and gives new interest to those who had become hopeless in their work. Does not the Church require this intercommunication to keep us from the danger of isolation and congregationalism, and to ensure Catholicity of thought and practice?

(2) The Church needs to express her deepest life by her *thoroughness* and *adaptability*.

The beauty and strength of the parochial system is seen in nothing so much as in the way she ministers to the wants of all, and we have nothing to fear from hostile attacks so long as we are true to our Divine mission. It is not an assertion of power we need so much as the exhibition of it in a life of holiness and meekness. But it must be *meekness* and not *weakness*, humble because strong, and strong, not in the strength of external position, but of inward possession. We have nothing to do with simply human measures to ensure success, but we are taught by the Spirit how to "borrow . . . vessels . . . not a few," that the Holy Spirit may, as the Oil, fill them. We need to keep before our people the Holy Communion as the central truth and the great means of life in the Corporate Body, and this Sacrament should

be "rightly and duly administered," even though the numbers are not great. It has been found possible to have an average of twenty-five communicants at a weekly Early Celebration in a parish of 230 souls, and this is a larger average than 400 out of 12,000 souls in a town parish.

Only let the appetite for the Holy Food be awakened, and the importance of these mysteries be set forth. Sometimes, when these truths have lost their power, at a season of some Special Mission they may be reasserted and recommended; and it was lately a heart-cheer to a faithful rector to hear in the words of one who had been a leader in the chapel, "I see now I am not a dissenter, I am but a nonconforming member of the Church of England. I want now to come for my food to the Holy Communion in the Church, and for my teaching to her ministry, and if I cannot find work in the Church, I can try to use the chapel in which to do mission work, and come to the Church for my food." Would not a conciliatory manner towards such do much to win these earnest sons to the work of the Church, from which in truth they do not dissent?

Is it not possible, too, that a wise adaptation of the Church's services to the need of those who cannot understand their deep meaning might win some? It was said to a wise and devoted son of the Church who has done something in this direction:—"Could not we have some plain and simple sermon which we should enjoy, without the 'ceremony' that goes before it." This is already receiving attention at the hands of the fathers of the Church, and it would enable many who seek what they call a more spiritual worship without, to find that all things necessary to salvation can be found in the revelation God has given in His Church, and that the more our lives live out the truths thus taught, the more the Church will be seen to be a witness to fact and not to sentiment: the weekly Celebration, a witness to Apostolic practice and order: the living ministry, a witness to Catholic truth: a broad-hearted love, a witness to our Catholic inheritance: and the adoption of whatever methods may lead to the widest and fullest expression of the soul's need, will be a witness to the breadth of our Catholic instincts.

And if in the changes of the future it may have to be considered whether the Church would do her work better if her country parishes were more amalgamated, and the larger income of such united parishes used to enable the rector to have helpers living in a community house in some central place, or in centres under his direction in the far-off hamlets; still the principles of the Church's work would be sustained and her influence extended, as she remained true to her great principles of Sacraments and Creeds, and sought to give expression to them in a deeper holiness, a simpler devotion, and a wise adaptation to the needs of all placed under her care.

(3) The Church will hold or regain her influence as she exhibits the heart of warm sympathy that beat in the life of her Lord.

True it is that there is much that is disheartening and discouraging in our work. We take the greatest pains with the Confirmation candidates; our preparation is long and careful and prayerful, and we find, or we think we find, that there is little or no improvement. The home and social influence chills the desire to attend Holy Communion, and our brightest hopes find no fulfilment. Still, sympathy must be

shown ; an earnest effort can be made by the village reading room, the cricket club, the discussion class, and various other methods, to retain a hold upon those over whom we have gained some influence, and a regular Communicants' class or lecture every month will be something to work to and from. The Men's Help Society does much to give point and method in this direction. Or should the boys go off to the town, or the girls to service, we may still retain hold by an occasional letter, or placing them by "commendation" in the charge of some parish priest in the place to which they go. It is this sympathy that in time tells, and proves of the greatest value. So will it be with those to whom our steps are led in times of sorrow or sickness. Constant visitation at other times wears away the shyness and reserve, and opportunity may serve even in times of health for bringing up questions upon which we desire to speak ; but the sorrow or the sickness will give the opening we seek for closer converse, and it may be that seeds can then be sown that will in God's time spring forth. It has been said, "It need not be that any great technical knowledge will be displayed. The parson may not know a Shorthorn from a Hereford, a Southdown from a Cotswold, but if he knows his people, and shows his sympathy with them, they will draw to him." So also will it be as questions arise of social interest and importance ; we cannot afford to let these pass by, or imagine that the people cannot understand them. If it is more difficult to get down to their level than it is to those who are nearer our own water-mark, we must obviously take the greater pains ; if we seem to have lost touch with the class which needs more than any other our sympathy and guidance, we must accept the position that demands a greater skill and power of adaptation, and we shall find the very exercise will bring out the best part of our own character. It is not exhibiting a certain amount of civility now and again, such as the labourer has received at times since he had a vote, finding himself beset with embarrassing attention at one time, only to be followed by longer and protracted spells of loneliness and desertion ; it is not expressing the Church's influence by directing attention to her powers and possibilities, for invidious comparisons are likely to be the result, and the *cui bono* of so large an expenditure for the production of an article not in their sight obviously superior, will be the result ; it is not by using a magical influence to work some political end, or allying the Church to one special side in the political struggle, but it is by showing the sympathy that comes from a heart set on fire by Divine Love, that "beareth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things," that will, among the simple hearted, prove as forcible and powerful as in the days of old, and will win and keep for the Church those for whom Christ died, those whose lot in life may lie amidst monotony and dulness, yet who have in them the heart still true to the longings of heaven and home.

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The Rev. A. JESSOPP, D.D., Rector of Scarning, East Dereham.

(2) THEIR SOCIAL NEEDS.

THAT is the subject which I am called upon to deal with in a short twenty minutes. The subject is very wide—the time very short.

What are those needs? Very different in different parts of the

country. We are all too apt to forget that the conditions of peasant life vary almost as much as the conditions of life among the toilers in the cotton mill, the potteries, the coal mines, or the London docks. The sparrows in Cumberland are not to be distinguished from the sparrows of Cornwall or Norfolk. The agricultural labourers in Yorkshire and Dorsetshire, in Cheshire and Norfolk, differ from one another in physique, in sentiment, in habits of life, almost as much as the various breeds of poultry differ—as much as the draggletailed barn-door fowl does from the Cochin China cocks and hens.

I know something about the agricultural population of the east of England; about the men of the west or the north I know almost nothing at all. Let me speak as I do know. Let others do the same.

(1) In the east of England—meaning by that Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and, I may add, Essex, and part of the great shire of Lincoln—the agricultural population is said to be continually moving from their village birthplaces and emigrating to the towns. Is that an evil?

In the country we breed many creatures that the people in the towns cannot breed as successfully as we do. We breed poultry, cattle, and horses, for instance, and we breed a great many more of these animals than we require. Is it an evil if we send you our surplus stock? Is it an evil to you who eat these creatures? Is it an evil to us, who, if you did not absorb them, should be the victims of our own fecundity? You don't eat, you can't eat, our young men and maidens, but you do take them off our hands. If you did not do so, in thirty years they would be eating one another, or they would eat us.

But when these young people take refuge with you, and fly from the nests that are too small to hold them, you, the townsmen, are the gainers, without making any return to us who have parted with our best. You pay us money down for our horses and our cattle that we let you have, but the drain of our choicest manhood, *that* you give us no equivalent for.

(2) When these young people leave the country, what tempts them to emigrate to the towns? First and foremost the vague hope that in the towns they will have a better chance of rising in the social scale. Do you blame them for being ambitious? Why, the man who is without all ambition, without hope, without desire of bettering himself, is a mere stupid drudge, and just as often as not a creature that gets in other people's way. You can't use him profitably; you can't lean on him safely; you can't even be sure he will let you down if you put your foot on him.

“Nearer my God to Thee, nearer to Thee.”

What is that but the cry of the loftiest ambition? And woe to him that has none of that. The desire to improve our position in the body politic is an instinct which is implanted in all noble natures, and what right have we to discourage the peasant from embarking upon a career outside the limits of his parish boundaries?

(3) But has the agricultural labourer no hope of rising in the social scale? In my own parish, a parish of some 3,600 acres, I can point out to you nine small farmers whose several occupations extend from five to one hundred acres, and every one of whom has risen from the



position of a day labourer. Can *all* the labourers do the same? All, because some can, and do. Can all the learned gentleman called to the bar every year rise to be judges. Can all the recruits who join the army rise to be sergeants? Can all the little boys born in Folkestone during the past month expect to grow up to be men of six feet two inches high? In every calling the law holds good, "The many fail, the one succeeds." But it is false to say that in East Anglia the agricultural labourer has no chance of rising. Norfolk swarms with men who have risen from the plough. The idle, the vicious, the weak, the man who is all talk and no go, has no career, because he does his best to spoil it. But that is true all the world over. In the universe of God there is enormous allowance for waste; and who ever knew a dissolute loafer who had not his grievance?

But, man for man, and thousand for thousand, it admits of very great doubt whether our rustics who leave the fields for the streets succeed better there than *they* do who still cling to the soil. You good folks of the town, you cry, "Send us your stalwart lads, for we want policemen and soldiers, and railway porters, and young fellows to drive our carts and help in our stables, and somehow—somehow—our town lads don't take to such employments. We'll make men of them," you say, and so you do. But then our worst follow in the wake of the best, and you can't keep *them* away any more than you can keep away the others. And what then? Then these weedy ones—the morally and physically weak—drop down fast enough by the thousands into the submerged tenth—the *residuum*, or whatever you are pleased to call them; and the end of *their* career is that they languish as noisome weeds that spoil the look of those rank pleasure-gardens of yours—the slums of your great cities. Commissions of enquiry? We have enough of them and to spare. But it might be well if we could have one more, one conducted by the Church, extending to every diocese in England, and carried out by those who most certainly know more about the agricultural labourers than anyone else, I mean the country clergy. One of the objects of such enquiry might be to discover what percentage of agricultural labourers rise above the status of labourers at home, and what percentage of those who troop to the towns and their suburbs sink in the depths of that slough of despond—the *residuum*.

(4) What makes the young men and maidens so ready to leave the country villages? Observe that is a different question from the other, viz., why they are so eager to go to you. Insufficient wages? Tush! Any really good labourer in East Anglia is a great deal better off in the village than he is in the town. His earnings are more than the earnings of the unskilled labourer in the streets. They are, at least, double what they were thirty years ago, when food and clothing of all kinds were three times the price they now stand at. His rent is less rather than more than it was; his toil has been vastly lightened: for years past his working day has been a day of eight hours, and you can't induce him to work overtime. His education costs him nothing, and the quality of that education is rising higher and higher every year. There is no man upon earth more free than he to come and go, to say and do, to vote and speechify as he pleases. He may choose whom he prefers to marry him or bury him; and he recognizes only one master, but that master he really does hold in awe. Who is that

master? The Executive of the Labourers' Union. Yet, with all this freedom and prosperity—and I am sure that no class in the community during the last thirty years has risen so rapidly and gained so much—the peasantry are discontented and morose, hating their best friends, and asserting more loudly what they call their rights, claiming ever more power, and conceding always less and less. We, the clergy, have almost given up distributing tracts, because we find that the men will not read them. Not so the enemy which soweth tares. In every village the disseminators of the coarsest fiction, pretending to be fact, are having it all their own way, and *this* kind of literature the peasants are not only reading, but paying for. Large incomes are made out of this new quack medicine, and the labourer loves it, never suspecting that the more he takes of it the more rapidly is he being poisoned. What is the Church doing to counteract all this? Men and brethren, when will it be recognized that for arsenic pills you want some better antidote than sugar candy? The truth is, and it is time to confess it, our Church literature is too fine, too timid, too lackadaisical. We are admirably furnished with such literature as reaches the middle class; we seem incapable of acting through the press upon the peasantry. As matters now look, the cassock is no match for the shirt sleeves. We want some of that ruggedness which need not lapse into vulgarity, some of that aggressiveness which need not be brutal. For years we have been talking of a daily or weekly newspaper which might circulate among the villages, but it is not started, and until we can make up our minds on some preliminaries, on which I have not time to dwell, we had better let the thing be. When such a journal *is* started, its only hope of success will depend upon its being conducted on business principles, with an editor who is no amateur, but a professional pressman. It must be a journal, too, that shall discuss social questions first and foremost, and discuss them bravely, earnestly, unreservedly. For the Church has the best possible right to speak on such subjects with authority. But it must *not*, no, it must *not*, be regarded as a paper in which the clergy shall have a sort of right to ventilate their opinions. For when, in so far as, we engage in a crusade of social reform, we must let it appear that our first desire is to look to the true and best interests of the people whose cause we make our own, and, with the outlook as it fronts us now, we must beware of clericalism. Vigorous young clergymen, with their all too fluent pens, must generously put constraint upon themselves, deny themselves, even consent to efface themselves if need be. There are times when our safest eloquence is our silence.

(5) But if the agricultural labourers are saturated with discontent, have they *no* cause for complaint! Yes, and no. No, emphatically no, if you compare the surroundings of the peasantry with those of the labourers in the collieries, the potteries, or the river side. But yes, emphatically yes, if you seriously consider how very easily, and at how small a cost, the lot of our villagers might be raised to a level of comfort and enjoyment such as the average town labourer never dreams of.

In the open parishes, *i.e.*, where the land is owned by a score or two of small proprietors, the houses of the agricultural labourers are disgraceful. I have seen some of them which were almost incredibly infamous. Of course, you will ask me, "Where was the Sanitary

Authority?" If the time permitted, I could tell you something about the working of that anomalous and mysterious and Protean monster bearing the name of the Sanitary Authority. But, as time is short, I have only to utter a protest in reply. I protest against the assumption that it is the duty of the country parson to bell the cat, and to bear all the odium of turning common informer. I protest against his being expected to put himself in conflict with a host of unscrupulous and powerful owners and occupiers of wretched hovels, and thereby paralyzing his own usefulness for the term of his natural life, when the monster evil to be remedied might, and ought to be, dealt with by a far simpler and far more natural machinery. We have factory inspectors and mine inspectors, school inspectors and lunacy inspectors, who have their districts stretching over wide areas. Why should we not have our agricultural dwelling inspectors? not mere small local personages, horribly afraid of their neighbours, and holding their several offices, in many instances, at the pleasure of the very men who would be the first to come under the lash of the law if the law were set in motion as it ought to be. Here is one of those reforms in which the Church might well take the initiative by a strong and united effort, whether by petition or other legitimate appeal to the Legislature. I know many a clergyman—there must be hundreds of them—who is now gnashing his teeth and eating his heart out, seeing that in his parish there are houses which have been for long, and must continue to be, moral and physical pest houses, and yet who knows and feels that Christian prudence will not allow him to move for the sweeping away of these places, lest, while he plucks up the tares, he plucks up the wheat also. A man has often, alas, to take his choice between two evils, and at times very bitterly to confess to himself that if he would not give up all hope of being useful, his strength is to sit still.

(6) "Social needs." Remember *that* is my subject. The assumption being that the Church is not only a religious but a social force. Therefore, her first duty, as a social force, is to aim at the increase of *sociability* among her members.

Now, we country people are not sociable. Farmers live widely apart. In many of our parishes a population of 500 or 600 is scattered over twenty or thirty miles of road. How can these people draw together except very rarely? The result is that we have no amusements, no reading rooms, no gatherings for recreation. Sometimes there's a concert, sometimes there's a lecture, but these things are seldom. Parish halls we need almost more than anything else just now. There the benefit clubs might assemble instead of at the ale house; there the parish business might be transacted instead of in the vestry; There the young men and the old might meet to read the newspaper, to practise singing, to play sedentary games, to discuss everything except religion; here the parson might come to meet his people, instead of the people having to come to him, too often in a sheepish and timorous manner. But this is certain, that in the present condition of the agricultural interest, the country parishes cannot hope to provide these places for themselves. All the money of the country is in the towns, and tends more and more to go to them. It has come to this, that the duty of Churchmen in the centres of wealth is to help those in the poverty-stricken country districts who can so little help themselves;

for our needs are great and our means are small, and decreasing year by year.

(7) Once more. Among the many matters which need reform in our country parishes are our so-called *local charities*. I hope I am not wrong in believing that the ghastly craze which possessed so many monomaniacs twenty years ago with regard to our parochial charities has very considerably abated of late. We are no longer for turning our village doles into exhibitions for the propping up of decaying grammar schools, and bribing knock-kneed boys to muddle their feeble brains with Greek, chemistry, and geometry of three dimensions. That madness, I hope and trust, has had its day. But who can doubt that the waste of resources in our charity endowments is enormous? But I know of parish after parish in which there are abundant resources for providing model dwellings for labourers, for giving pensions to as many deserving and needy aged folk whose work is done, as it would ever be desirable to provide for in this way; for erecting almshouses, and for many another substantial assistance in time of need—such as would prove a real advantage to all classes, not the least to the ratepayers themselves. What might not a vigorous and united movement on the part of Churchmen effect in this direction?—a vigorous and intelligent agitation for the Reform of our Parish Endowments. The enormous blunders of the Charity Commissioners, and the deep and all but universal dread of their schemes which we most of us share, ought to serve at once as our warning against their stupendous and mischievous blunders—a warning how not to do it—as also these things might serve as a lesson that other lines are open to us to follow.

There is much more that I should like to say. I trust others may supplement these too brief hints of mine. But, thinking on this wide subject in its many bearings, I cannot help pondering upon the fact which meets us in the study of the past, namely, that the Church of God in the course of ages has been compelled to throw her chief energies sometimes into one, sometimes into another sphere of activity. Here in our own England, during the century which is drawing to a close, the Church has done a noble work in awakening the conscience of the nation to the duty of educating the people. Let men say what they will, that has been the Church's task; and let our little systems be what they may, that work will stand. And now it seems to me that another work lies upon us. The Church is pledged to throw herself into that work—it is the work of social reform. She cannot escape from that task if she would. She certainly will not try to escape from it. All her duty, all her traditions, point in that direction—yes, and all her interests too. According to the wisdom vouchsafed to her by her Divine Head, according to the issue of those new experiments and new labours in which she must needs embark, will depend not only the future stability of a great empire, but the hopes of progress and happiness for all the races of mankind whom the Master came to win, and whom He claims as children of His kingdom.

## ADDRESSES.

The Rev. T. C. FRY, D.D., Head Master of Berkhamsted School.

I DO not propose to comment on any failures in the agricultural population, because I do not see any of them present here. I therefore propose to confine myself in my remarks to our own shortcomings in this most respectable assembly. The essential needs of villages seem to me to be six—(1) wages; (2) the need of land; (3) need of further education; (4) the need of good cottages; (5) the need of recreation, and (6) the need of independence. The matter of wages is almost entirely the pivot of the question of the labourers remaining in the villages. I am quite certain that if any of us had only about twelve shillings a week with a family to keep, and with little hope at the end of life but the workhouse, and with an offer of land at Manitoba staring at us from our walls, we should not remain long in our villages. How to increase wages is a very difficult question, which I do not think we are called upon fully to discuss. But the Church may at least sympathize with the search for an answer. One means of raising wages might be by a better organization of the labourers, and I hope the younger clergy at all events, will look without prejudice and with patience into the great question of trades unionism in the villages. As to the farmers, many of them, of course, cannot pay better wages. Farmers who have no capital, farmers who spend too much, farmers who speculate, farmers whose wives and daughters have forgotten the dairy, cannot pay much better wages; but there are still some who can, and this equation at all events has not yet been fully tried, that good wages mean good food, that good food means good work, and that good work means better profit all round.

There is an indirect way of helping wages by a wider variety of tenure in land, and with the spirit of desiring to possess land the Church will do well to sympathize. There are impediments to this. Primogeniture is one, settlement is another, and lawyer's fees are a third. Lawyer's fees are an excellent penalty on improper and unsuccessful ecclesiastical prosecutions, but they are a decided stumbling-block to the possession of land. Then we want a little more compulsion in our Acts. We want to put a pen through the word "may" in a good many Acts, and insert the word "must" instead of it. If there ever comes a conflict between the tenure of land and the prosperity of our toiling thousands, we may depend upon it it will be our duty to say that law was made for men, and not men for law, and that the Christian principle is, first humanity, and then systems of property. So let us try everything. If allotments are wanted, they must be had; if small holdings are wanted, they must be had; and if co-operation in farming is desired, then it must be tried. Even municipalization must be tried, and if it offers a hope to our toiling thousands, that is a reason why the voice of the Church should never be raised against it.

Then as regards education—of course as a Church we have done great things in the matter of education, but more is still wanted. If we want to keep men for country life, we must train them in the country. France has her *petite culture*, and for that she trains. We must throw ourselves with all our hearts into this new movement for technical education. It will have to be paid for out of the rates, and rates are not popular things; but we must try to persuade the squires and farmers to this more excellent way.

With respect to the fourth matter—that of cottages—have we not as a Church to

repent in sackcloth and ashes? "Alton Locke" is a very old book, but it might be written of many places to-day. What have we done as Churchmen—not the clergy only, but the laity as well—on this great question? What have we done in the House of Lords? We obtained a children's charter in the House of Lords; have we obtained a cottage charter? What have we done in the House of Commons? Is it known as a certainty to the whips in the House of Commons that Churchmen will be vigorous obstructionists until this cottage question is settled? What have we done in other places? At the last election, for instance, there were a good many clerical chairmen. Did they all obtain a pledge from the candidate of their choice, on whatever side he was, that this question should be one for primary and immediate action? Surely we want a little more of the spirit of St. James's Epistle when we see the hideous buildings in which some of our people have still to live; and when we are told by the politicians, who want our votes as much as the votes of the labourers, that if we are not more careful we may possibly be disestablished, it will be a courageous and righteous thing to say to them, "You may disestablish us twenty times over, but you shall build for our poor." Let us press upon ourselves the connection between this great question and that of morality. Let us go to the stall of the White Cross League, the Church of England Society, and get hold of Mr. Horsley, that hero in sanitation, and study his letter on the housing of the poor. We want compulsory powers, and we want immediate powers of rapid action. We have got an Act in London, but it is the ratepayers who must largely put it in force, and we have got the power in the country of pulling down an insanitary house, but the people must go to the workhouse—unless they like to wait for two or three years while the obstructionists on the County Council try to prevent their new house being built. We want immediate powers to borrow money, and powers to acquire land on which to build, and we should never rest until we get them. As to the Sanitary Authorities—*experts crude*—don't trust one of them until a short Act is passed enabling an injured ratepayer to obtain pecuniary fines from the members of the Sanitary Authority—and especially the chairman—who have neglected their duties. You will never do anything with the Sanitary Authorities upon their present footing.

On the question of recreation, we want powers to make the villages less dull. Powers should be given to Parish Councils to hire some plot of land for the games of the villagers, and that raises the question of the treatment of the public-house. Some villages have clubs, and some have coffee-taverns, and I hope every one who can get a coffee-tavern will have a skittle-alley and a billiard-room added. As a somewhat fanatical abstainer, I would be in favour of local option, but I earnestly hope that the extreme teetotal party, of whom I am one, will not close their ears to that excellent proposal from the Bishop of Chester, which is nothing but the introduction of the Gothenburg system, which has practically remodelled Sweden, so that amongst the alternatives offered to us we may have a chance of separating the liquor traffic from private greed, and putting it under public management and influence.

As for our efforts in the direction of amusements, I think the days of the penny readings have rather gone past, but we must try and draw the working-men into recreation. We must try and make them, as far as possible, create their own recreation, and give them advice and suggestions. Surely on Sundays we cannot be at service all day long; would it not be possible on the Sunday afternoon to give the villagers a little of that sacred music, of that higher reading, of that poetry, we enjoy in our own houses? It is no use to say the villager would not care for this. I speak of what I know. I have tried it, and he does; and in my own experience I have known a simple village community to grow in six months to appreciate the best pieces of Jean Ingelow and Tennyson. The fact is—to say that we cannot rally

our young people and villagers around us upon this question is the merest moonshine. It has not been tried. Where there is a will, there is a way.

Lastly, with regard to independence, it is the final issue of village life for which the Church must work. We must rouse the villagers to independence. We can never make them true Christians unless we have made them true men first. The old patriarchal system is over. That system had its great advantages, no doubt; but it is gone, and we clergy can no longer be the "bosses" that we have been. It is no use our being angry when the papers tell us we have been "bosses." We know we have been "bosses," and have very much enjoyed it; but henceforth, the man who leads the villages must be the man in whose sympathy, not only with their sufferings, but with their aspirations, the villagers have confidence, and I would urge the young clergy here present, every one of them, to join the Christian Social Union, that has its headquarters in the Pusey House, and try to help us. Never, under any circumstances, trust the safety of the Ark of God to the keeping of any political party. No one has said better than your Grace, that it is only in the spirit of Christ, by the surrender of all privileges and pride and monopoly, that the question will be touched.

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London, S.W.

I ADDRESS this Congress under circumstances of peculiar difficulty. In the first place, I was solemnly warned that a speech, and not a reading from manuscript, was all that could be permitted to me, and I scarcely knew whether I was entitled to jot down a few simple notes in order to refresh my memory. But, worst of all, I find that the rev. gentleman who has immediately preceded me has said, in very much better language than I could employ, the very things that I had intended to say; and I feel, therefore, that for me to address myself to the points to which I had proposed to refer, would be at the risk of indulging in vain repetition, and I am not quite sure that I ought not, in justice to this Congress, having made that frank admission, simply to say "ditto" to my predecessor, and sit down. Yet I may perhaps be permitted to say a word or two from the point of view of a practical politician, and also, I hope, from the point of view of a thorough-going Churchman. I confess that I was not greatly impressed by the wording of the subject on which I am announced to speak—"The Church's duty to the agricultural population in view of their increased responsibility as citizens." That seems to me to carry with it an implication that because the agricultural labourer has now become a political personality the Church owes to him a duty greater than it owed before. I admit no such thing. I hold, as I am quite sure this Congress holds, and as I am quite persuaded the Subjects Committee, who framed the proposition, hold, that the duty of the Church to the agricultural labourer, whether enfranchised or unenfranchised, is, and has been, and always will be, the same; and I think it would be in the highest degree injudicious that the faintest impression should go forth from this Congress to the agricultural labourer that the Church regarded him as of greater importance now that he was a voter than it had in previous times. I should like very strongly to deprecate any idea that because the agricultural labourer is now enfranchised the country clergy should take an active share in party politics. I hold that nothing is more dangerous, and sometimes fatal, to the country clergyman's influence, than for him to be actively identified with any political party. I am sure my friends, the country clergy, will pardon me, a layman, for saying that in addressing a political meeting in a village, I would far sooner see the parson out of the chair than in it; and I would rather, also, as a

practical politician, in any constituency which I might contest, be without the presence of the clergyman on my platforms than with it, and that for two reasons. In the first place, I find that some of the clergy have an unhappy knack of setting people by the ears at political meetings. I know, of course, that this is not done by design; it arises very largely from inexperience. In the second place, political meetings in these busy days of ours very often degenerate into somewhat turbulent and forcible assemblages, and nothing can be worse than for a clergyman to be identified with aught of that kind. I hold that the Church's duty to the agricultural labourer, in view of his increased political power, and in view of the increased intelligence of the times in which we live, is rather to deal with the social than the political needs of the people; and I endorse most thoroughly what my predecessor observed with regard to the necessity for education, for better dwellings, and for recreation. In regard to education, let me say that I hope every country clergyman may fairly and justly, without trenching upon party politics, take care to keep before his poor people the history of their Church and country. I believe that if the masses of our people are but well grounded in the history of this old England of ours, and especially in the history of the growth of her empire beyond the seas, of the progress and extension of her vast colonial possessions—if, in short, they are taught the history of their nation and their empire, and that of course includes the history of their Church—if they are but once possessed of this information, they will be in a great measure impregnable to the attacks of falsifying party politicians. Then with regard to better dwellings, I do not hold that it is the duty of the clergy to be amateur sanitary inspectors. I feel the greatest possible sympathy with the country clergy in this respect—that they are supposed to busy themselves about hosts of matters of secular detail—of importance, no doubt, but still of detail, which are not properly their business to attend to. But I do feel that the country clergy may at least do this: they may take pains to impress upon the owners of the soil, upon the builders of the cottages, and those who are responsible for maintaining them in repair, their solemn duty to the poor people, of whom the clergy are the natural protectors and the natural friends. As regards recreation, I speak rather as a townsman than as a resident in country places, but I have frequently observed with pain and with regret the very narrow and limited means of recreation which exist for our young men in rural districts. There can scarcely be, I think, a more pitiable social spectacle than the youths of a village lounging in the village street at the close of the day's work, a listless, lethargic, apathetic spirit written upon their faces. Surely some healthy recreation could be designed for them, and surely the clergy themselves, many of whom have been athletes in their earlier days, may well and fairly take the lead in setting such things to work. I was speaking the other day to a very strong politician, a layman, and was asking him why it was that the county of Kent gave such uniform support to that political party to which I belong. I am not going to specify that party, because we are not here to give the least shadow of suspicion of party politics to our proceedings. But when I asked that gentleman the cause of the political unanimity of Kent, among the lower as well as the higher classes of society, he said, "The reason is that the country clergyman in Kent plays cricket. Where you get a cricket-playing parson, you get a lot of hearty fellows to support him." In speaking of the duty of the Church, God forbid that I should speak as if the clergy alone were concerned. I feel the deepest possible sympathy with the life of toil and drudgery, and often of isolation, which the country clergyman leads, and I do feel we layty owe a Christian duty to the clergy and to the poorer classes in respect to Church work. I was speaking to a country clergyman the other day, of great experience in the Midland counties, who told me that in his parish, a very large and extended one, he



had a great number of laymen of education and of wealth, who would contribute to Church funds, who would interest themselves in Church movements at busy times, or in periods of political excitement, but scarcely any of whom could by any means be induced to take an active, earnest, living part in the Church's daily work among the poor. I believe that if in each of our parishes the spiritual and social labours of the clergy were aided by the earnest, whole-hearted work of laymen who would show to their poorer brethren that the Church is indeed the Church of the people, a vast change would be brought about. Lastly, may I not plead for our giving to the agricultural labourer some greater share than he has had in the past in the management of local Church affairs. Our dissenting brethren have long since learned the secret of attracting to their assemblies the poor and humble. They make them office bearers, they give them some specific and defined position, and some definite duties to perform in connection with their places of worship, and I believe that much might be done by making our agricultural labourers, as well as our farmers, churchwardens and sidesmen, and other responsible officers of our churches. I am proud to have been able to take part in this most interesting gathering this afternoon, and I endorse to the very full the wise and timely observations of the rev. gentleman who spoke before me.

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## DISCUSSION.

PHILIP VERNON SMITH, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, London.

THE first and main duty of the Church towards our agricultural population, as towards the rest of our population, is a spiritual one; and, of course, as has been already observed, the force of that duty has not been altered by the new condition of things among our agricultural labouring population which exists at the present day. But if the force of that duty has not been altered, the conditions under which it has to be performed have been vastly altered. In former days our agricultural poor respected the Church and respected the parson as a matter of course, and they attended the services of the Church as a matter of course, not concerning themselves very much as to whether they understood the services or not. Now, however, the partial education and partial intelligence which they have acquired leads them to raise questions which they never dreamt of before, and they will not come to services which they do not understand, and into which they cannot enter. Moreover, as has been already mentioned, their minds have been sedulously poisoned against the parson as well as against the squire. Instead of being taught, as in former days, to look up to the parson and the squire, the labouring population are taught to regard these personages as their natural enemies, as tyrants who have oppressed them in the past, and who would, if it were possible, continue to oppress them in the future. Their minds have also been poisoned with reference to the endowments of the Church. They are taught that the tithe belongs to them, that the Church has fraudulently robbed them of it, and that it is their business to get it back for themselves. These calumnies and falsehoods are serious obstacles in the way of the Church performing her duty to the agricultural population. With the best of methods and the best of men, she would find it difficult to do so under present circumstances. But can we say that our existing men and methods are, in fact, the best? The Church comes before our agricultural poor as a National Church; but is she to them, in all respects, a National Church? It is not every clergyman who is suited for the ministry of a village population. It is true that, as has been already said, it may not be necessary for our country parsons to distinguish between a Hereford and a Shorthorn. But surely that man was not fitted to minister in a rural village who, as the story goes, when preaching on the subject of Nathan's parable to David, and wishing to emphasize the hard-heartedness of the rich man, said that no doubt the ewe lamb had been a pet in the poor man's family for many years. Our agricultural poor find that our Church is called the National Church, and wishes to be considered the National Church; and yet they take note that in some parishes comparatively incompetent and comparatively unsuitable men put themselves into her livings, or are put into those

livings by others. Her benefices are too often considered as livings for the parson, and not as offices which may minister life to the parishioners. Again, in some few cases, they find that the income of the benefice is excessive in comparison with the duties which have to be performed. No doubt there are only a few of such cases, but they are thrown in our teeth. I believe that if we are to maintain our position as a National Church, the Church must apply herself to the duty of reforming the existing state of things. Some remedies have been already tried. There have been the Pluralities Acts Amendment Act of 1885, and the Clergy Discipline Act, which was passed in the last session of Parliament. But these are only feeble and half-hearted remedies after all. We want a drastic reform of our law of Church patronage, and we want some adjustment of the parochial endowments of the Church, such as has taken place with such benefits to the Church in reference to the Episcopal and cathedral revenues through the instrumentality of the Ecclesiastical Commission during the last sixty years. Moreover, we want in our rural parishes not only better clerical agents, but also more lay agents to do the work of the Church. I fully recognize a difficulty that exists in widely extended rural parishes which has been pointed out already, namely, the difficulty experienced by the parson in getting hold of the people. In many cases, too, even if the parish is a comparatively small one, we find the church placed perhaps a mile or a mile and a half from the principal part of the parish or village. The remedy for this lies in the establishment of mission halls and mission rooms in different parts of the parish, so that the outlying hamlets may not be left to the Nonconformists and Dissenters. We ought to utilize the rough local agency for carrying on mission services which the Nonconformists and the Dissenters know only too well how to utilize. There is another point; we ought to have our services more suitable to the agricultural people. In a parish with which I am acquainted, the clergyman has his regular Sunday morning and afternoon services, as he is bound to do, but in the evening he holds a third service on alternate Sundays in the parish church, or in a mission room two miles off, and he very wisely makes this a mission service, consisting of a few of the simpler prayers from the Prayer-book, and, instead of the Psalms and canticles, a number of hymns. That he can do by law at the present time. But why should not the law be altered so as to render it unnecessary in such parishes to have formal Evensong where Morning Prayer has been said? Why should it be necessary for a clergyman to repeat substantially the same prayers twice over on the same day? There has been one other subject mentioned on which I should like to say a word, namely, the giving to our people a voice in the affairs of the Church. Why should not, in all cases where there is a voluntary Church school, and no School Board, the parents of the children be allowed to elect one of the managers of the school? I know of a parish where that was done, and with the best results. I believe that we must adopt some such methods as these if the Church is to regain the affections of the agricultural poor, and, by regaining their affections, recover the power of performing successfully toward them her main duty of building them up into the body of Christ.

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#### The Right Hon. the EARL NELSON, Trafalgar, Wilts.

In reference to a word which fell from Mr. Vernon Smith, I must preface what I have to say by observing that I do not believe the clergy have lost the sympathy of the people; but there is no doubt a way in which we may improve our hold upon them, especially in regard to their spiritual needs. It is often not understood that some of our people require simpler services than our regular services in the Church give them; and which I should like to see introduced into all our parish mission chapels, where simpler services could be held, by means of which people could be drawn to the Church services later on. The desire for these simpler services is not sinful, yet many think the clergy so consider it, by their behaviour towards those attending the Methodist Chapel. Another thing is, that the more we make the Holy Communion the great service to our parishioners, the more we try to make that the test of unity rather than attendance at Morning and Evening Prayer, the more we seek to draw our people to simple celebrations in the early morning—the more shall we succeed in our endeavours for the spiritual welfare of our people. Now we come to the social interests of the people. It appears to have been almost assumed by some that the people have really nothing to long for at all. I think those who throw themselves into full sympathy with their people will know

very well that there are many things—though I allow their position has much improved—which go very deeply to the hearts of the people, and are amongst the causes which operate in the direction of depopulating our country parishes. The social improvements we may devise will not at once stop people from leaving our country parishes. There is one very potent factor in the case, of which I will give you an illustration. I met the other day a man who was once my donkey boy. He was a gentleman in manner and in dress, and I found that he had gone out to Assam and had risen to the position of being entrusted with the charge of 1,500 coolies, with a salary of £500 a year. It is not to be wondered at if all the lads are longing to get positions similar to that of my donkey boy. These social questions are many of them very deep and far-reaching questions. I will mention some. Improved dwellings. It is very easy to talk about this, but you will find that practically a sanitary authority will not touch an insanitary dwelling, while it knows that that dwelling is in the hands of those who have not the means to put it straight. I have had insanitary dwellings on my property which have been a disgrace, but I had no power to touch them until the lease had run out. Then the sanitary authority has come in. I have generally been beforehand with them, and the moment I got possession of the buildings, I had them pulled down and sometimes better ones erected in their place. There is another question which goes very near indeed to the heart of the people—and unless the clergy put themselves *en rapport* with the real health of the people, they will lose their influence with them—and that is the independence of their dwellings. Think of a man who has rented a house, he and his father before him, for some forty or fifty years—the house let to a farmer, who may at any moment say to him, “You are now too old for my work, and you must leave the house and garden, with everything that you have done for the last forty years!” Then another social grievance is, of course, the question of provision for old age. I want to point out to you that these are very difficult questions for the clergy or the Church laity to undertake single-handed, and I do think that in these social questions we ought to put forth our hands to our fellow nonconforming Christians, and work with them in endeavouring to solve these social problems. Unless we do that, these great, burning and all-important social questions will become nothing but party questions—religious or political—and that is not the way in which we, as a Church, ought to deal with these things. There is one other point set down for discussion—we are to see how we can deal with their new responsibilities. One way to deal with the new responsibilities of the people certainly is to provide the people with good and sound historical lectures, and lectures on political economy, and in this connection I would venture to remark that some of those who have spoken here to-day, and have propounded some remedies for those social evils, have themselves forgotten the rules of political economy. It is perfectly impossible for us to think of or to advocate artificial wages. Though I hope some scheme may be provided for enabling men to have dwellings of their own, you will only mislead and disappoint men if you lead them to suppose that, having got a bit of land, they can farm it without capital; or that they can build houses and keep them in repair on borrowed money.

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SIR WILLIAM GRANTHAM, one of Her Majesty's Judges.

I HAVE had a double disappointment this afternoon. In the first place, I came here especially desirous of hearing the views of the Lord Chancellor on this very important subject. On my arrival I heard that I should be disappointed, as the Lord Chancellor was absent, owing to the pressing engagements he has now to fulfil. The second disappointment was this—that, as I was not to be allowed to hear him, I was made to undergo the penalty by the archbishop of addressing you myself. Till I came here I hoped to be a listener; instead of that I appear before you as a speaker. But this is a subject which I am sure everyone who takes any interest in the welfare of his country must have deeply at heart, and although I did not come here prepared to address you, I trust my words will at all events be accepted as coming from one who speaks from his own convictions. First, as to the duties of the Church in relation to the spiritual needs of the agricultural population. I listened with very great pleasure to those admirable addresses and speeches which we had on the value of religious education, particularly in our Sunday schools; but I cannot help thinking that one of the great errors the Church makes in reference to this question of religious teaching is that it takes more trouble upon the Sunday schools than it ought to, and less than it

should do upon the education of the children after they leave the Sunday school. The Sunday school is a necessity, and it does a certain amount of good, but the Sunday school to my mind does not do half the good that would be done if you could only create some organization by which you could bring your children together after they have reached the age at which they leave your Sunday schools. You take them to the church as children—I won't say they are driven, but at any rate they are led by their teachers as if to school—when I might also say they cannot understand anything that is said in the church, but they have to go because they are school children, and what is the result? The moment they leave their Sunday school, and the moment they leave the National school—I am sorry to say it is the case in most agricultural districts with which I am acquainted—they cease to go to church altogether. Therefore it seems to me that the great object we should aim at, in the agricultural districts especially, is to create some organization by which we could bring our lads and lasses together, and let them consider it a privilege to go to church, a privilege to take part in religious education or religious instruction, and then to my mind you would find that they would grow up better men and better women, and certainly take more interest in and do more for religion, and become better Churchmen than they do at the present time. Some may say, as Earl Nelson, who preceded me, said, that they do not consider the clergy have lost their hold upon the people. I am afraid I cannot agree with that. It may be that the people are more intelligent, that there is more general education abroad, and, undoubtedly, whatever may be the cause, although years ago they used to go to the church—perhaps, as was said, not knowing or taking any interest in the church, but merely because they were told to go—the fact is that at the present time they do not go. In most parishes the labourer has been for many years, if not for centuries, in the hands of the clergyman; he has been his chief instructor in religion, and certainly his best friend, and yet the labourer has been allowed to slide out of his grasp. There must be a fault somewhere, and I am sure that the Church, and not only the clergy, but the laity as well, are to blame for the state of indifference or of dissent in which we find him at the present time. Of course it is a very difficult subject to go into, and one which would take a considerable amount of time and thought to work out; but one cause it seems to me is this—that the clergy, so to speak, preach over the heads of the labouring people. I quite agree you clergy have a more difficult task than the Dissenting minister in this way. The Dissenting minister as a rule has to speak to people who are to a very great extent on the same intellectual and social level with himself. A clergyman of the Church of England, on the other hand, has to speak and preach to people who are of different grades in their intellectual training and capacity. You have your educated professional man and your squire, and you have the artisan and the agricultural labourer—men of different classes of intellect and varying speed of thought, and it is therefore almost impossible that a sermon which will be accepted by the one class will be understood by the other. It is for that reason that I endorse to the letter what has been said by Lord Nelson, that the clergy ought to endeavour to preach in other places than the church, and in other ways than in their regular, authorized, and orthodox sermon which they preach in the morning. I believe you will do more in the country parishes through the cottages than in the churches. You can get the people together in the hamlets, and address them in simple sentences which they will understand, instead of preaching to them—I will not say high-flown sermons—but sermons which are intellectually above them, and which one might say are as Greek and Hebrew to the people to whom they are addressed. I will pass on from that to say one or two words on the social aspect of this question. There I admit that in some respects I agree with what has been said by those who preceded me, but I differ considerably from some of the observations that have been made. One clergyman who spoke just now said that the clergy ought to take up the question of wages. Let me tell that gentleman—I don't wish to say it at all discourteously—that if he does take up this question, he must know a great deal more about it than he seemed to know, judging from his utterances. What is the good of telling a farmer that he must raise the wages of his men, when he is obliged to get rid of them immediately the harvest is over, because he cannot pay them any wages at all. That is the position in almost every parish at the present time. Speaking from my own experience, the moment the harvest is over, scarcely a day passes that men do not come to my house asking to be put on some odd job because the farmer cannot employ them, and, that being so—if the farmer cannot pay any wages at all—what is the good of saying that he must pay men more than the twelve or fifteen shillings a week which he pays now? The position of the

labourer is infinitely better than it was. I would improve it still more if possible, but when the farmers are being ruined and becoming bankrupt day after day and week after week, how is it possible to say that farmers who can't keep themselves are to pay more than they can pay? The labourer in many cases lives better than the small farmer at the present time, and, therefore, although I wish we could give the labourers more, it is idle to suggest that the clergyman should take up the position of increasing the wages of the labourers, because if the clergyman does make such an attempt he will make the labourer dissatisfied, and he has been made dissatisfied enough by false and ignorant teachers already, and the result be that the last state of that parish will be worse than the first. It is said that clergymen cannot, and ought not, to interfere with the question of sanitation. I differ from that suggestion, because, to my mind, if done carefully, a clergyman has such a position in his parish that he can do what nobody else can do. I maintain that he has a right to go into every house for the purpose of doing good, however high the position of the landowner may be, or however lowly the state of the cottager. He has a right to go into the castle of a duke or the cottage of a pauper, and he has a right when he goes there to point out what he thinks is wrong, and suggest, if he can, a remedy. Speaking from my own experience, I believe that in 999 cases out of 1,000 a person who is addressed properly and considerately by a clergyman, would welcome any suggestion of improvement that might be made to him. There is no doubt that the sanitary authorities in many cases do not interfere as often as they might. Why should not the clergyman, if he knows that a house is in an unhealthy state, quietly go to the owner, or the person responsible, and say to him, "Are you aware of the state in which this house is?" because in a great many cases the owner is ignorant of what is going on, and it is the duty of the clergyman, to my mind, to interfere in cases of that kind—not officiously, but in a kindly and considerate way. If a clergyman did act in that way, he would be laying the foundation for future and greater comfort for the people on whose behalf he has interfered. Then there is the question of the water supply to our villages. Where it is bad, the clergyman might take up this question of water in exactly the same way, and work out some scheme by which the water might be improved. In all these matters, the clergyman might be the go-between between the labourer and the houseowner, and be of very great service to both. There is a great misunderstanding in the country with regard to cottages for agricultural labourers. The great landowners have the credit for all the bad cottages in the country, but you may go through the country and you will see good cottages here, and bad cottages there, and you may almost invariably tell which belongs to the large, and which to the small owner. My own experience, gained by travelling a good deal in England, tells me that in almost every case where the cottages are good, they are on the estates of the large landowners, and where they are bad it is when they are in the hands of the small owners, the comparatively poor men.

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The Right Rev. JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D., Lord Bishop  
of Salisbury.

I SPEAK to you this afternoon as the bishop of an almost entirely agricultural diocese, and as one who has learnt to know and to love all classes of the agricultural population. I consider that population to consist mainly of three classes—the landowners, the farmers, and the labourers; and I think that before the Church, as a body, or in the persons of individuals, addresses itself to the needs of this population, it ought to know the special circumstances and the difficulties of each case. Now, you have heard some of the difficulties of the landowners put before you this afternoon, but I do not think they have been stated strongly enough. I can just give you a concrete instance. Our best informed local paper in Wilts. and Dorset has told us that this year is the worst of a very bad series of years, and that there is no hope for the farmer except in the further reduction of rents. Rents, you must know, in our parts have been frequently reduced, already fifty per cent., and so you can understand that this is not a time when we can call upon the landlords to pay very much higher taxes than they are paying at the present time, especially as the succession duties have been in past years again and again raised, so that when a young man, however well-intentioned he may be, comes into his property, he probably must give up the whole of his first year's

income for these duties. You know, also, how much a good landlord pays now-a-days for repairs and improvements out of his income. I believe experienced land agents will agree with me when I say that it is about one-third of his gross rental, and, therefore, to put upon such a landlord the necessity of suddenly improving all his cottages is an absurdity. I can state, I think, that most of our landlords do their duty. I can quite appreciate what Mr. Justice Grantham has said in respect to the difference between large and small landowners. In most cases, in passing from one part of the country to another, you realize when you are passing from the estate of a large owner to the holding of a small one. The cottages of the large owners are generally in good order. I admit there are some exceptions, that there are cases where landlords do not do their duty, and I am quite of Dr. Fry's opinion that the time has come when they ought to be required by law to do it. I, of course, pass over all the districts of our diocese year after year, chiefly travelling by road, and therefore I know something of the general aspect of the country. I know, sometimes to my sorrow, when I am coming to the estate of a landlord who has not done his duty towards his poorer tenants. I think, however, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach the other day hit the nail on the head when he said that in requiring landlords to do their duty, more than they have done it already, you must have power to lend the money at a low rate of interest. I do not think poor landlords can be forced to put their cottages compulsorily into order unless some supervision is made by the State on the other side, and I do think that the Church, in sympathy with landlords, farmers, and labourers alike, should see that this aspect of the question is not lost sight of, for there is a very real need. We are trying, by the introduction of the Women's Union and other like agencies, to raise the tone of domestic life among our people. But again and again my best officers tell me, "It is no use unless the cottages are improved." I trust, therefore, that the outcome of this meeting will be a decided movement in that direction. There is one other point I should like to touch upon, the sociability both of the clergy and the laity. This is much more a duty imposed upon the Church in the country than is often thought. I would especially ask the country clergymen, although the winter is coming on, not to be deterred by bad weather, bad roads, and long distances, from getting up during the dark winter days schemes for the promotion of social intercourse with their parishioners and with one another. Reference has been made to the subject of commendations. I believe that our country clergy, generally speaking, do their duty in the matter of presenting commendations of migratory parishioners to the town clergy, but I am sorry to say that very often the town clergy do not take the slightest notice of these commendations. If you gentlemen of the town would only take notice of the letters we write to you about our poor people who come to you from the country districts, I am confident that things would be in a very much better condition than they now are as to the exodus from country to town.

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The Rev. A. W. MILROY, Preacher at the Rolls Chapel,  
Chancery Lane ; Vicar of S. Mary, West Cowes.

As having formerly been rector of two country parishes for several years, this is a matter to which I have devoted a great deal of attention, and I should like to make some practical suggestions. First, I think that the site of the parish church too often savours of the squire. It is usually a monument to the liberality of a man who died long ago, and is not adapted to the living interests of the men of the present time. I heartily endorse all that has been said by preceding speakers about the necessity for mission churches. Very often the church is distant two or three miles from the parishioners. The labourer is tired, and does not want to walk on Sunday these two or three miles to church. Why should not the church go to him? As was said yesterday, the question is not why the labourer does not go to church, but why the church does not go to the working-man? In my own parish I was fortunate enough to be able to raise a mission church much nearer to the people than the old church was, and the results have exceeded my greatest and most hopeful expectations. Another matter is the time of service. We are far too mechanical; the labouring man's time should be consulted. Why should we not have more evening services? There are many parishes where there is simply morning and afternoon service, and the consequence is that the chapel is crowded in the evening. Why should we not have open-air preaching, for instance, and go back to the times of which we read in

Bede, when they simply put up a wooden cross where the people might meet? He "Who spoke as never man spoke" was an open-air preacher. What texts we should find supplied by the common objects of the country. And then as to the manner of the service. I think it is far too stately. It is a temptation to us clergy to give a musical service, whereas what the poor man wants is something hearty, even if it be plain. As to preaching, the rule for that is, "Feed My sheep," and we must remember that the sheep are fed on the ground. As that witty man, the late Mr. Spurgeon, remarked on one occasion, "When our Lord said, Feed My sheep, He did not mean, feed My giraffes." I do not mean that by being plain the sermon should be poor, because the emphasis of the command is on the word "feed," and the labouring man likes to feel that his clergyman has taken trouble for him, that he does not think that anything is good enough for the poor working-man. The labouring classes are in the habit of comparing notes, and I have been astonished to see how the sermon has remained in their memories. Again, if we could have some of the learned clergy from the towns coming to the country to give, not only the wealth of Scripture, but the best of Church history, it would be a very great advantage to our country parishes. I pass to the social needs of the agricultural population, and here I believe with the great Nonconformist preacher, Dr. Dale, that "courtesy is a means of grace." Let us meet the working-men in a thoroughly straightforward and friendly spirit. They do not want lectures or doles, but they do want sympathy. Silver and gold we may not all have; S. Peter had none, but if we can say as he said, "Such as I have, give I thee," power, influence, sympathy, my best, we shall be able to add in the name of Jesus Christ, "Arise and walk."

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The Rev. J. H. LESTER, Rector of Lexden, Colchester,  
and Prebendary of Lichfield.

IN the space of five minutes I believe I shall best consult the interests of the Congress if I try to make just two or three practical observations upon what has been mentioned this afternoon. We have heard over and over again suggestions about mission chapels, but I have listened in vain for a suggestion as to who is to serve those chapels, and I ask this Congress is it possible in a parish where there is not only a parish church, but two or three hamlets, for a clergyman to split himself up into three or four sections to address all the different gatherings of people throughout his parish on a Sunday? I long for a development in the Church of England, a development which I have hoped for for years, and that is the institution of an order of lay preachers that shall correspond with the Wesleyan local preachers. I believe there is a field of work waiting for such an order of preachers in our country parishes. We want small, simple buildings, where we can gather groups of people together. And I am quite certain of this—though I should be the very last in the world to underrate scholarship, or learning, or refinement—that the one who is going to lay hold upon the working-men of England, will be the man who will go to them, not with social fads, but with lips touched in the blood of our blessed Lord. Again, we have heard it discussed with arguments on both sides, what we clergy ought to do with regard to politics. I know that as a class we are often reproached in reference to this matter; and from the days of Moses downwards, there are many people who have spoken unadvisedly with their lips, but I would far rather hear discussed, and pressed upon the Congress what is the duty of the laity of the English Church in this matter. Is it a pleasant thing for us clergy to sit still and hear untruths told about the Church, and constantly repeated? We may pray for patience, but in a position like this we look to laymen to stand up and defend their clergy, and I claim that it is their duty to do so. My last suggestion is this—why cannot we have a Church newspaper that will really suit the working-classes? The experiment of starting such a paper was tried some eight years ago in the diocese of Lichfield, and the circulation of this paper is now between 50,000 and 60,000 a week. I am sure that, considering the way in which working-men, owing to the spread of education, are reading now, we are losing a splendid opportunity. We want such a paper, but it must be edited by a man who knows the class of people it is intended for. Given the man, the funds could be raised. I believe there would be no risk, for the circulation would soon become 200,000 a week. This is a crying want, and one which ought to be met.

## Major EDWARDS.

I THINK the first thing the agricultural population wants is freedom of speech, and that is the thing which cannot be had in the towns, and still less in the country. Another thing required is that the agricultural population shall be taught a little more what their rights are, and a little less about their duties. They have been talked to about their duties *ad nauseam*. They have been taught to repeat until they are sick of it, "God bless the squire and his relations, and keep us in our proper station." They have been kept in ignorance of their rights by privileged individuals, by landlords, and those who throw in their lot with landlords, namely, the clergymen of the Church of England. That is the reason why Hodge is so shy of the parsons, and of Churchmen generally. Their rights are in the first place in the land, and they are told that the land belongs to the landlords, instead of which it belongs to God, and God's ministers do not teach the people what it is their duty to teach them. I differ entirely from the speaker who said we want to multiply the number of owners of the land. We want to have only one landlord, and that is the people. I maintain that the labourers have a right to use their taxing powers as a community to raise the capital requisite to employ labour. We want to teach the people their rights in the land, and their right to employ their own labour. I would say to the people—work out your own political and industrial salvation and that—not with the help of the clergy and laity of the Church of England, nor with fear and trembling, but with a mighty hand and outstretched arm, until you have got for yourselves the victory. There is no reason why the agricultural population should have so few delights, and so much drudgery. [Major Edwards' concluding observations were not heard, owing to the interruption occasioned by his disregarding the President's bell, which warned him that his allotted time had expired.]

## Rev. W. W. PHELPS, Indian Chaplain, Retired.

I WILL just say one word on one very important part of the subject which has been touched upon, but not quite sufficiently, and that is the spiritual needs of the agricultural population. I speak as an Evangelical, not a moderate Evangelical, but an extreme Evangelical. One thing that the agricultural labourer wants is undoubtedly a clear and plainly-spoken Gospel, and, if you will allow me, I will quote two passages from the great poet Cowper. The first records what the agricultural labourer does not want. He does not want ceremony. Listen to these words from Cowper:—

"Now ceremony leads her bigots forth,  
Prepared to fight for shadows of no worth;  
While truths on which eternal things depend  
Find not, or scarcely find, a single friend.  
As soldiers watch the signal of command,  
They learn to kneel and rise, to sit and stand;  
Content to fill religion's empty space  
With hollow form, and gesture, and grimace."

That is what the agricultural labourer does not want, but I am sorry to say that some of our friends here think that he does want it. Now I will quote you a passage to show what he does want—a simple, plain preaching of the Gospel. It is not every-one that does it. I am sorry to say that not even all Evangelicals do it:—

"Oh, how unlike the complex work of man,  
Heaven's artless, easy, unencumbered plan;  
No meretricious graces to beguile,  
No clustering ornaments to clog the pile.  
Behold upon the portals from afar,  
Conspicuous as the brightness of a star,  
Legible only by the light they give,  
Stand the soul-quickening words—Believe and Live."

That is the Gospel which the agricultural labourer wants, and which he ought to have. Another thing the agricultural labourer wants is a bright and a pleasant place for him



to worship in, and many of the restored churches that we have now are over-artistic, and not very suitable places for poor men to worship in. I am quite sure a great many of our poor people are driven from churches which are over-ornamented ; where the windows are made so dark by painted glass that he cannot see ; where a good deal of the beauty of our services, and a great deal of the comfort of the audience, is marred by undue ceremony. Another thing he wants is to have the Holy Communion rightly and duly administered. It is not rightly and duly administered when the Anglican clergyman, feeling that the Catholic part of our Liturgy has been removed by those wicked reformers, puts it in himself by means of detestable altar cards, in which the passages from the Church of Rome are put in. That is done in this diocese, in the town of Folkestone and in Tunbridge Wells ; and I say that that is not a right and due administration of the Holy Communion.

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### EXHIBITION THEATRE.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 5TH, 1892.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP of PETERBORO' in the Chair.

### CHRISTIAN ETHICS, INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL.

- (1) THEIR DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS AND RELATION TO DOCTRINE.
- (2) THEIR RELATION TO PHILOSOPHICAL ETHICS.
- (3) THE SPECIAL IMPORTANCE OF THIS STUDY FOR THE CHURCH OF THE PRESENT DAY.

### PAPERS.

RICHARD H. HUTTON, Esq., Editor of *The Spectator*.

ON a subject so immense as Christian ethics and their relation to Christian doctrine, it is possible only in the time at our disposal to take one or two central points, and make as much of them as clues to further reflection as one can.

(1) No one will deny that Christian humility is as characteristic of the Christian religion as any other ethical principle. It is enforced by our Lord in many different aspects. In the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican He enforces it against those who plume themselves on religious conversion and despise others. That is a warning, not only to those who are persuaded that they have, as they call it, "found Jesus," but to those who, like a man of whom I once heard, used to boast that he was "the publican, *not* the pharisee, *thank God!*" If you exalt yourself, as some do, because you are *not* a hypocrite, you exalt yourself as truly as if you exalt yourself because you fast twice in the week and give tithes of all that you possess ; and though it is not as common to boast of the former advantage as it used to be to boast of the latter, there are a great many who, in their secret soul,

console themselves for being very indifferent men by assuring themselves (on very indifferent evidence, which it would be easy to pull to pieces) that they are not hypocrites. Then there is the teaching as to the childlike attitude of mind in which alone it is possible to enter the kingdom of heaven; and the teaching that when we have done even what we think our best we are to remember that we are unprofitable servants, since we have done only what it is our duty to do. What are the theological doctrines which these lessons imply? They all point distinctly enough in one direction — namely, that, as S. James says, "every good and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights, with Whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning." In other words, they all point, not to the absolute insignificance of man — that is the pagan perversion of Christian humility—but to the Divine love and condescension which makes our inner life not of far less, but of far more, consequence than it could ever be without the teaching which is technically known as the doctrine of "prevenient grace," the doctrine that, though we are nothing in ourselves, we are of infinite importance as the objects of Divine redemption—objects, in a word, of no less a love than that which it took the Incarnation, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the sending of the Holy Spirit to represent and express. Here is basis enough for the kind of humility which, while it bewilders us with wonder at the deep-rooted perversity of that human evil which rendered such sacrifices needful, bewilders us still more with wonder at the Divine passion of redeeming love. Yet how difficult it seems to inspire such humility as this. Apparently, with all the teaching, both religious and secular, for which we yearly multiply vastly the resources and appliances, we oftener succeed in increasing the conceit of human knowledge than in deepening the humility of human gratitude. It is, perhaps, that the teachers themselves have never made this humility their own, though they have made the knowledge their own, and that they cannot impart what they have never acquired. Should we not have a great deal more docility going hand in hand with learning, if we had a great deal more humility going hand in hand with teaching? Often it seems to me that the process of even Christian teaching looks more like a struggle between the teacher and the taught for the command of a useful weapon than the communication of a new spirit of wonder and reverence from the one to the other. The teacher having a little extra knowledge, but no extra reverence and humility to give, finds that little extra knowledge almost violently wrested out of his hands by the learner, who then proceeds to flourish it in the face of those from whom he received it, as if it had been a threatening instrument of attack, instead of a privilege of common access to treasures of knowledge and gratitude. Surely it must be the want of humility in those who teach that renders new knowledge so fertile in producing pride and vanity, so ineffectual in inspiring modesty and lowliness of heart and mind in the learner. We all know that the greatest masters of knowledge speak of themselves as picking up with infinite wonder and gratitude a few grains of sand on the sea-shore. But do our average teachers succeed in inducing that attitude of mind in their pupils? Rather, I think, they induce in them the anxious considerateness with which the smooth pebble is selected that is to bring the Philistine Goliath to his end. Smartness, not wonder and awe, is the most coveted consequence

of our modern education. We cannot instil the humility we do not feel. Yet it hardly needs our Christianity to tell us that, so far from humility in the teacher being necessarily fatal to his authority, it adds, if it be of the true kind, the highest sanction to the authority he wields. The humility which springs from gratitude for God's condescension will not falter in enforcing God's laws and putting down the arrogance and the selfishness of up-start self-will.

(2) I think the next greatest characteristic of distinctively Christian ethics is the importance it attaches to what is called vicarious suffering and vicarious justification. As the only true humility springs from the conviction that we can do no good thing without the prompting of Divine grace, so the only true patience, the only glory of fortitude and Christian heroism, springs from the conviction that as God has suffered in order to bind man to Him as he could not otherwise have been bound, and to make him a fuller sharer in His beatitude than he could otherwise have been made, men should deem it a privilege, not a penalty, to participate in this mystery of vicarious suffering, just as it is a privilege to share in the mystery of vicarious blessedness. We forget too easily that one of the chief ends—though we must not say *the* end—of vicarious suffering is the vicarious blessedness in which it ought to result, and often at least does result. Nothing seems more natural to us than the blessings which are so often earned for us by the holiness and sacrifices of other beings, whether Divine or human. These we accept as altogether in the course of nature; yet so soon as we find ourselves smarting under the consequences of other beings' sins, we start and fret as if no fate could be more intolerable or more unjust. But surely, if we accept as matter of course the good of this great inheritance, we should accept as matter of course its debts and obligations also.

I can, however, understand this possible objection—that however true it may be that this vicariously earned suffering is rationally inseparable from the privilege of vicariously earned happiness, yet the connection between them is not properly a part of even Christian *ethics*. It may be very unreasonable to wish to have the advantages of a law of common inheritance without having its disadvantages, but is it properly a question for the conscience? Is it *wrong*—it is certainly natural—to wish to reap all the advantages of a partnership without incurring its disadvantages? Why should I not shrink from a pang which I have not brought upon myself by any sin of my own, but which has been brought upon me by the voluntary sin of another? If he is really to blame, and not I, for it, why should I be to blame for resenting the injustice of the sentence which brings home to me what may *seem* at least the lion's share of the penalty? The answer appears to be that obedience to that great Christian commandment, without an earnest effort to fulfil which no one can be a Christian; it is an essential part of Christian *obligation*. "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the *law* of Christ," says S. Paul—the law enunciated when the new commandment "to love one another" was imposed upon us, and not only to love one another, but so far as possible to love one another even as Christ had loved His own disciples. The Christian conscience is not to shrink from bearing others' burdens, for it is a conscience enlightened and enfranchised by the knowledge of God's infinite sacrifice for man. It is of the very essence of Christian

ethics to make that obligatory and even easy, which what we call "natural religion," but what should, perhaps, be called the blanched and faded religion of estranged hearts, regards as purely optional or even heroic. "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter the kingdom of heaven," says our Lord, implying, of course, that Christian ethics are to *mean* more, to be more active, more exacting, and more bold in the confidence of Divine help than the ethics appropriate to the half-light of Judaism, and still more than the ethics suited to the twilight of the various forms of Agnosticism. And the direction in which this more confident and courageous ethical attitude was to declare itself was a direction reflecting, on a small and finite scale, what the sacrifice of the Cross had effected on a large and infinite scale. The new commandment was a commandment *not* to economize, but to lavish the new energies which the atoning life and death of Christ had created and set in motion, if ethics were no longer to be a mere set of rules for balancing and adjusting the reciprocal claims of one soul on other souls, and of those other souls on itself, but were to include the organization of a new and generous creative force, a new spiritual initiative, justifying every Christian in claiming boldly the riches of a great inheritance which he had never earned for himself, and in offering, as his corresponding privilege, to suffer willingly in the place of those who could show no individual claim to the sacrifice. By the life and death of Christ, ethics were raised for all true Christians to a new level; to the level of a new inspiration, as well as an organized delineation, of human duty; to a source of regenerating power, as well as a centre of healthy discipline and control, amongst the crowd of our competing and battling desires.

It is sometimes alleged that this new life, which the revelation of God suffering for man, of vicarious redemption, of our freedom to enter into the enjoyment of that which we have not earned for ourselves, of our obligation to suffer on behalf of those who have established no individual claim upon our self-denial, dissipates altogether the old meaning of "justice," and dissolves those rigid, natural laws of reward and punishment, of debt and expiation, which constituted the great landmarks and glory of natural law in the ethics of the Gentile conscience. That arises from a grand misconception of the Christian doctrine of vicarious redemption. It is quite true that the "justice" of God, when illuminated by revelation, seems to overrule, and in some directions even to extinguish, those narrow conceptions of what "we owe to ourselves," and what others owe to us, which were the great landmarks of heathen morality. But so does the "justice" of man, when illuminated by the experience of maturity, seem to overrule, and in some directions even to extinguish, those narrow conceptions which children entertain of what they owe to themselves and what others owe to them. Justice is eminently a conception which is widened, and indeed transformed, under the influence of experience. A child thinks it very unfair that he should have a wet day for his birthday pleasure, when a schoolfellow, who has not been so industrious or so well-behaved, has a fine day for his; or, again, that he should be born clumsy and slow, when his companion, who has done nothing to deserve it, was born handy and quick-witted. The man knows that the laws of meteorology are not adapted to the wishes or deserts of individual men, but are amongst the general conditions to

which good and bad alike are required to conform themselves ; and that men gain more in the end by laws of descent and inheritance and mutual dependence, which bind families definitely together, than they could by that perfect uniformity and equality of original powers and characteristics which the boy's conception of "justice" would impose. In a word, the Infinite Mind which can foresee and ordain the course of the centuries, the Infinite Mind which accepts limitation and grief and suffering for itself rather than abandon man to the natural consequences of his own sins, is an infinitely better judge of what men may gain by their troubles, and what they may lose by their joys, than any human being in the pride of his abstract ideas of justice possibly can be. The new awakening power exerted over the deeper nature by suffering on behalf of others is so great and unexpected, that it is impossible to say of any loss that it may not prove a mighty gain, and not only a mighty gain for the apparent loser, but for all who share with him the same moral atmosphere.

But there is this further characteristic about the principle of vicarious suffering, as revelation impresses it upon us, that while it teaches us to make light of our so-called rights to happiness and to the service of others, compels us to feel that even when we are at our best we are unprofitable servants, since we have but done that which it is our duty to do. Wordsworth finely interprets the same lesson, putting into our hearts the prayer, "The best of all we do and are, just God, forgive." It teaches us to magnify rather than to minimise the claims and rights of others over us. This is surely the true drift of those passages in the Sermon on the Mount which have caused so much bewilderment. "If any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also." "Whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain." "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away." That is, make light of your individual rights, when they are merely individual, and do not compromise the moral structure of society. But make much of your duties. Be exacting towards yourself, and generous towards others. Act in the spirit of Him Who makes His sun to shine and His rain to fall, not only on the just, but on the unjust ; but Who is willing to shroud His own glory and to take up the seemingly inglorious lot of human shame and suffering, if He can thereby "draw all men unto Him." The vicarious principle attenuates all our selfish rights, and magnifies all our moral and spiritual obligations. We need not fear, therefore, that it will extinguish in any degree those obligations, though it will make us feel how very rudimentary is the common human conception of absolute justice.

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The Right Rev. JOHN DOWDEN, D.D., Lord Bishop of Edinburgh.

"PHILOSOPHICAL ETHICS," as I would interpret the term, is concerned with those moral judgments which are passed on conduct independently of a supernatural revelation. "Christian ethics" goes beyond this, and, in addition, includes within its scope moral judgments that do not, at least within our present knowledge, find a rational basis in the phenomena of life apart from revelation.

(1) *New relations revealed give rise to new obligations.* It is a matter

of every day experience that a new piece of information may, the moment it is made known to us, give rise to moral obligations that were previously unfelt, and, in truth, as *obligations* did not previously exist. This is what Butler has insisted on when he urges that "Christianity—even what is peculiarly so-called—as distinguished from natural religion, has yet somewhat very important, even of a moral nature," and when he shows that "reverence, honour, love, trust, gratitude, fear, hope," are as obviously *due* to the Divine Son and the Holy Spirit, as kindness and good will are to our fellow creatures.\*

(2) *The field of Christian ethics still further extended.* But further, even the "positive precepts" of revealed religion assume a moral character the moment they are recognized as the commands of One Whom we are morally bound to love, reverence, and obey, though the reasons for the commands—as is implied in the term "positive precept"—are not apparent to the mind. This last observation, obvious as it is, gives a new significance to Christian teaching; for instance, on the enactments of human law (as of Divine appointment), on ecclesiastical ordinances, or, again, to refer to duties of the highest importance, on the numerous moral problems that take their rise out of the relations of the sexes. It may be that nature, the more closely and skilfully it is interrogated, will hereafter give answers more and more nearly approaching the commands of Christianity in regard to the relations of man and woman. These certainly are relations which profoundly affect every form which human society can assume. They occupy an immense space among the motives of human action, and they mould and colour to a quite incalculable extent human thought and feeling. But on these vital questions—vital as regards both social and individual well-being—systems of philosophical ethics, in the ancient as well as the modern world, have been, for the most part, silent; or, if they have spoken, they have uttered themselves with a faltering and ambiguous voice, or even sometimes have declared themselves in forms of revolting antagonism to the standard of Christian morals.†

(3) *Christian ethics is in great part an authoritative republication of natural ethics.* It is further to be observed that in respect to the duties which find a rational basis apart from revelation, an effective additional motive is supplied when we find that these duties are imposed upon us as commands of God. Just as it has been shown that dogmatic Christianity is, in a large measure, a republication of the truths of natural religion, so it may be shown that Christian ethics is, in a large measure, a republication, but much more, an *authoritative* republication, of natural ethics.

(4) *The Christian revelation supplies new motives of action.* Christianity not only reveals to us new obligations, but also furnishes new motives to the performance of duty. All non-theistic and agnostic systems of ethics must either deny or ignore rewards and punishments in a future life; Christianity asserts them. The written records of revelation leave

\* "Analogy" (Fitzgerald's edition), pp. 166-171.

† Among recent philosophic writers, Lotze has handled "Marriage and the Family," though with the best intentions, in a very unsatisfactory way; while writers dealing expressly with Christian ethics, as, for example, Martensen, Wuttke, and von Harless, so far as they have attempted to deal with these questions on the basis of independent reason, are generally hopelessly ineffectual.

us in no doubt that future rewards and punishments were intended to play an important part among the motives that affect conduct; indeed, there are those who, like Comte, find in this fact a ground for reviling the Christian religion as "a boundless cupidity and a servile terror," leaving no adequate room for disinterested affections. But if, as our great English philosopher has taught us, "Prudence is of the nature of virtue," it is no just charge against the ethics of Christianity that it appeals to so reasonable a motive. This charge, at all events, cannot be consistently maintained by the followers of hedonistic or utilitarian ethics. We are not here concerned with the truth of the dogma of future rewards and punishments, but, if it be admitted, to act upon it is only an example of that "postponing of the immediate to the remote," that "subordinating proximate to remote satisfactions" in which, according to the school of Mr. Herbert Spencer, is to be found the genesis of the moral consciousness.

The proportionate importance which such motives should occupy in the Christian life is another question, with which we have at present nothing to do.\* But it should be remembered, first, that Christianity is a practical system dealing with men at very various stages of moral progress, and presenting motives suited to each; and, secondly, that any representation which ignores the fact that Christianity places "the whole duty of man" in *love*—love to God and love to man—may be summarily dismissed as simply a gross misreading of historical records.

And here, if it did not lead me too far from my proper subject, I would maintain my conviction that mere "altruism" supplies wholly inadequate motives for a continuous and sustained effectiveness in practice. It is, in truth, the personal love of our Lord Jesus Christ and of our fellows as dear to *Him*—as redeemed by His blood—that has been, as a matter of fact, the overwhelming motive that has given to mankind, not only the outstanding heroes of philanthropy, but the countless lesser labourers at all times all the world over, in the varied fields of humane and benevolent effort.

But to return. Though happiness and unhappiness represented as following consequentially upon right and wrong is a constant feature in all parts of Holy Writ, one looks in vain for the slightest hint or suggestion that an action is to be regarded as right or wrong *because* it will be followed by happiness or misery. And "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" does not appear in Scripture as the touchstone of duty any more than "my own greatest happiness."

(5) *Wrong-doing in Christian ethics presents itself as sin.* And here we have reached what is an essential characteristic that boldly distinguishes Christian ethics from ethical systems unassociated with religion. The essential nature of wrong-doing is differently conceived by different ethical systems. By some it is declared to lie in disregard of our own ultimate happiness; by others in a violation of altruistic tendencies, which are themselves the growth of inherited experiences. It is sometimes described as a failure to observe the just mean between

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\* If we had been left to conjecture, it might have been imagined that the earlier dispensation would have given more prominence to conceptions of future rewards and punishments than the teaching of the Lord and His Apostles, but such is not the case.

opposite extremes; or it is represented as a violation of man's own highest nature, possessing an inherent, self-evolved and self-authenticated right to command. To the Christian, wrong-doing exhibits itself as *sin*, that is, an offence against a good, just, and holy God. Failure in duty, wrong-doing, is represented by Revelation as a wound and injury to a Person. Christian ethics postulates a Personal God. Christianity is not concerned wholly to deny those other characteristics of wrong-doing; nay, it is ready to admit that each one of them sets forth, more or less clearly, a certain aspect of the truth. But the Christian who looks into his own heart, and who attempts to analyze the strange compound of judgments and emotions which follow a conscious act of wrong-doing, finds, as the dominant factor, the conviction that he has offended God. For myself, I am one with those who believe that this conviction, on a careful recognition of the actual phenomena presented by consciousness after an act of wrong-doing, is, apart from revelation, a direct and natural conviction; or, to put it in other language, my own belief is that a sound, scientific ethics, an ethics concerned only with the phenomena of nature—that is, of life—yields the conception that wrong-doing is an offence against a Person. Every judgment of conscience, as I believe, makes three revelations—first, of self; secondly, of moral freedom; thirdly, of God. And I think hardly too great significance can be attached to the fact that a thinker as profound and as subtle as Kant acknowledges and insists upon the *phenomenal* presentation, both of moral freedom and of a moral law-giver and judge in every act of moral judgment, though from his peculiar theory of the *noumenal*, he is unable to extend the validity of the inference beyond the *phenomenal*. With his theory of freedom in the *noumenal* sphere we are not here concerned. What profoundly interests me is that one who was as careful in observation as he was exact and close in reasoning declares that "conscience must represent to itself always someone, *other than itself*, as judge . . . a searcher of hearts . . . with power to acquit and to condemn."—("Metaphysics of Ethics," Calderwood's edition, p. 255.)\* But so few students of Philosophical ethics have recognized or recorded this element, as revealed in the act of moral judgment, that I have spoken of it as a distinguishing mark of Christian ethics.

(6) "*Original Sin*." Having invoked the testimony of Kant, I may observe that he is also distinguished from the great majority of scientific writers on ethics, in formally maintaining the existence of what he calls the "*radical evil*," or a rooted tendency in human nature to prefer the promptings of egoism to the promptings of morality. Among subsequent writers of his school, this element of his teaching seems to have been, in a large degree, practically ignored. Yet I trust the debt of gratitude which I owe personally to the teaching of Kant has not caused me to overrate his position, in regarding it as unrivalled by any of his followers. Christianity certainly is very distinct in teaching that

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\* Nowhere, I suppose, can be found a more truthful, penetrating, and vivid representation of what takes place in an act of the conscience after wrong-doing than in the well-known passage of Newman's "Grammar of Assent," pp. 104-106: "We certainly have within us," he declares, "the image of some *Person*, to whom our love and veneration look, in whose smile we find our happiness . . . in whose anger we are troubled, and waste away." The whole passage should be read.



human nature, as we know it, is not human nature in its primal, typical, or normal state. A moderate acquaintance, indeed, with general literature makes plain that many non-Christian thinkers in both ancient and modern times have observed in human nature, as they know it by experience, a moral feebleness, a certain discord and moral disorder, a certain tendency to evil rather than good—a recognizing and approval of the better course, conjoined with a proneness to the following of the worse, so that it is somewhat strange that a distinct recognition of the fact is not found more frequently in the discussions of scientific ethics. Here again, as in the case already dealt with, I value Kant's *testimony*, while I may regard his attempt at accounting for the existence of this "radical evil" as futile.\*

(7) *The analysis of moral judgments reveals to us ourselves as free.* There is another essential truth of Christian ethics which is revealed to us in every act of moral judgment, namely, that the condemnation of ourselves is a *just condemnation*—that if we have done wrong we need not have done wrong. Here systems of philosophical ethics divide into two groups, one of which is consistent, and the other inconsistent, with the teaching of Scripture. Every necessitarian scheme of ethics—call it determinism, natural evolution, or what you will—is absolutely inconsistent with the notion of justice. Veil the reality as you will with soft words, obscure it as you will with scientific terms and involved sentences, the truth is certain; if my action is the necessary result of motives among which I am not free to choose, the notion of merit and demerit crumbles into dust, the notion of justice vanishes into mist. It is absolutely impossible and self-contradictory to conceive the just condemnation of an act done under compulsion, whether that compulsion be felt or not felt as such. All admit that we possess an impression that we are free, but the determinist tells us that that impression is an illusion, and he takes much time and trouble in futile attempts to account for this universal, perpetually recurrent, and persistent illusion. The irresistible cogency of the immediate inference, "I ought, therefore I can," it is impossible to invalidate by any processes of reasoning. Is the conviction expressed by "ought" a reality for us? If we feel it to be so, then the conviction expressed by "can" is a reality for us. Nay, Kant's defect was in not passing beyond his "categorical imperative," and in not recognizing that in every moral judgment we penetrate and rend the veil of phenomena, and reach to the real in ontology, that the self of consciousness is *the true self*, and that if the self of consciousness is free *the true self is free*.† It has been too readily conceded that mere speculative reasoning makes distinctly for necessitarianism, or is conclusive on its behalf; but I am content for my present purpose to accept the statement of the case by Lotze. "He who is pleased with the complete transmutation of human life into a play of fatalistic forces, devoid of merit and of blame, is not

\* The term, "original sin," by which this "radical evil" is expressed in technical dogmatics is misleading, if it be taken as suggesting "personal guilt." And doubtless the ninth of the Church of England's "Articles of Religion" would be differently expressed were it a product of the nineteenth rather than of the sixteenth century.

† On this last point see Dean Mansel's "Metaphysics; or the Philosophy of Consciousness, Phenomenal and Real," pp. 367 sq.

to be confuted on speculative grounds. The potent reason for contravening such views lies entirely in an undemonstrable but powerful and immediate conviction that it is *not* so, and that the conception of an "ought" and of an obligation, which finds no place at all in such a view, has, nevertheless, the most indubitable and incontrovertible significance." \*

(8) *The relation of Christian to evolutionary ethics.* The attempt in our day to extend to man's moral nature, theories of evolution which have been widely accepted as applicable to biological problems in the material world, makes it desirable to enquire, "How far is Christian ethics compatible with evolutionary ethics?" To this question I would answer: So only it be granted that man, in the ultimate centre of his personality, the will, is not a mere link in the chain of cause and effect, Christianity is not concerned to deny development in the moral world any more than in the physical. Mr. Herbert Spencer's attempt—"Data of Ethics," p. 123)—to trace the origin of conscience to modifications of the nervous system of the body is to me hopelessly unintelligible, and indeed—though unwilling to speak in a disrespectful tone of a name so deservedly eminent—mere *nonsense* enveloped in a cloud of scientific phraseology.† But had he been as successful in establishing his point as he has signally failed to do so, the question as to the *process* by which God has given us any faculty is quite distinct from questions concerning the present use of the faculty, or concerning the *validity of its presentations*. Let us assume that the moral sense, as now possessed by human beings, was evolved from a very simple and rudimentary origin—does that give us ground for questioning the truth of its perceptions? Are we unwilling to act upon the vivid perceptions of our eyesight because it has been established, let us suppose, that the eye is but a natural development of such original vague sensitiveness to what we call light as, we are told, is manifested by the whole skin of the earthworm, with no apparent organs of sight?‡

Evolutionary ethics, however, as presented to us by its most distinguished exponents in this country, is associated with a rigid determinism, and as such is absolutely inconsistent with the Christian system. And if it be said that it is no more inconsistent than the doctrines so widely accepted, more especially in former times, under the names of Augustinianism or Calvinism, I reply—without entering into any critico-literary discussion as to how far the writings of Augustine or Calvin justify the allegation—the followers of any system that denies human freedom are Christian in their teaching only by a stupendous inconsequence of thought, only by reason of the marvellous power which men possess of believing contradictories, when they are shrouded from their intelligence under the name of mysteries. It is the position of paramount importance and dignity which the conception of justice

\* "Outlines of Practical Philosophy," p. 37.

† See the criticism in Professor Schurman's "Essay on The Kantian Ethics and the Ethics of Evolution," p. 86.

‡ See Dr. Martineau's "Types of Ethical Theory," Vol. II., p. 385 *sq.*, and for an eloquent exposition of this truth, a Sermon preached in S. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, on August 7th, 1892, by the Rev. E. S. Talbot, D.D., Vicar of Leeds, on the occasion of the recent meeting of the *British Association for the Advancement of Science*, printed in the *Scottish Guardian* for August 19th.

occupies in the faith of the Christian, which renders it impossible to frame any scheme of Christian ethics that is based upon determinism.\* And one has only to ask a careful reader of the Holy Scriptures whether punishment is therein represented as *retributive*, or only as merely *preventive*, to be satisfied that the muniments and records of the Faith must be simply set on one side by all who accept determinism as their creed.

(9) *Christianity recognizes the varying limitations of moral freedom.* Christian ethics, following the guidance of Scripture, is nevertheless prompt to acknowledge the different measures of responsibility that attach to different individuals. There is for every man a pre-ordered environment from which he cannot wholly escape, though he may resist it, and in a measure re-act upon it. Hereditary tendencies and dispositions, both bodily and mental, education, the circumstances of life and social place, even the indefinite atmosphere of current sentiment and opinion, which we call the "spirit of the age"—all go to create conditions within the bounds of which freedom has to act. The limitations of his liberty may be narrowly restricted, or they may be comparatively wide; but within the enclosure man is free, and for the exercise of his freedom he is responsible. It is thus the pre-ordering of Divine Providence and the responsibility of man are reconciled.

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The Rev. R. L. OTTLEY, Dean of Magdalen College,  
Oxford.

A WORKING Church will make it her chief aim to face the facts of the secular life with which she has to deal, and to measure their significance. Without pretending exhaustively to analyze the varied influences now moulding the thought and shaping the actions of men, we may point to some features of present-day life and speculation which seem to force on our attention the much neglected duty of studying Christian ethics.

(1) First in importance stands a fact which Mr. Lilly discusses in all its bearings in his suggestive book, "Right and Wrong"—the fact that "the higher thought of Europe as a whole . . . is largely given over to materialism."† There can, indeed, be no doubt as to the widespread influence and popularity of the physical philosophy represented, e.g., by Mr. Herbert Spencer. In England and America, in Japan and India, Mr. Spencer is an acknowledged leader of thought; and we may anticipate that his influence will be more widely felt as he continues to devote his attention more specially to the department of ethics.

"Materialism," or "naturalism," is the name of that mode of thought which represents nature as a system in itself eternal and complete, a system in which there is nothing which cannot be explained as a development of the laws, forces, possibilities, and conditions that are the same from eternity to eternity.‡ The advance of science has

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\* Mr. H. Sidgwick, in his "Methods of Ethics" (p. 57), while contending that there is no "general connection between systematic ethics and the disputed question of free will," yet maintains that the conception of *justice* necessarily involves that problem.

† "Right and Wrong," p. 21.

‡ Martensen, "Dogmatics," sec. 17.

involved "the extension of the province of what we call matter and causation"\* to the sphere of moral sciences. In its application to ethics the physical method has three leading characteristics :—

(i.) It restricts knowledge to phenomena, and accordingly resolves psychological facts, such as will and consciousness, into physical states and conditions.

(ii.) It represents morality and moral law as an ultimate product of material conditions. Conscience, for example, has been thus explained in a memorable passage by Mr. Spencer :—"Experiences of utility, organized and consolidated during all past generations of the human race, have been producing nervous modifications, which, by continued transmission and accumulation, have become in us certain faculties of moral intuition, certain emotions responding to right and wrong conduct, which have no apparent basis in the individual experience."

(iii.) It represents good and evil to be essentially pleasure and pain, regarded as controlling human conduct. "Thus there arise uniformities of approbation and disapprobation which encourage, and, so to speak, consecrate such and such conduct as tending to the general good." In the result, "The test of the moral value of an action is its pleasurable tendency."†

With this theory, so far as it claims to be a systematic philosophy of life, I am not concerned. It is, however, important to measure the practical effect of such modes of thought in the ordinary spheres of human action, in the department of public policy, of literature and art, of social progress and speculation. The real tendency of naturalism has hitherto been visible more clearly in France than in England. Perhaps we have scarcely given sufficient attention to the facts of contemporary life and thought in France ; we may there study in a somewhat developed stage some practical results of materialistic theories. But in modern Europe generally it may be said that Christianity is now confronting a view of man which represents him as virtually the product of the natural forces amid which he moves like a machine, determined from without, not from within ; for it is practically true that any merely physical account of moral facts and beliefs leads inevitably to the "depersonalization" of man. "The attempt," says the writer I have already quoted, "to apply the laws of natural history to social relations issues logically in the doctrine of complete moral irresponsibility. What rational meaning can the words 'right and wrong' possess if the human mind is nothing but a bundle of sensations, passively received and mechanically modified ?"

One illustration may be given of the tone of thought here described, viz., the gradual weakening of the idea of moral responsibility, or, in other words, of the idea of *personality*, which may be noticed in the discussion and treatment of crime, and which in France so often leads to a ridiculous travesty of justice. Certainly, in England, we have not arrived at the point when the murderous outbreaks of a Ravachol are gravely excused as being merely "excessive acts ;" but even in England the tendency in the popular mind is "to think virtue, duty, justice, and injustice matters of convention," and to regard the criminal as the

\* Huxley, quoted by Lilly, p. 10.

† "Right and Wrong," p. 46.

product of a certain environment, or even as the victim of mechanical laws, against whom society is bound to protect itself, but whose acts it can only faintly condemn. There is a truth underlying this attitude of mind too obvious to need emphasis ; but the question is, whether in its unqualified form this conception of man is not profoundly anti-Christian ?

(2) Next, we may notice the false method which is so largely prevalent in current speculation on social subjects—the method which assumes that state-agency will fulfil the function of moral character. The fundamental idea of much popular socialism is the possibility of the regeneration of society by external agencies—what Carlyle called “faith in mechanism.” It hopes for an advancement of man’s condition by material processes. Thus a popular writer assures us that, “The ethics and religion of modern Socialism look for regeneration from without, from material conditions and a higher social life.”\* “The nobler life,” he says, “will result from generations of satisfied rather than repressed animal desires.”† This is a striking instance of the application of naturalistic theory to politics. In one form or other the idea so frankly stated here underlies much of the popular Socialism. The real root of this view is a low estimate of human nature and its capacities ; not only is it assumed that man will find the satisfaction of his nature in material well-being, but the true basis of social rights is ignored, while the functions of government are misconceived. Rights have their ground in personality, which is an ethical rather than a physical fact. It is the task of Government to foster and protect the free self-development of personality, and to ensure equally to all the possibility of it by organizing, so far as may be, the conditions of social life. The State will aim at providing for all healthy conditions of work ; opportunities of thrift, of self-culture, of recreation ; security, at least in some degree, of maintenance ; protection from the blighting pressure of unrestricted competition. But all these are only preliminary conditions of worthy human existence and self-development. At the best, “satisfied animal desires” can be regarded only as the means to an end, as a condition indispensable for the free development of a spiritual being. The oppressed classes ought ever to be the special object of the Church’s concern ; and it is our present task to awaken and organize an enlightened moral opinion on social subjects, but such opinion must be based on a true view of what man is. Both his duties and rights, I repeat, have their root in the fact of *personality*, and personality opens to him a prospect and career infinitely higher than a paradise of “satisfied animal desires.” Dr. Mozley somewhere remarks that, “We have the whole idea of the *grandeur de l’homme* in one text, ‘What is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?’” So far as Socialism protests against a *laissez faire* policy, so far as it insists on the moral bearings of economic law, so far as it keeps in view the elevation of character, and the removal of obstacles to true self-development, we shall all be Socialists. As Mr. Lilly says, “The struggle for existence is the universal rule of nature ;

\* E. Belfort Bax, “The Ethics of Socialism,” p. 19.

† *Ibid.*, p. 146.

the business of man is to *moraleiz* that struggle.\* He is not to amend or control social disorders by mechanical force, but by the intelligent activity of character and will.

(3) There is a third consideration which presses upon us the necessity of studying Christian ethics, I mean the present position and prospects of religion in England. We have recovered in some measure the idea of a Catholic Church; what wonder if that great vision has hitherto guided the awakened energies of Churchmen during fifty years of toil and progress? The revival of worship, the recovery of forgotten truths and neglected gifts, have brought with them great responsibilities and dangers. For there is a primary aspect of the Church's life which it is perilous to overlook. The Church is not only the home of worship and the organ of truth, she is, above all things, *domus disciplina*—the school of character. If we believe that we have recovered or realized a priceless heritage, we shall insist anew on the one end of all Divine gifts—the life of holiness. The real object of all insistence on accurate faith and reverent worship will be the cultivation in every class of the Christ-like life. The Church is the school of holiness, and, conscious of her true function, she faces the complex conditions of English life—the national sins; the social anomalies, which largely have their origin in unrebuked greed and selfishness; the widespread moral apathy, intensified by the spectacle of our divisions and disputes; the conflicts of labour and capital; the atheistic materialism and indifference of large sections of the working-classes; the hopelessness of the submerged; the results, in short, of the "intemperate labour" and unrestricted industrial development of a century. The Church is in touch with her age only in so far as she enters practically into the problems confronting her; in so far as her ministry is recognized to be one not of "consolation" only, but of beneficent intervention in social troubles. But this involves a demand on personal character. We may be sure that if, as Churchmen, we are content with a low and lax standard of personal self-discipline, if we accept the gifts without bearing the yoke of the Church, we, at any rate, shall bear no part in the work of healing our present distresses.

I have but touched an immense subject at one or two points. Let me hasten to a practical conclusion.

The conditions of our time point us to a more attentive study and enforcement of Christian truth on its moral side. Thus, as against the theory which traces the facts of moral evolution to hereditary and physical environment—which bases moral distinctions on social convention; which resolves conscience into organized experience of utility, and obligation into a stereotyped sensitiveness to the pleasurable tendency of certain courses of action—it is important that we should study the real grounds of our belief in fundamental moral facts, such as personality, freedom, responsibility, duty. It may be said that we Christians fall back on intuitionism, and meet scientific theory by transcendental statements. Let us study the true ground of our statements. If the Christian theory is contrasted with that of naturalism in its acceptance of moral intuition as a trustworthy basis, we may observe that it finds its verification in living experience. Against the specious

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\* "Right and Wrong," p. 196.

theory that conscience means an organized and derived sense of utility, a Christian moralist can point to a heritage of spiritual experience, witnessed in the continuous life of a universal society. The "transcendental" view of man's nature and capacities, the belief in the reality of Divine powers at work in nature and humanity, is vindicated by an appeal to history and present fact.

Again, in view of erroneous political methods, it is our wisdom to study and proclaim the truths of Christian anthropology. We have to teach that economic questions involve fundamentally problems of character; social disorders have their root in moral defects; it is the true excellence of government not to reconstruct institutions, but to develop and enrich character. We have to enforce the supreme dignity and worth of personality; to supersede abstract economic theories by observation and study of living humanity. All transactions between man and man must be personal. In dealing with men as capitalists, labourers, producers, employers, we deal with moral beings, not with machines that act according to invariable law. We deal, not with a mob of competing units, but with persons linked to us by ties of brotherhood, and laying us under fraternal obligations. Nor must we forget to remind ourselves of the true meaning of liberty; liberty implies as its necessary correlative, law, and true freedom is the "absolute consummation of law."\*

Once more, having regard to the special function of the Church as the school of holiness, our task is twofold. First, we need to study the real nature and conditions of Christian goodness, and the context of the Christian moral law, not only in its bearing on such pressing questions as Sunday observance, marriage, the ethics of money investment, etc., but in its relation to the individual life.

There is danger of some unreality in our Christian teaching if in proclaiming Christ's example and atoning work we neglect to insist on His present work as Re-creator and King. In days when the different stimuli to passion—increasing luxury, corrupt literature, a lowered tone in legislation, and the like—are so many and so formidable, men are apt to disbelieve in the possibility of goodness. Preachers are charged with pressing upon them an ideal standard with the hollowness of those who have no belief in its practical possibility. Are we not, indeed, apt to forget the actual end for which the Church exists—the re-creation in men of God's image? There would be a new hopefulness in our work and teaching if we devoted more thought to the whole subject of re-creation through Divine grace, if we realized more completely the purpose and power of corporate Church life and its function in the edification of character. The best antidote to the moral depression which we so often meet with is this doctrine of the Church as the chosen channel of Divine life, and the great instrument of spiritual renewal. We have to show men how true it is that religion is the most practical of all subjects, because it meets their deepest personal needs, and sympathizes with their wisest social aspirations.

Finally, the attentive study of the Christian moral law will quicken and guide our activity in "doing good." In a striking passage of

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\* Westcott, "Hebrews," p. 218.

"Ecce Homo," the writer dwells upon the width of meaning which in our complex modern life must attach to the simple phrase "doing good." He says, "The particular modes of philanthropy which Christ prescribed to His followers . . . were suggested by the special conditions of that age. The same spirit of love which dictated them, working in this age upon the same problems, would find them utterly insufficient. No man who loves his kind can in these days rest content with waiting as a servant upon human misery, when it is in so many cases possible to anticipate and avert it. . . . It is now clear that a large part of human suffering is preventible by improved social arrangements. Charity will now, if it be genuine, fix upon this enterprise as greater, more widely and permanently beneficial, and, therefore, *more Christian* than the other. . . . When the starving man has been relieved, modern charity enquires whether any fault in the social system deprived him of his share of nature's bounty, any unjust advantage taken by the strong over the weak, any rudeness or want of culture in himself wrecking his virtue and his power of thrift."\*

This passage strikes a useful key-note. The Church of a Christian country is commissioned to bear a steady, unfailing witness to the real presence in the world of an invincible and righteous will, striving against its evils, and working for its perfection. If the Church is to bend her energies in the direction where need is greatest, and opportunity widest, she will need the guidance of those who have knowledge of her real principles and wisdom to fruitfully apply them. To study the moral principles of Christianity and their relation to present problems, is thus necessary for all who would take part in the philanthropic work of the English Church. And the true basis of our philanthropy, that which will keep it true in aim and pure in motive, will surely be an intelligent apprehension of the real worth of those beings whose lot we are trying to improve. We do not want merely to alleviate misery; we desire, by the removal of offences and hindrances, to promote in individual men the kingdom of God. And this, says an ancient writer, is the kingdom of God: "*Hoc est regnum Dei, quando in omnibus hominibus Deus vivit, Deus agit, Deus regnat.*"

## ADDRESSES.

The Right Rev. ALFRED BARRY, D.D., D.C.L., Canon of Windsor, late Primate of Australia.

THE whole theory of Christian ethics is implied in the revelation of the Lord Jesus Christ; the whole is expressed in two sayings of the Lord Himself—the declaration of the conviction of the Holy Spirit, and the proclamation of the great commandment.

It is implied on the revelation of Christ. For this is, first, the revelation of a living God, our Father in Heaven, whose nature is eternal righteousness in love; it is, next, through a humanity at once ideal and actual, the revelation of man, as having the likeness of sonship to God, and therefore the capacity of growing unto that perfect righteousness; it is, lastly, the revelation of God and man as actually one, by an indwelling presence, which is the moral life of humanity, by an Atonement offered

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\* "Ecce Homo," chap. xvii.



in the Passion, sealed as accepted in the Resurrection, which takes away the alienation of sin, and the separation of death. In the first, we learn the essential basis and sovereignty of morality in itself; in the second, the capacity of spiritual and moral life in man; in the third, the certainty of its triumph and perfection. There are, it may be fairly said, no main ethical questions which are not answered in this revelation of Christ. It is not that He gives, but that "He is made to us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification."

But this great principle of truth is expressed in those two great words to which I have referred. In His last discourse to His disciples He spoke of the certainty of "sin, righteousness, and judgment" as the witness of a Divine Voice of God, the Spirit of God to the world—that is, to all humanity as such. This conviction is really two-fold, for "righteousness and sin" are but the two sides of one conviction, the positive and negative, the light and the shadow that it casts. As thus two-fold, it seems to give the basis on which rest the half-truths held by the two great schools of morality, always re-appearing under various forms.

There is the school of instruction—however that instruction may have been developed and strengthened in humanity—holding that the moral eye of the soul affirms eternal righteousness, as the physical eye affirms the existence of a visible object, as the intellectual eye affirms any axiomatic truth; and that it recognizes by necessity "the categorical imperative" of its authority. That assertion appeals to the inner consciousness of every soul, and it, if abnormal and morbid, and morally "colour-blind," to the consciousness of humanity, expressed in all the languages, literatures, and institutions of the world. But, in themselves, neither of these can have absolute authority. Self-worship, or the culture of humanity, which is but an extended self-worship, is impossible. There can be but one authority absolute—the Supreme Power in which "we live and move and have our being." The intuitional school has no ultimate basis, unless in the certainty that the witness of "righteousness and sin" is the unerring conviction of the Divine Spirit, inspiring both the individual and collective humanity.

There is the school of utilitarianism, hedonism—call it what you will—which finds the test of morality in the visible and actual results of moral action, in its power to secure happiness, whether, as the older and busier section of this school would have it, the happiness of the individual actor in his whole existence here and (it may be) hereafter, or as in the more recent and nobler phase of this opinion, the happiness of the race. Now what this most really means is that in the actual course of the world there is a Power, and a victorious Power, which makes for righteousness, and through it for the satisfaction of our whole nature in its right harmony and subordination of faculties, which is happiness. But what is this power? It cannot be an impersonal law or pervading life, for righteousness is essentially an attribute of personality. It must imply a will behind these, or working through these, which is the recognition of that sovereign will as assisting itself, under the actual conditions of humanity, and the battle of evil against good, which these conditions but too plainly exhibit—except "the conviction of judgment," begun from the beginning of moral life in earth, continuing through all ages, to be perfected at the great Consummation. For judgment of personal beings, which is to be just, in perfect equity, allowing for all varieties of character and opportunity—the *Επιείκεια* of Aristotle, which no rigid law, he says, can secure—must be the judgment of a Divine Personality, having perfect knowledge of all, and it is felt at once that there is a profound truth in the Christian doctrine that such judgment belongs of right to a Son of God, who is also Son of Man.

So in this revelation of our Lord we have the perfect harmony of the two great lines of thought—each true, each in itself insufficient—unto which ethical philosophy has at all times run.

But would we know in detail how this moral force is to work itself out practically, we have simply to listen to the declaration of the Great Commandment. It is a commandment of love, implying, as S. Paul explains it, "Truth is love;" as S. John with characteristic variation has it, "Love is truth." In this it supplies just the moral enthusiasm, which alone can curb the passionate element of lust and selfishness, and carry the soul by its momentum over the dead points of weariness, disappointment, and failure. Christian morality, as has so often been shown, boldly takes up this universal instinct of love, affecting as it does the whole nature of man in body, soul, and spirit, which to some ancient moralists seemed an unmanageable and tempestuous factor of our nature, and, interpenetrating it with righteousness, sublimed it into a supreme moral force, strong through the harmony of duty and affection, like the keen sword heated in the fire, which, by its double power, cuts through all antagonisms. Righteousness, as Plato declared, first recognizes the self of each man in his indefeasible responsibility of individual call and work, and then bids him ask, "How through it, then, shall I serve others?" Love first realizes unity in a network of ties through which one's life-blood thrills, and in that consciousness loses self, and so finds self in the service which is perfect freedom. But what are to be the objects of this love? The Great Commandment, recognizing all the facts and needs of human nature, answers in an ascending climax, self, man, God.

In the words, "as thyself," it assumes and sanctions right self-love—that is, devotion with some enthusiasm to the man's own perfection, which is happiness; which for this object claims his rights, his freedom, his self-education, and works on to a personal immortality in that attainment of this perfection, which we call Heaven. In distinction from transcendental theories of altruism, it refuses to do what is unnatural and impossible, by ignoring the indivisible personality with which each is entrusted, and over which alone, under God, he has full power. Self-love, as Butler taught us, is not selfishness, till it usurps a monstrous and unnatural predominance. If it be true that in supreme moments of life man is "conscious of but two existences—God and his own soul"—there must be a right individualism, carrying with it as a moral consequence duty and love to the Spirit within us.

But the Great Commandment, while it assures self-love, emphasizes love to man, yet not vaguely and grandly, as love of humanity, but as "love of our neighbour"—love, that is, of all men without exception, but of all men in various degrees, according to the various degrees of nearness or connection with us. The circle of neighbourhood expands, for the individual and for each race, over the whole water of humanity; but the impulse is deeper and stronger as it is nearer the centre. Evidently the Christian morality here recognizes and hallows all these closer bonds of connexion, which some forms of Socialism would extirpate, and most Socialistic theories ignore or tolerate as condescensions to human weakness. Through them, all co-existing and harmonizing with one another, Christianity has actually, in whatever imperfection, created a brotherhood of the human race; yet, in the words, "as thyself," rising in degree, as the life of Christ, and all lives regenerated in Him, have proved far above self-love, yet in kind love of man is to be like it, therefore to move on the same moral plane, therefore to temper it and be fused with it, not to claim an absolute dominion or an essential moral superiority. Absolute devotion is worship, and of all worships to my mind the culture of humanity is the least possible or tolerable.

But where is the secret of this harmony? The answer is, not in nicely calculated

balance, but in subordination of both to the supreme love of God—the God of the soul, the God of the race. We note that, starting of course from faith, it is to lay hold of the whole nature, the mind of intellect, the heart of affection, the soul of spiritual life within; the strength of practical energy without. In this the true centre is found; round it all move in their appointed orbits, each distinct in itself in relation to the Sun of Righteousness, all drawn by lesser mutual attractions to one another. In that supreme love of God—which is distinct from sense of dependence and godly fear—implied likeness to God is the secret at once of strong individuality of freedom and of unlimited service—the one power which can move humanity as at once individual and social.

This is the threefold practical development of Christian ethics. Need I say, in conclusion, that the knowledge of Christ gives life to each? If we love the higher self, that self is the Christ living in us. If we love humanity, it is one body in Christ the Head. If we love God, our Father, it is because He first loved us, as His children, and that infinite love, elsewhere shining through cloud, is unveiled to us by the Incarnation of the Eternal Son. Everywhere in the moral life “Christ is all in all.”

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The Right Rev. MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Peterborough.

THE point which I wish to bring before you is the ethical function of the Church of Christ at the present day. First of all I would emphasize what has already been said, that high ethical principles, and lofty moral character, is possible apart from Christian teaching. God left Himself not without witness. All men have a sense of right and wrong, and can develop that sense. The teaching of our Lord embraced as we should have expected, all the best results of man's discovery in the region of morals, and carried them further. The kingdom of God, which He came to establish, was a body of believers in Him, endowed by Him with spiritual power, whereby they could rise to a higher level of life, and greater dignity of action, because they knew certainly the will of God, which others only groped after. But this body of believers was to work in the world, and was to influence the world through the natural and existing forms of social life and action. Into these it was to breathe a higher spirit, and give them greater consistency, and a loftier purpose. This the Church has certainly done. Perhaps it has never yet been sufficiently recognized that Christianity has had an influence upon thought and action extending far beyond the limits of the Church itself. No form of ethical speculation in Europe since the establishment of the Christian Church has been untouched by it, or has ventured to fall below its standard. Indeed other systems have either professed to go beyond it in enthusiasm, or have tried to show that its moral results may be obtained without the aid of its doctrines, that Christian morality may exist without its supernatural sanction, or its supernatural aids. The value of Christ's teaching as a clear and cogent statement of ethical principles has never been seriously called in question.

But, as a matter of fact, ethical knowledge is more easily supplied than ethical motive. Now Christianity explains the “ought” of moral action, the supremacy of duty, as the expression of the upward struggle of man to reach the true law of his being, imprinted in his heart by his Creator. “The best we know” comes from the “best there is,” and by following it we reach Him. Further, that Creator set forth His law not in enactments, but in a life at once human and Divine; a life which was once manifested as a pattern, and exists for ever as a power; a life whose

virtue can be communicated to individual souls. Hence it comes that the Christian knows the moral law, not only as the expression of the highest efforts of human nature, nor as the wisest arrangement of social life, but as manifestation in man of an eternal order, partially operative here, but entirely supreme in the spiritual world to which he is called. Further, the Christian believes that in his pursuit of that law he is aided by the Author of it, who has set forth its meaning in a life, and gives him the spirit of that life for his aid. But God's help is given to man by natural means. Socrates might feel the necessity of care lest he should injure "the eye of his soul." S. Paul carried the matter further when he stated the practical object of the Christian life: "Herein do I exercise myself, to have a conscience void of offence toward God and man always." It was Christianity that gradually enforced the truth that human nature had a special organ for the acquisition of ethical knowledge in conscience, and by so doing placed ethical progress upon a scientific basis. The analysis of conscience was not older than the eighteenth century, and the writings of Bishop Butler were of incalculable importance as marking out the means of moral progress through the recognition of the supremacy of conscience, and its consequent cultivation.

This is the point which I would like to emphasize. Men talk about moral advance as though it was the result of greater knowledge about moral principles, or of a more general diffusion of that knowledge. But this is not so. The moral code is in no sense new. It has long been known and taught in Europe. No one disputes its truth. But men like to explain it away when it runs counter to their immediate interests. They ignore it, or put it in the secondary place. It is natural to man to try and find excuses for this perversity, to excuse others because he may need excuse for himself in turn. The general excuse is ignorance, and the prevalence of a low standard. But there was rarely ignorance of the wrongfulness of the action in itself, and the low standard only means that men agreed to combine in acting wrongfully. When Peter said to the people of Jerusalem, "And now, brethren, I wot that in ignorance ye did it," he meant ignorance of the full meaning of the crucifixion, not ignorance of the wrongfulness of clamouring for the blood of an innocent man. Of this they were reminded by Pilate, but they paid no heed to the reminder. The sense of combined action led them to suppose that there was a motive of public utility underlying it, and the belief in public utility led to the disregard of an obvious moral law. And I would ask you if that is not a pattern of mind that is called politics and State action in almost every age.

The difference in moral insight between past and present is not very large. Moral progress does not depend upon any increase in ethical knowledge, but in an increased consistency in the application of knowledge which has long been the heritage of the human race. How is this to be obtained? The Christian moralist must answer by a constant training of the individual conscience, and by bringing to bear on society at large an unswerving application of moral judgment. I have already pointed out that the Christian Church has done much in heightening the standard of the world. It has done this mainly because it has asserted the universality of duty, its application to the rights of all men. But if the Church has influenced the world, the world in its turn has influenced the Church. Every form of institution tends to take a partial view of its duties; and every organized form of ecclesiastical institution has suffered from its contact with the world. The claim to define what was necessary for its own preservation has been widely exercised, with the result that principles of general utility and motives of temporary convenience have led to practical abrogation of some portion of the moral law. The maxim that the end justifies the means has been emphatically condemned by all religious bodies; but has been frequently acted upon

by all alike. Yet a moral act must be without flaw alike in its motive, in its aim, and in the means by which it is pursued. For no outward and material result can be profitable which is won at the sacrifice of the tenderness and sensitiveness of conscience. Men cannot be permanently benefited by that which debases them in the scale of being. The moral significance of the triumph of the Cross has got to grow in clearness and definiteness before Christian ethics have spoken their last word.

Is not this the meaning of the high place assigned by Christ's teaching to humility, and of the catalogue of virtues enumerated in the Beatitudes as the qualification of the children of the kingdom? Motive is set higher than action. The means are set higher than the end, or rather the end itself is spiritualized; and the spiritual end, which must rest upon faith, is exalted above the material end which pursues some immediate and tangible result. We are given a standard of judgment which goes beyond the limits of any organized system, religious, philosophical, or political. We are bidden to judge things solely as they promote, or fail to promote, the sensitiveness, the delicacy, the integrity, and the authority of conscience. As this high principle is grasped we pass beyond the region of casuistry into the region of positive truth, and escape the subtle temptation to fight the battle of the spirit with the weapons of the flesh.

The ethical force of Christianity can only be set forth by its power in training delicacy of conscience, which trembles at the approach of evil, and is keen in detecting its insidious advances. All other progress is only valuable because it testifies to moral progress, and opens up wider fields for its advance. Moral progress does not depend on increased knowledge of moral principles, but on an increased application of these principles to all relationships of life. A man may be moral in his family life, less moral in his daily business, only conventionally moral in his public life, and unable to see the application of moral considerations to international relationships. Ethical progress means the moralizing of all these spheres of judgment and action. It is the primary duty of the Christian Church so to teach, and so to act in its corporate capacity, as to impress on everyone of its members the universality of moral obligation, and the unchangeable character of the imperative of duty, which cannot be explained away, which admits of no exceptions, which knows no balance of disadvantages. The practical object of its system should be to make the conscience of its members sensitive to evil, ready to detect its insidious approach, and powerful to enforce it. It should stand before the world as the trainer of "artists in virtue," as Christian saints have lately been called, men whose consciences have been made sensitive of the operation of the Holy Spirit, who are continually discovering by their spiritual insight new fields of moral action, which are those opened up for the work of the Christian community. Such, in her many failures and shortcomings, has been the work of the Church in the past. Never, I think, did the world more clearly recognize its need of the Church than it does to-day. By catching the full significance of that appeal, the Church, as the purifier of social life, can moralize, spiritualize, transform the world.

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## DISCUSSION.

The Rev. Dr. SPRINGETT.

I WISH to say a few words upon one aspect of the question before us clergy, not that which is presented to us in the academy and in the study, but that which meets us in the streets and lanes of our towns and villages. In what relation does the

ethical and moral and social teaching of the Christian Church stand towards the democratic teachings of the present day? That is a question which faces us day after day—the people, as we see by almost any newspaper we may take up, crave for some definite teaching from us upon this question. How are we to give such teaching? It seems to me that we may recognize with thankfulness the fact that Christian moral teaching, and the teaching of the democracy of the present day, start from the same basis, namely, the brotherhood of man. For it is a fact not to be forgotten that the rights of men, the liberties of men, the brotherhood of men, the equal value of every human being in the sight of God, were taught in the Bible, and by the Church, centuries before the cry of “liberty, equality, and fraternity” was adopted by the democracy, who, just one century ago, thought that they were teaching some new doctrine, utterly differing from, and even antagonistic to, that of the Christian Church. And yet, though we start from the same basis, I think we ought to point out that to us the brotherhood of man means something beyond what it does to those who are not of the Christian Church. To them it seems to mean the brotherhood of creatures who are all of the same species; to us it means the brotherhood of beings who are all sons of the same Supreme Personal God, the Father of all men. In connection with the teaching which arises from this basis, we cannot help admitting, I think, with the opening chapters of the Acts of the Apostles before us, that in a sense, communism is a feature of our teaching. But we must point out that it is not a communism in which the sharing of goods is forced upon those who have much by those who have less, but that it is by the voluntary action on the part of the wealthier towards the poorer members of the community; that principle of voluntary action, which, we may also point out, is so lauded by the democratic teachers of our time. Again, while we point out that Christianity distinctly teaches that all men and classes of men have rights upon which they may insist, the Bible never speaks of rights of any kind without immediately afterwards pointing out as prominently the duties which those who have the rights are bound to perform, whether as the master to the servant, or the servant to the master; the parent to the child, or the child to the parent. We are also, I think, bound to point out how often the Bible teaches that our rights as individuals must be yielded by us for the common good; and how, in contradistinction to the insistence upon our rights, we are shown the blessings that are bestowed upon the exercise of what may be called the *passive* qualities of character; for instance, of gentleness, of meekness, and of humility. Another point we are bound to notice is, that whereas many present-day schemes for the regeneration of man look mainly towards the effecting of such changes by improving the man's environment, Christian teaching, while not ignoring the necessity of such changes, aims first at altering the man himself; there is something wrong with the character—the presence of sin, as we may call it—which has to be set right in the first place. Most gladly do we admit that there are, even outside the Church, outside professing Christianity, men who are leading noble, earnest lives, and doing all they can for the improvement of those around them. But we do not look upon such as outside the family of God. Just as the infant resting upon his mother's breast is drawing his life sustenance from that mother, though he knows not as yet that it is his mother from whom he derives it, so are there many men in these days who derive their teaching from God, and who will one day learn to acknowledge the Father, whom they know not yet, from whom that teaching comes. May we not, then, take our stand in dealing with the democracies of to-day upon the great doctrine of the brotherhood of man? The natural brotherhood which we have as the sons of God by creation points out the still higher, supernatural brotherhood, which we may have by being of the membership of the Holy Catholic Church of God's dear Son.

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The Rev. R. B. GIRDLESTONE, Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, Incumbent of S. John's, Hampstead.

ETHICS is rather a hard subject, and you have been listening very patiently for a long time. I desire chiefly to remind you of two or three points which have already been brought before you, and which you may have forgotten. I think all have agreed, and that is a great satisfaction, that the essence of Christian ethics is to fulfil the law of Christ, by which all have understood not only the law which He imposed, but the law which He embodied. In the first place, in the thoughtful paper of Mr. Hutton,

two great principles of this law were set forth—the principle of humanity, which stands in the forefront of Christian graces, and the principle which was described as vicarious suffering; but, on the explanation of that being given, it was found really to be the principle of meekness. I was very thankful that Mr. Hutton's paper was so developed as to show, according to his view, the idea of suffering for the good of others, so closely connected with the idea of putting one's self in the background; not pressing for one's own right, but being willing to suffer in order that others might get the benefit. Thus humanity and meekness—twin sisters—are brought to the front in this discussion as fruits of the spirit and exhibitions of the law of Christ. As our discussion went further, those who followed emphasized what really lies at the root of all, namely, *agape*—love—or, as we may call it, sympathy. I have often thought it is a good thing in reading the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, to substitute the word sympathy for the word charity. It has often been said that the word love is hardly big enough. It has only one syllable, while sympathy has as many syllables as charity, and it seems to go deeper into the nature of what is required. Moreover, from the Christian point of view, this sympathy is to be measured by the breadth, and length, and depth, and height of the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, and which was manifested in Christ. It is a great thing when we get a clear foundation of Christian ethics set forth as has been done to-day; but practical Christians very often feel themselves perplexed. Circumstances arise in their private life, or in their commercial transactions, in which they ask, "What ought I to do?" and it is not always easy for themselves to answer, or for any minister or other person whom they may consult to advise them. "What ought I to do?" That is the very basis of practical Christian ethics. There are books written which are very useful in these emergencies; and those who have studied such a book as "*De Imitatione Christi*," or Jeremy Taylor's work on "*Holy Living*," will have much to guide them in such a crisis of their life. But, after all, there is no moral Bradshaw in which we can turn to an index and see exactly "What I ought to do." The only book to which we can always go is that which has been described as "A lamp to our feet, and a light to our path," and the habit of appealing to, and daily reading the Scripture, with prayer, is one of the very best methods of guidance in practical work. I have heard it said of a well-known statesman that he was in the habit, when in office, of reading a chapter of the Proverbs every day, and that he constantly found that it proved most serviceable to him in his practical dealings with other men. But, after all, to look at Christ every day, to make Him a living, bright reality, is the secret in these emergencies of life. For it comes to this, instead of saying, "What ought I to do?" we might say, "What would Christ have done had He been in my position?" and by putting that question to ourselves, if we are devoted students of Christ, we shall see more and more clearly what we ought to do in these difficulties which so often come upon us. There is one other point which I think deserves to be brought out again, and it has been touched upon by one or two speakers. The late Archbishop Whately wrote a useful book on "*Christian Evidence*." A converted Hindu was once in his company, and desired to thank him for the book. The old archbishop asked if there was anything in it which struck him specially, and he said, "Yes; and there is one thing I want Your Grace to add." "What is that?" the archbishop asked. "You have said in your book," he replied, "that Christian teaching sets forth the highest standard of morality—on matters of truth, for example. Now we, in our Hindu books, have a high standard of morality. We are all told we ought not to lie, but we do lie; and the point you ought to have brought forward is this: that while other books give a high standard of morality, Christianity provides a force whereby men may live up to that standard." The archbishop was very greatly struck, and, as I understand, altered his book to that effect. You see at once the advantage of having force. Oh, I wish we could weigh and estimate the amount of force which is put at our disposal for the battle of life. First, it includes the motive power of Christ's redemption; secondly, there is the animating power given by the hope of glory, honour, and immortality, a hope so much grander than the Greek philosopher's *eudaimonia*; and, above all, there is the quickening, the enlivening force of the Holy Spirit, whereby we may become living epistles of Christ, known and read of all men.

## The Hon. and Rev. J. G. ADDERLEY.

THERE was one thing which Mr. Ottley said with regard to the social movements of the present day to which I wish to refer at the outset, viz., that they were almost entirely of a materialistic character. But I think we ought to recognize that among the Socialists there are some who are gradually coming round to the religious idea that it is not enough simply to provide people with comforts for their bodies. A notable instance of this is to be found in the case of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Herbert Burrows, who openly say this at their meetings, and who have joined the Theosophists, who, whatever their eccentricities may be, at any rate are agreed that materialism is not enough. I think the Church ought to come forward and recognize this more, and say, "So far we agree with you; in fact, it is what we have been preaching for 1,800 years." But perhaps the best result of this most interesting discussion which we have had this afternoon would be that Churchmen should take up this question of Christian ethics more seriously as it regards individual action. It seems to me that among Churchmen, to a very great extent, there is an apathy about some important departments of morals. I frequently find in talking to Churchpeople that, though they are quite agreed about the wickedness of big sins, when it comes to smaller matters there is often great confusion of thought as to right and wrong. Take the case of purchasing a half railway ticket for a child who is over age, you will find Churchpeople talking about it almost as if they had done rather a clever thing. It does not enter their heads that they ought to purchase a postal order and send it back to the Railway Company in the form of "conscience money." So, again, in the matter of what are called "white lies." Many poor people are very much shocked at the laxity of the upper classes in the case of "white lies." To take another case. I have sometimes come across Christian ladies and gentlemen who seem to think it not dishonest to omit to pay the Dramatic Authors' Fees for the performance of plays in public rooms—rooms too, which are often next door to the Church. Is this on the principle of "The nearer the Church the farther from God"? These people would think it very wrong to take somebody's watch, but, apparently, it is not thought wrong to take the product of somebody else's brain, although his property in it is secured to him in the same way as the watch owner's, by the law of the land. I am sure, too, that my fellow-clergy have at times found it difficult to deal with cases of young people engaged in business, and forced by their employers to tell lies, and to do dishonest acts. Over and over again we come across boys who want to be good, and to be communicants, but are met by this difficulty. I know at this moment a boy who has had to give up Communion because he is employed by a pawnbroker, and has to tell lies every day of his life, perpetually representing goods to be worthless which he knows to be valuable, in order to justify a small advance on them when they are brought to be pawned. I put this sort of case before a good Christian gentleman, and he gave as his opinion that it was similar to "Naaman's bowing in the house of Rimmon." But can we say that these cases of deliberate dishonesty are only "bowing in the house of Rimmon"? What are we to do? We cannot give these boys a licence to sin, and, on the other hand, it is a serious matter to tell them they must give up their work in these days of uncertain employment. There are hundreds of such cases. What is a Christian employé in a fish shop to do who is told to say that fish were "caught yesterday" when he knows they have been caught several days before? What is a butcher's man to do who has to say that mutton comes from Wales which he knows came from New Zealand? Then again, have not Christian shareholders a responsibility in regard to the conduct of the businesses from which they derive their profits? It is very hard, of course, sometimes, to find out the truth about the conduct of a business, but ought not a shareholder to try? If what we have been told this afternoon is true, surely a Christian shareholder is bound to make some effort in this direction. We are told that many clergy have shares in match companies. Do they enquire into the facts about what the *Star* calls "phossy-jaw"? If they read the *Star* they will learn what that means. One of the girls in my parish had to have two or three teeth taken out owing to a disease of the jaw, said to be caused in match-making. Is there no case for enquiry by the Christian match shareholder? I see before me the husband of a good lady who once took shares in a tram company on purpose to go to the shareholders' meeting and protest against the long hours. Take again the responsibility of consumers. The Blue Book Report of the "Sweating" Commission told us that the chief responsibility for the sweating system lay with the consumers. It is, for instance, because people insist on having cheap clothes that they have to be produced by sweating. Have we no moral responsibility in this matter?



We want, I think, to be taught by our superiors in the Catholic Church what we ought, as Christians, to do in these matters. Mr. Ottley told us that just as during the past fifty years there has been a revival in Church doctrine, so now there was a need of a revival in Christian morals. We want, in fact, to be told what is the Christian thing to do in certain circumstances. Could we not, as a result of this discussion, take this matter seriously in hand? Let us get together, say a few Christian stockbrokers, and ask them how they manage to do their business on Christian lines.

The Rev. ISAAC J. COWDEN-COLE, Vicar of Upton,  
Somerset.

I FEAR I shall hardly be able, in the few minutes at my disposal, either to imitate the "lightness of touch" of the previous speaker, or to give any very comprehensive view of the subject. You are doubtless aware of the increasing importance which Christian ethics are getting to have, especially as a study among the younger clergy. If I may perhaps use a bold metaphor, I would say that the younger clergy have broken a little loose from those older traditions which we find, for example, embodied in that most excellent compendium of the Catholic Faith—the Thirty-nine Articles. The Thirty-nine Articles have been, I need hardly say, the subject of much discussion during the last fifty years, and I think I may say the younger clergy are getting a little tired of that part of the controversy. I venture, therefore, to think that there is a great and important question underlying the discussion of this afternoon. You will have noticed, as very often happens in difficult matters, that successive speakers have treated the matter a little cautiously. They would not attempt to go too far, or to haphazard what perhaps was in their thoughts this afternoon. Of course that is a very excellent position in which to be placed, but I think it would be as well if we should try and see just where we are, and so to meet the varying views of the day with some degree of boldness. And I do say that the whole point of the discussion here this afternoon is in the two words "individual" and "social." We must look at the matter, of course, from a Christian point of view, but we ought, I think, to keep these two distinctions clearly before our minds. We have been reminded that there are in the end but two schools of philosophy—the school of intuition and the school of experience. So, also, all we say or do may be either in the character of Christian people and Christian clergy, or simply as citizens of a single commonwealth. What I would urge, then, is that we should take our stand in Christian doctrine upon one of the two points I have intimated. We should either say boldly and frankly, "I will teach and I will act as far as it is possible from the individual standpoint, or I will do the reverse. I will take my standpoint, that is, from the social aspect of Christian doctrine, and will endeavour to give all my Christian teaching a bias in this direction." This determination would give colour to nearly all a clergyman can teach in his parish. At the same time, we have to beware of our professed principles ending in illusion. There is such a thing as being an unsocial Socialist. We may have philosophical knowledge, without perhaps any clear ideas of carrying into practice that which we profess, but I think I may fairly say that when the whole question of social and individual Christianity is thoroughly grasped by the clergy, who, it must be remembered, have to influence the labouring people and the artisans of this country, it will begin to bear fruit—that we shall then find not only that Christian doctrine is more than the teachings of philosophy, but that also it is a great power working practically for the welfare of the mass of the people. I venture, therefore, to think that this is an important aspect of the question. I should like also to say that in the view of ethics from the Secular point of view, we often see men who are professed individualists, and yet do all they can to further Social effort. Many, no doubt, do this unconsciously, yet to have a clear perception of what is the individualist position and what is the Socialist position is very important, even from a Secular point of view, and therefore of far higher importance from a Christian point of view. We ought also to remember the great influence which the public press has upon these questions. The often brilliant articles we read in the newspapers of our day do much in forming our opinions on all moral matters which concern either society or the individual member of it, and therefore this is an additional reason why we should further the study of Christian ethics as much as possible.

## NEW HALL.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 5TH, 1892.

Mrs. BENSON in the Chair.

## MEETING OF WOMEN.

- (1) TRAINING OF WORKERS.
- (2) INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS OF WOMEN.
  - (a)—ASSOCIATION.
  - (b)—CO-OPERATION.
- (3) TEMPERANCE AS IT AFFECTS WOMEN OF THE UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASSES.

## PAPERS.

MRS. BENSON.

VERY few words are necessary as an introduction to this meeting ; in fact, the fewer the better, as the subjects are matters of engrossing interest, and the time is all too short. One word, however, should be said as to the choice of subjects. As the time at our disposal was necessarily limited, it was thought better to endeavour to bring before you the needs which seemed at once the most important, and perhaps the least hitherto discussed in gatherings of this kind.

One of the most remarkable outcomes of modern life is a certain spirit of impatience. It is shown in a thousand ways—in the hurry of life everywhere, the anxiety of quick returns, the forming of hasty conclusions on insufficient grounds, etc. But nowhere perhaps is it more noticeable than in certain kinds of philanthropic work. The age at which this work tends to begin is one instance of it. It is being pushed further and further back. It is thought so delightful for children to become missionaries to children. Ignorance does not save a child from having to teach, nor modesty from being put forward. Soon the cradle itself will be no protection. But even if the age at which work begins is sufficiently mature, preparation tends to be put out of sight altogether. Because a girl happens to be born in what are called the leisured or the cultured classes, it seems to be taken for granted that she may at once become the bearer of light and knowledge to those who are obliged to spend the chief hours of the day in working for their living. "How shall they hear without a teacher?" stirs these eager souls to go, but the thought of how shall they themselves teach without having learnt, is not present to their minds. It is here that our first subject comes in—*The Training of Workers*.

It is pathetic to think of the loss of force all round which is brought about by untrained work in the most delicate and complicated of materials—the social and religious development of human beings. There is no need for me to dwell on the power and experience of those who are going to speak to you ; their names are sufficient.

There is another and a still more important outcome of this impatient modern spirit which bears upon our second subject, and that is the impatience to apply remedies to evils. The worker is cut to the heart by the sight of misery and sin all round, and, being full of the precepts and the knowledge of the power of Christianity, thinks too easily that he knows the remedy; feels, and in a way, rightly, that there is a great and growing misconception with regard to the power of material well-being to produce spiritual health; sees that even if men were relieved from the pressing cares and anxieties of poverty, that would not develop the whole nature, as is apparently thought by some, and so rushes to apply spiritual remedies without any real study of what the conditions actually are, nor the needs which most really press on those they wish to help. This I am afraid is specially true of religious people—Church people. They know that man does not live by bread alone, but they are too eager to supply the finer elements of life to give enough thought and time to study the question as it really is. We are endeavouring to-day to learn a little of the facts of the case from those who have known it from within, and who are giving time, and energy, and health, their best powers, and their whole hearts to meet the difficulty. We must remember, too, that the life of communities is like the life of individuals, a slowly-progressing growth; that conditions of thought and action which were all that was needed at one stage of development would not only be inadequate, but would cramp the life itself at another. We cannot rush in with remedies, however excellent they may have been proved to be in the past, and however hopefully we offer them. We must first know the constitution and the malady. For the life of a nation may be passing through a period of revolt and unrest, during which there may be many elements which do not tend to immediate peace or light, but these may prove to be the travail throes of a new birth, which should be waited for with infinite patience, open-eyed justice, and deep reverence.

Our third subject concerns ourselves, and is, again, one of those things which gets pushed aside in the desire of benefiting others. It is getting to be considered almost selfish for people to think about their own characters at all. The great truth that words and actions have only permanent value in so far as they are the outcome of character, is tending in these days to be obscured by a rose-coloured haze. For these things our eyes are dim; we must go back to the old springs. A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit.

Of the insight, the enthusiasm, and the wide range of thought and experience of those who will address you on this subject, it is unnecessary for me to speak.

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#### DEACONESS GILMORE.

I HAVE been asked to read a paper upon the training of women. As I hold the office of Head Deaconess for the Diocese of Rochester, you will be prepared for my speaking to you from the deaconess point of view, and also almost entirely upon the spiritual training.

From the clergy of our beloved Church of all shades of opinion there comes an ever-increasing cry for more women to help on the work of

their Master ; they are sorely over-burdened with the claims of their high office, and will thankfully hand over to devout women much which they can most ably do. In many respects a woman is by far a more suitable visitor than a young deacon, and is far more likely to obtain a footing and get an influence in the homes of the poor, where, during the hours when pastoral visitation is possible, the women and quite young children are the only inmates of the houses.

If it is an undoubted fact that the clergy desire the help of women's work, it is also a fact that they desire that it should be trained and skilled work, and that it should be work under authority.

That much good and useful work has been accomplished in the past, and is still being done, by the untrained district visitor, no one will deny ; but the best of them will acknowledge how experience has been their schoolmaster, and how many a mistake would have been avoided, and many an anxious thought spared them, if they had been prepared by a careful education for their work. But the clergy require more help, or rather a different kind of help from that given by the district visitor, however useful and good she may be ; also, as a rule, something far better socially and by education than a mission woman ; they want a devout gentlewoman who has been trained and taught to minister to others, and who has by her training learnt to do her work as a faithful servant, not only to her Master in heaven, but to His ambassador on earth.

If the clergy desire the work of such women, we know that there are thousands of women in the Church who desire nothing better than to spend their lives in doing Christ's work on earth ; within them is ever the cry, "Send me." They are absolutely content to leave family and friends to spend and be spent for others. To some this call from God comes early in life—blessed are they !—to others it comes after years of trial, or it may be of disappointment ; but whenever it comes there comes with it the question, "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do ?" To such the answer comes in various ways : many become sisters of mercy, take vows, and live in community, being ruled by a mother superior ; others go to the ends of the earth as missionaries ; others become nurses in hospitals ; a few, very few, become deaconesses. Here it may be wise to ask why so few become deaconesses. Partly because little is known of what a deaconess really is ; partly because they have been much misrepresented by those who call themselves deaconesses and are not so. What, then, is a deaconess ? She is a woman who has been trained for work, and accepted as fit for her office, and is then solemnly set apart by prayer and the laying on of a bishop's hands to her office in the Church. She receives the bishop's commission, and is licensed by him to the work to which he shall appoint her. That women in the primitive Church were sent forth to work after a solemn setting apart by prayer and the laying on of hands we have ample historical evidence. One of our late bishops, who speaks with no light authority, —Bishop Lightfoot—said that the Church was maimed in one branch of her work by the loss of this order. For a thousand years it was in abeyance, but has been revived within the last forty years, and is now coming much more prominently to the front. Eight dioceses have their training homes in this country ; in America and Australia it is also taking root.

Two years ago all our own bishops agreed in Convocation as to the desirability of having this order in the Church. There is certainly a large demand for deaconesses in our crowded South London parishes and elsewhere. The clergy like to feel their parish deaconess is their servant, under no authority but their own and the bishop of the diocese; the people rejoice in having a comforter and friend whom they have a right to call their own, who lives amongst them, knows and loves them as her people.

That women ordained to this office must have a training to fit them for it is most certain, for it is by no means an easy life, though a most blessed one.

In the primitive Church the work of the deaconess was the care of the sick and needy, teaching the children, and preparing the female catechumens; in the Church of this age her work will be much the same, though doubtless it will vary with each parish. We may consider, then, that as she has to be the pioneer for the clergy, her great work will be pastoral house-to-house visitation; the Sunday schools superintending and teaching, and perhaps giving the scripture lesson in the parochial day school; care of the sick and needy; to help with provident clubs, soup kitchens, mothers' meetings; to hold classes for women and girls, night schools; and to prepare the older women for confirmation. Truly, she must be, as S. Paul said of Phebe, "a succourer of many."

All this is very definite work, and needs very definite training; but it would be impossible adequately to train women for this work without their living in community during its course, for, besides the learning how to do the actual work, the training will entirely fail of its object unless the character is affected by it. Too little stress is laid upon this latter by all women who have received no definite training themselves; they think to be taught to do certain work means that they can do it, and alas! too many who undertake Church work seem to consider that even this is unnecessary. Those who are placed as the heads of institutions, such as I am, constantly have ladies come to them "to help," as they call it, in the work; the very idea that they require to learn to help is entirely new to them, and it is often long before it dawns upon their minds. The untrained woman often thinks she has nothing to learn; a trained woman that her training is never finished. We find at the end of two years' hard training, women whom we think fit for the office of deaconess would willingly postpone the solemn time from their feeling of unfitness in every sense; surely their so feeling it will show what the training has been to them—a time of preparation in all ways, a waiting upon God.

Those who have to conduct this training should have strong individual character, great hopefulness, great patience. During the time of probation there are most difficult times to be got over—periods of depression, both with regard to themselves and their work; yes, and the actual work of the Church on earth. There are mighty mental and spiritual difficulties to meet, and those who train should be well able to guide and counsel. This work cannot be the work of one person only; it is too solemn, too responsible; all extremely difficult questions will be referred to the warden for conference.

We find the work will divide itself under two heads, the spiritual and mental training, and the practical and physical training. The

former will be partly the work of the warden, the latter of the head deaconess.

When we consider what the work is for which we require women to be trained, and the way we shall best attain the object, we find—

- That the spiritual life must be one of close union with God;
- The mental faculties must be developed and kept bright and clear;
- The will must be surrendered, and yet strong, to help all;
- The body must be able and fit for work.

With regard to the spiritual life, it is impossible that *a life* can be lived for this special work without its being highly developed. We are not talking of months or years, but a life, long or short, as God wills. When women full of desire to serve in good works first come to be trained, they are generally much exalted; they think that to speak to souls dead in sin will mean conversion. Unfortunately for those who train, there is a class of religious book which does untold harm; it leaves out all mention of difficulty and failure; speaks only of absolute peace in the soul, of rapid conversions, of words spoken which are never forgotten. The inexperienced worker thinks everything will be so with her; she frets and sighs over her own weakness, over no result seen in her work; sorrowfully believes that it was all a mistake, and would turn away to something else. Here they must be met by hopefulness and building up in Christ, setting the face more steadfastly towards the cross, content to go on with few seen results, certain of this, that whatever failure there is, is in the messenger and not the message, and striving to learn the message more distinctly, and to live it more faithfully. To build up such a life as we desire means a life of devotion—of time spent with God in prayer, meditation, and study. Therefore, our training time is a time when these habits must be formed, so formed that they shall continue until the end of life. Time is set apart in the training for this object—five services a day in chapel, and about eight hours actual study during the week is, we think, enough to be helpful upon the entirely spiritual side. For the study, definite subjects are given, and monthly papers written; the main subjects studied are the Bible, Prayer-book, and Church history.

The life in the home during training, if it is to leave, not only the knowledge of how to do the work, but its effect upon the character, must be a time of actual work; to put it into simple words, a servant's life. "I say to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it."

Women who are learning to live a life of obedience, and yet a life in which they must also rule, must learn by being ruled themselves. The rules need be few, but, being made, must be kept, and kept most strictly. It is found by experience that a strict rule is the happiest; a weak rule will be unjust, and pets will be made, which is fatal. The house rule must be such that all can keep it except during times of illness—illness which is real, not fancied. Every minute of the day's work is arranged; there is no time unfilled for gossip, writing notes, and desultory reading; no bits and ends of time. Recreation, like food, is necessary, and must have its allotted place; but it comes when work is finished, at the end of the day, at the end of the week, and holidays after certain months of work. Our times of recreation are one hour and a half each day, ten hours upon Saturday, and six weeks' holiday in the year.

A day's work in our training home will be filled in in the following

way :—Time to rise, 6.30—this is supposed to be faithfully kept ; as the bell rings they rise, dress quickly, make their bed, dust their room, leaving time for private devotion, and be ready to go into chapel when the next bell rings at 7.30, for a service principally of silent prayer, lasting until 8 o'clock. Breakfast is taken in half an hour ; all rise as the clock strikes, and go to their appointed work, which is always done without talking, unless they have to speak of the work in hand. Nine o'clock, matins ; after matins, to stand in the study while the head deaconess gives the orders for the day ; here they can consult her upon any question that arises out of their district ; they then return to their appointed work. At 9.45 they prepare for going out, and have to be quite ready by 10 o'clock for fifteen minutes' silent prayer in chapel before they leave the house. They are advised to walk silently and prayerfully to their visiting, which lasts until 1 o'clock, when they meet in the mission house for luncheon and half an hour's rest. Short prayers are read there by the head deaconess, and they start again and visit until 4.15. This gives about four hours visiting in the day, which is quite long enough to do it well. Returning to the home, they enter visits into parish reports until the bell rings at 5 o'clock for tea. Evensong, 5.30. After evensong all stand in study while they give the report of the day's work to the head deaconess. Six to eight o'clock, study in absolute silence. Eight o'clock, supper. From 8.30 until 9.40, recreation. Five minutes' silence before the bell rings for prayers. All retire at once after they are over in silence to bed, which is not broken until breakfast the next morning. Quiet is kept always in the house, on the stairs, and in the passages. The different days of the week vary somewhat, but the hours are the same. Friday, the warden spends the morning at the home ; after service in the chapel, which is licensed, he gives instruction to probationers, and they can consult with him upon their studies or any spiritual question. Sunday is quite occupied ; a truly busy day, but a most blessed one. We find that at first it is given up with reluctance, yet when given up is a time of blessing both to those who teach and those who learn. "He who watereth shall himself be watered."

The training for the actual work with the hands must be such as will fit women to turn to any work that will come to them. Here I wish to remark how seldom it is that we find gentlewomen of refinement and education such as we require and obtain for our office of deaconess, who can do any manual work sufficiently well to be of any use without special training. Thoroughness must be taught in every little detail of work, and great care taken that even the smallest duties are faithfully done. This is the beginning of training, to learn the duties of the day of small things.

We teach housework, cooking, and cleaning ; not only the pretty parts but the actual servant's work, and a probationer at the end of her month's work with the cook ought to be quite fit to take her place.

Work strengthens the body, particularly the arms and hands, and helps to make them gentle ; strong hands touch firmly and more gently than weak ones. Here I may speak of the question of health. It is often found that women who in ordinary home life are ailing and sickly, in training become well and strong, even if the training is a hard one ;

indefinite fine lady ailments will vanish under the healthful, occupied life full of interest. Of course when there is any serious organic disease women are not fit for a life which must often carry them into bad air, and in which they must be out in all weathers.

It is necessary to train women in keeping accounts, and being faithful in the smallest money matters as well as the largest—in exactness in giving a report; and to this end they have lessons in book-keeping, weekly and monthly reports as to the work done filled in, registers, etc., to keep. A trained woman can give an account of her time without any words to those who employ her; such an account is most useful to herself. Her parish book will be a great guide and help, not only to her, but to any who come after her. We consider that this work ought to be so left each day that another may pick up her threads and go on with her work without loss of time.

Nearly all women have to learn cutting out garments and making them, and to learn to make the best of any material given, and it is not easy work to learn; but it is certainly a great help to our poor sisters, and inexpressibly beautiful to us to know that Dorcas' labour of love in this was accepted.

It is desirable for a deaconess to have some knowledge of physiology, and also to know all the useful remedies such as would be given by a careful mother, besides as much nursing as it is possible for her to learn without it becoming the one idea of her life; for us it is a means to an end, and not the end. Some women are by nature absolutely unfit to be nurses, and could never be trusted to nurse a really serious case; but even these can learn much helpful knowledge in the care of the sick. Those who can learn only this much are far better without any hospital training; but if a woman is fit for it we send her to have six months' training in a London hospital after she has been a year at her general training in the home.

We now come to the training amongst the people, which requires equal care and supervision. First, with regard to the training to teach. Towards the end of the training they are sent daily to the parochial day schools to receive instruction from the head mistress. When she thinks fit, they begin to teach the junior classes until she considers them able to take the religious teaching of the schools. Thus they not only learn to teach, but get an insight into the working of the Elementary Education Act, and gain sympathy with the teachers.

In taking mothers' meetings and holding cottage lectures, and giving addresses at them, they will require much instruction; but we consider this is a great work for women. They can speak more plainly to women than a man can, and understand each other far better. Besides, how much oftener a meeting might be started if it could be left entirely to the parish deaconess. The giving of addresses is, as a rule, a matter of training; though all cannot speak well, all can by care and study speak helpfully. With such terrible ignorance around us, the cottage meeting held weekly at convenient times is certainly one of the best helps to bring the older women under the influence of Church teaching.

But nothing requires more training than visitation, and nothing receives so little. It has been from the first my great privilege and pleasure to visit with my probationers. Visitation needs such love, such



care, such insight into character, such patience and wisdom, so much helpfulness ; and no two homes can be treated alike.

There must be a keynote to finding out the secret that will make her visitation a strength to both sides. The keynote is love. "Christ died ; yea, rather, is risen again." "From henceforth I live, yet not I, but Christ that liveth in me." It is only possible to visit in that strength. What has a perfunctory visit to do with that—what can a nominal visit have to do with seeking souls ? It is a slow business ; perhaps six or seven in a morning, or maybe in a day. I am speaking now of working in a new quarter, where your work is unknown, and you are unknown. Your first business is to make friends, and this is not always easy. If you can get a foot inside the door, or better still, a chair to sit upon, the matter becomes more certain. Let your new friends talk to you ; your turn will come after. Only be ready just to do the right thing. Don't try to teach them too soon ; let them teach you. You want to know all about them, but you cannot find it out all at once, and sometimes you will have to wait long for confidence to be given. Enough, if at the first visit you are not repelled, and thank God if some loving, gentle woman's work is put into your hand to do. Once they know and trust you, you will have no trouble to enter the door—you will be too surely wanted. There is nothing half so hard as to get out of a street of our London poor, if you are indeed their servant. Thus it comes that the more you know of all useful womanly knowledge, the more faithful you are to your Master—the more easy will be your work of visitation. Here it is that the well-trained woman feels her strength, and strength is power. It takes long training, both to soul and body, even to get over the disgust at filth, the shrinking from disease, the dread of unknown and untold wickedness, and seeing the awful lives of many without the sure promise, "They shall touch any deadly thing, and it shall not hurt them." All becomes as nothing when the mighty soul-hunger comes, and the keynote is evermore heard.

Thus we train in visitation by letting the probationer see good visiting, and not until we see the love grow, which brings the wisdom, do we trust her with the precious souls God has given to our care ; by degrees we give her more and more to do, and leave her more alone. The training in careful club collecting is a useful part of our work, as it is a means of knowing the districts well, and prevents much of the gossip that goes on in the streets when a visitor is seen in them. To be punctual and regular in collecting a club is a means to an end, the end being that while they are taught thrift, the visitor obtains a knowledge of them without their finding it out. A gentle, loving woman, going quickly from home to home, in a district where the people know and love her, has a wondrous influence for good. Her restful face, full of peace, brings happiness and comfort, her quick-trained eye taking in the signs of sickness, sorrow, or poverty ; yet not easily misled by the hideous misery of the drunkard's home, nor shrinking from the sinner, is truly a witness for the Master who has sent her to do His work.

We consider that this training should continue for at least two years. All enter as visitors, and are admitted as probationers at the end of three months, if we are satisfied that they are likely to become deaconesses.

Training keeps women steadfast—makes them self-contained and silent, gives them powers of endurance, and if it is the true, deep spiritual training, makes them loving and tender, even when they must rebuke the sin. They have learnt to consider the work first, themselves last ; it is enough that work is given, and they are trusted to do it. The very fact that heavy, anxious work is left to their care, tells them that man trusts them and that God honours them ; for the rest they can wait until that time comes when they shall have received their reward, and rest in the presence of their Master.

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A GREAT increase of sympathy with the poor has taken place in England during the last few years, bringing forward countless devoted and industrious volunteers in all branches of work for the people. Their sympathy, their self-sacrifice, and their zeal are of priceless value ; but many circumstances point to the necessity of their being definitely trained. In old days, when our population was smaller, when parishes were more distinct from one another, when more of English life was in the country villages, district visiting was less *work* than neighbourly kindness taking its natural course in the flow of help to individuals who had long been known, and the inclination to do loving and serviceable acts was sufficient qualification. No inquiry was needed, all applicants for alms were known ; no precedent seemed to be established by helping under given circumstances, these perhaps never repeated themselves ; no huge, baseless, unreasoning hope, that never could be fulfilled, was called up by scattered almsgiving ; nor was there the great yawning gulf of London into which the agricultural population might be enticed by the squandering of ill-considered gifts, or the wholesale supply of necessary things which most men provide for themselves. A few years ago, when sanitary science, social science, educational science were in their infancy, and there were few people who had made a study of them, native common sense was all the young worker could trust to. Now, how changed are all things. Who would now scorn to offer the un-instructed nursing which kindness alone guides, thinking of the subtle perfections of the art which a trained nurse has ? Who would dare to teach classes without preparation, knowing what is expected of the humblest infant school teacher in the smallest, most out-of-the-way school ? The advance of knowledge, and the massing of large bodies of people which absolutely demands organization, alike point to the altered duties of those who would be really serviceable.

The problem, as it seems to me, is how to unite the fresh, loving, spontaneous sympathy with the quiet, grave, sustained and instructed spirit of the trained worker. It is, in fact, how to gain the wisdom, and increase, not lose, the love.

First we shall need patience. All fresh workers entering the field must say to themselves, "I must be humble, and work, and wait, and prepare."

Then, secondly, we must recognize that there must be sub-division of labour. As no one now-a-days would think of devoting herself to

nursing or to teaching without a course of study, so there are other fields of work for the poor which require, in the eyes of those who know, as distinct a training. It is only the extreme boldness of the wholly ignorant which makes many rush in, confident in their good will, but with a temerity which it makes the more experienced tremble to see.

Let us, then, suppose that a beginner is conscious of her need of preparation, how is she to obtain it? In certain departments the courses of study and procedure are too clearly laid down and known for it to be necessary even to mention them; education and nursing are now among the skilled and certificated professions. With regard to the others, one can only lay down the general rules that time for preparation must be given, that fresh recruits should begin at the bottom and rise gradually, and that they should deliberately set themselves under those who have experience.

There will then arise the question as to whether training is best in institutions or in our own homes, and also as to which is the best point from which to work, an institution or one's home.

So far as training is concerned, it is manifest that the answer must be different in different cases. If it be true that to be under experienced teachers is essential, new volunteers must go where such are to be found. Those whose homes are inaccessible to such centres must, for a time at least, transplant themselves to other neighbourhoods during the period of their training. If, on the other hand, their own homes are within reach of leaders and teachers, and they have the will and the power to take up work among the poor steadily, as their brothers prepare for their professions, if their home duties make them feel it right so to devote a regular, even if it be a small, part of their time, then I say very deliberately that in my estimation the training is best done from the natural home.

For note, we are training not a mechanic to practise manual work; not a lawyer, whose intellect must be developed, and mind stored with facts; not a physician, who must gather knowledge and dispense advice; but a worker who, though she may need a certain manual skill and clear intellect and sure knowledge, is primarily a human being who must use manual and mental power for the help and blessing of families. That being so, all will depend on what she is. Unconscious as she may, and should, be of herself, her influence will radiate from her like light from a star, and we have yet to learn that there is any training for noble and gentle souls like that of family life.

Besides all this, I should like to show you that in my estimation the work most needed now is in the homes of the people. And how are we to teach and help in the family if the sacred duties to parents, to brothers and sisters, if the old household claims seem to us of little moment, and to be easily thrown aside for others? In my experience, those who are deeply imbued with the spirit of family life are those who best help the poor; in this spirit they meet on the great human ground, older than theories of equality, safer than our imaginings of fresh arrangements for the world, and fitter to inspire the noblest and simplest sense of duty.

Far be it from me to generalize, or to try to lay down a law as to what is best for anyone. Let each see and judge for herself. But this

I will say, that the deep honour of home life is essential to the best kind of work for the poor now. Thrift, yes, if you like ; education, yes, if it be good ; preparing girls for service, sanitary improvement, skilled nursing, country holidays, amusements, drill, open spaces, and fifty more things, all are valuable, but one spark of honour for, and love of home, and sense of duty therein, if it were granted to you to fan it into life, would be a better gift, one more far-reaching in its influence, and bearing better fruit, without which all other gifts are very poor, with which they will bring much good.

This belief of mine will very distinctly show what I feel with regard to deaconesses, settlements, and other groups of trained workers living apart from their homes. They may, and in many cases probably will, excel in what we may call the technical portions of their work, and will have, in certain ways, more weight in a district from this being, as a rule, carried on more continuously ; they form, moreover, a centre for neighbourly offices in many large towns, where the poor live far from the rich in districts by themselves, where, consequently, one is thankful for even clumsy substitutes for real homes. In such institutions will naturally be found those who have taken up work for the poor as their main duty in life, among whom will be, as a rule, probably many of the more experienced workers and leaders, but whether, with all their technical advantages, residents in them can ever give the crowning spiritual help in the home life of the poor will depend on why and how those residents left their own homes, whether on the one hand they had any lurking belief that life in a community was holier than life in a family ; whether they had shrunk from the discipline and humility of fulfilling duties *laid* upon them, and preferred *chosen* duties. Or whether, on the other hand, no home existing for them, they entered into joyful service of the poor, and what reflex of family and household duty life with fellow-workers opened out, or whether daily duties of home being done by others, the devotion to out of the way poor districts seemed due from them, and still remaining in near touch with, and full reverence for, home and family life, they, as it were, kept a foothold, too, nearer the most desolate districts ; or, again, whether they were new workers going, as to school or college, to gather knowledge, hereafter to be used when they return home.

I believe settlements to be most useful when they are kept small, and as places of residence for leaders and learners, and centres for non-resident helpers. As such, but as such only, they have my very heartiest sympathy. And I may add that the one in Southwark which I know well, is the place where now I confidently send any volunteers to receive the training which I believe to be so important.

And now, having touched on the need of training and the place for attaining it, let me just mention some of the various departments for which preparation is wanted. I take it that the born nurses and teachers will rightly go their own way. But setting these aside, what regular work is there which those who would serve the poor will set themselves to ? Charity Organization, Girls' Friendly Societies, management of clubs, country holidays, I suppose ; also a certain number will desire to qualify as guardians and school managers. Each and all of these should feel that if they are to do these things at all they must do them excellently, that good will and honesty are not enough, but that

they must learn their business as a business—read and think and learn all that is known about it. With this object they should seek the guidance of those experienced in each department.

I should like, however, to point out that round these special workers it appears to me that there is needed a whole army of visitors, who shall link all the wise and beneficent schemes with the people themselves. Those who shall take a small district—such as the old-fashioned district visitor had—and knowing all the residents in a simple, natural, friendly way, shall connect them with the various agencies which at any time and in any way meet their need. I have pointed out elsewhere why I think this organization greatly to be desired, partly because of its bringing visitors in contact with the families, partly because it is continuous and natural; partly, too, because it is important that the innumerable theories which are floating in the air, and which may do so much harm, should be viewed by a body of affectionate and intelligent people with intimate personal knowledge, so that we may not be at the mercy of excitable journalists, or ignorant, well-meaning young Socialists, but that a body of devoted and gentle ladies, living in near intercourse with the people, may know their real needs, and the probable influence on their lives of the schemes of the theorists. Principally, however, because it seems to me to open the way to simple human intercourse and interchange of help between rich and poor, educated and uneducated.

The training of such a group of visitors would need not less but more time and care than that of those devoting themselves to one special branch, because it would have to be more various. The trained teacher fills a great place, but her duty limits itself to education; but the visitor who is helpfully to bring in all agencies that are useful to her poor friends, must know at least something about many. She will have, moreover, to deal with a variety of people, not children only; not the boys, or girls, or men, or women only, but all of them. Nor will her group be composed of those who have come forward to avail themselves of any organization, but of all the residents in a given court or street, bad and good, responsive and irresponsive; they will all be as parishioners are to a clergyman, more or less under her wing, and many sided sympathy will be wanted, and quick watchfulness to see the moment when first expressed friendliness will be a help and not an intrusion. She will be rewarded for this added difficulty by the continuity of her relation to her flock. The idea of the visiting is that it shall combine the old kindness of the district visitor with the thoughtful wisdom of those who have thought out social problems. It may interest some of you to know that the scheme is in operation in Southwark, where my friend Miss Sewell is devoting herself to training the workers in a way that is above all praise.

I have said nothing about Sunday School teaching, or Bible Classes, or any direct religious teaching. I am sorry to say I know little about it. It must require much thought and preparation; where it is real and good it goes even deeper than the teachings of home. This age has, however, in the main turned its attention to, I might almost say uttered, its urgent claim for our Christianity to express itself not alone in audible words, but in some visible improvement of things, which might at least prove the genuine character of preachers and teachers. It is not, and

never has been, true that misery, however profound, need hide our Father from His children, or that more comfortable circumstances have often opened up possibilities of faith. In tribulations and dangers men's hearts have certainly risen to heaven, and to a Heavenly Father, as freely as in comfort and security; but what it seems to me has been allowed to cloud men's faith, and to wrap their hearts in unbelief, and to embitter their hope and blind their eyes, has been our cowardice in defending them, our selfish exclusion of them from a share in our good things, our indifference to their sorrow, and that most of all when these mean impulses have been coupled with words of religion. And therefore this age has, with an impulse which seems to me in the main to be a true one, said—"Set these hovels right, cleanse these rivers, add to the joy and comfort of the people, show by all your sacrifices that you mean what you tell us you believe." And large numbers of those who in other ages would have set themselves to the teaching of spiritual truths are now busy about tangible things. Perhaps in the whirl of them and the worry of them we a little forget our privilege of pause to hear the music of God's harmony in His word, which plays on below the jarring sounds, even though deep down we may be far from unconscious of it. In spite, however, of the imperative call upon us to try to put into the actual world what of order we may, and to show our faith by our works, and not to postpone all thought of blessing to the further shore, where alone it can be perfectly fulfilled, there remain among us, thank God, the teachers by the word; and rich and full are the blessings they bring when their words enter the heart, for, however much men may ask us to show our sincerity by action, and by gift of tangible things, there is no visible thing that can compare with the veritable sight by the spiritual eye of a Father reigning over His earth, and of what He is as shown in our Lord.

As Browning says, what we are asked for is—

"Not the milk left in the cup,  
Not the lamp while they are sleeping,  
Not the little cloak hung up  
While the coat's in daily keeping,  
But a place in ragged schools,  
Where the victims may to-morrow  
Learn, by gentle words and looks,  
Just the uses of their sorrow."

The plea reaches us to—

"Put a thought beneath the rags  
To ennoble the heart's struggle."

If we can do this, no other gift is so great, for it is not the removal of pain, but the sight of its meaning. It is not the physical comfort, but the noble and full life which is lived when God is all in all that human beings need in their earthly home here below. That, and that alone, is an ever fruitful and quite indestructible blessing.

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**Mrs. HICKS, Secretary, London Rope Makers' Union.**

THE subject appointed for me specially to-day is different from that you have been considering. It is a subject dealing with the social life of the people. It is positively necessary now that women of the working class should have means of making known their mode of living. The subject to which I have especially to address myself is, "The Industrial Condition of Women." It is a fact that the women of the working classes must work for their own living. Men, even of the artisan class, are now no longer able, as they were in former times, to maintain the women of their families. Girls, as soon as they are of age to leave school, have to enter upon the battle of life and fight for themselves. It is a disgrace to us as a Christian nation that the women who toil should have to build up the wealth of this nation, and to minister to the well-being of others should themselves live under conditions full of misery, suffering, and degradation. There is at the present time every need that we should make a stand against the growing system of commercialism that is blinding the eyes of employers more and more to the claims of common humanity. Let me illustrate that fact by facts which have come to my knowledge within the last few months, and within the last two years. At the commencement of this summer there was a strike of the women and girls who were employed at Pinks' jam factory. These women were driven to despair by having to face starvation, because they refused to accept a reduction proposed by their employer. That employer described the reduction as a re-adjustment of wages, but the employées argued that it was a reduction of wages and not a re-adjustment. You will understand their position when I tell you what these women had to do for the pittance that was granted them as wages, and I think you will say that they were in the right in holding out, and not accepting a reduction.

Many of you buy at the stores 3 lbs., or 2 lbs., or 1 lb. jars of jam, but in each case the weight of the jar is about half the weight of the jam, so that a 3 lb. jar when filled really weighs 4½ lbs., and a 2 lb. jar 3 lbs., and so on. These girls have to take out the jam, fill the jars, label them, tie them down, and put them upon trays, there being as many as fifteen 3 lb. jars, each weighing 4½ lbs., really upon one tray. These girls have to lift that tray, containing these fifteen jars, and carry it about fifteen yards, catching the tray upon the hip and breast in order that they may stack it upon the pile of jars which is being accumulated. They have to keep on doing that continually. The number of 1 lb. jars upon a tray is thirty, which comes to about 50 lbs. to one tray. These girls have to do this work—for how much, do you think? 8d. per hundred jars. The employer said that 8d. a hundred would not do, but that he would pay 9d. a gross, which meant that they would have to carry forty-four more jars for a penny. He said that that was not a reduction, but a re-adjustment; but the women found that it would make a difference of 2s. or 2s. 6d. per week in their wages; and they said that while they could live on the present terms on which they worked, they could not, to use their own expression, "work their hearts out of them for 15s. a week." That is the sum they earn in the good times, but in the bad times it is 6s., 7s., or 8s. per week, and many weeks nothing. The

women, when they refused, were subjected to a great deal of abuse from the foreman for their laziness. If they break a jar they have to pay the cost price of it, including the cost price of the jam, which they do not receive, but which is taken back to the refining boilers, and served in other jars to the consumer; the employer thus getting a profit on the jam for which the woman who had broken the jar had already paid out of her earnings.

Let me come to other workers. Not long ago, walking down a side road, I came across a number of girls grouped together. As I was coming up I heard one say, "I wish someone would do something for us;" and I said, "What are you?" I ascertained that they were girls employed to fix coloured capsules on wine and whisky bottles. It is an unhealthy occupation, and one of them said, "We ought to have milk for the green capsules, but we do not get it." I believed there was an Act of Parliament, or some sanitary arrangement, that they were to have milk in doing that work, because the green labels are poisonous. The girl took me down into a quiet street, where she showed me her chest, which was stained with various colours produced by the nature of her employment. It was evident that the girl, if she continued in her employment long, would suffer from disease of the chest, which is solely due to the cause which I have described, but there was no help for it. We tried what we could do, and I found there was no Act of Parliament that could touch anything like that.

Then, again, you come to the factories where machinery is used. I know the way they are treated there. We hear of the Employers' Liability Act, but it is a farce as far as women are concerned. At a rope-making factory, a girl who was employed was struck by the machinery. One of the bolts flew and struck her. The blow was not sufficient to do her any vital injury, but it shook her nerves, the jolting of the machinery having frightened her. She fainted, and fell opposite the machine. The foreman came along and saw her, but as there was no blood he thought she would get better directly. The other women employed there put some jute under her head, and left her, as they were not allowed to leave their work and lose time. For nearly three-quarters of an hour that girl lay in an unconscious state. The women pointed out to the foreman her condition, and he consented that she should be taken into the office, still in an unconscious state. They waited another quarter of an hour, and, as she still did not recover, they sent for a doctor, and when he came she was dead. Her life might have been saved if she had been attended to at once. Her death was due to shock. The owner of the rope factory disclaimed all responsibility in the matter. The girl had been without a father; her mother and brother had to go and take away their dead; and the employer refused to give one shilling towards the funeral, and stopped her wages from the time the accident happened.

That is the condition under which some women are working. I will give you another instance. A woman was struck on the arm, which was fractured in two places. She went to the London Hospital, and had her arm dressed, and returned to work. She asked what was going to be done for her. They told her she could do odd jobs, and have what she earned. This lasted for six weeks, until the doctor of the hospital sent a letter to her employer, stating that it was dangerous for her to continue



working, as erysipelas might set in. This letter had been given to the woman, or shown by her to her employer, and he said, "Well, you are no use here. You can do no work; so you can go home." She was injured and helpless with her broken limb. She asked what he was going to do for her, and his reply was, "Oh, you can go away." We afterwards found her dying of starvation. Mrs. Corrie Grant, whom you perhaps know by name, saw this woman was dying, and she wrote to the employer, asking whether he could do anything, and he refused. The law could not compel him, because the time had gone by.

There are plenty of other cases. There is a large factory in Regent Street where the inspector gave orders that ventilators should be put into the windows, that the girls might not be compelled, in order to diminish the extreme heat of the workshop, to open the windows, thereby causing a draught, which frequently resulted in bronchitis and other chest diseases. There are about forty girls in that workshop or room, and they all have to work in the hot atmosphere or submit to the alternative of draughts by opening the window at each end to obtain fresh air. Though the inspector gave orders that these ventilators were to be put into the window panes, two years have elapsed, and the work has not yet been done, nor has the inspector again visited the place to see that the orders which he gave have been fulfilled. These are the conditions under which women have to work; many work from six in the morning until half-past five at night.

One more instance I can call to mind at the present time; it is that of a poor woman of seventy years of age, who was one of a number who struck in a most determined manner for a rise of wages some years ago. That poor old woman is still working. For several years she has been maintaining a blind husband. When I saw her a fortnight ago, I saw from her face that she was suffering, and almost helpless with despair. I asked her how she was, and she said that her old man had gone at last; and when I tried to condole with her and express my sorrow, she said she did not mind if she only lived long enough to earn money enough to pay his funeral expenses. That old woman is working now to pay off a debt of £2 10s. incurred in burying her husband, whom she had maintained for years in a condition of blindness and helplessness. All she desired was that she might live to honestly defray the debt she had incurred to bury him. I wish I had the eloquence of a Wilberforce or a Farrar, that I might make my words burn into your hearts as they burn in mine. How I wish I could show you the condition of the women in the East End of London—how they work; how they slave in misery and degradation. It is in that condition of life that girls are growing up to be women.

The Archbishop of Canterbury said yesterday that "character, and not knowledge, should be the honour of a nation." What can these women, surrounded by these conditions, with all their helplessness, do to improve their character. They must depend upon something being done for them. They cannot help themselves, and that is why to-day I have taken this phase of the labour movement, because I know the workers among women are so helpless; and it seems to me that no Christian assemblage can be perfect unless it does something to alter the condition of these sisters.

Miss CLEMENTINA BLACK, Hon. Sec. Women's Trades Union Association.

I AM very glad to be here to-day, because I feel so very strongly, what I think some of my working-class friends hardly feel, that the labour problem is not a class, but a national problem; that it is not a problem that concerns only the working-people themselves, but that there is not one of us who is not mixed up in it, and taking part in the evils that we complain of. It is impossible for any member of a nation to be free from concern about the position of those workers whose work helps to profit the nation, who work to produce everything that we eat and everything that we wear. We are all concerned in the labour problem, because we are all partakers in the things paid for to the wage earners. I think that the middle classes are sometimes rather unjustly judged in this matter. It is not very easy for anyone who is not personally concerned with wage-work to know the conditions of wage-work. What is really wanted is more light, more real knowledge of how things stand, and, as a consequence of that knowledge, a public opinion capable of righting the evils. I feel certain that if the things which Mrs. Hicks and myself see daily could be brought home to every woman in England, they would not last six months. Want of knowledge is what is the matter; and that is why I think that those of us who work only among working-people in this fight are in great error in not taking every opportunity to bring this question before the upper and middle classes. I am not quite sure whether it is not even more important that those who are not themselves wage-workers should have an opportunity of hearing these things, than that the workers themselves should have an opportunity of hearing how to right them. I will not go into the question whether it is desirable that women should work in factories or workshops, for it would be useless to do so. We may differ upon that point; but, short of a social revolution, it is impossible, at the present time, but that a considerable proportion of women should have to work. Now, if they have to work, surely, in a Christian land, it will not be denied that they should be fairly paid for such work. In another assembly than this I might rather take up the economic side of the matter; to you it is surely enough to say shortly that nothing can be more opposite to the spirit of Christianity than that women or men should be working hard for the benefit of the community, and should not be paid enough to live decent, cleanly, and healthful lives. I believe also that the economical side of the question is quite as disastrous. Any person who professes to believe Christianity, and at the same time believes that the laws of the world are so arranged that it is impossible that people shall be fairly paid, are, whatever may be their professions, practical atheists. They believe on one side of their minds in a law of justice, and on the other side they declare practically that that law cannot be worked. The fact is—the lamentable fact—that a large proportion of working-women in England are under-paid. When I say under-paid, I mean this: that they do not receive for their work enough to live healthful lives, to be clothed, lodged, and fed properly, and to be enabled to make provision for their old age. I am speaking carefully. I am very anxious not to exaggerate when I say that I am firmly convinced that what I state is true. The larger

number of women working for wages in England do not receive for their work enough to live decent, healthful lives in the true sense of the word, and do not receive sufficient to make provision for old age.

Probably you know the figures which bear upon this subject collected by Mr. Charles Booth, which go to show that rather more than half the women of England over sixty die paupers. That is simply because the women of England in large numbers are not paid enough to support them healthfully all their lives. I want to say this over and over again to bring it home to you, and to the heart of every Christian person. We are all mixed up in this question, and we cannot escape from it. It is our duty to put it right, and I believe we all wish to put it right. I believe that no person who knows the facts could do other than wish that the present state of things would be altered. How are we to do this? Can any one of you say that the clothes that you now wear are honestly come by? Can any of you say that they were produced under conditions which are reasonable? How is an alteration to be effected? Can it be done by combination of the workers? Some of you may have strong prejudice against trade unions, and perhaps you will forgive me for saying that your prejudices are probably in exact proportion to your ignorance of trade unions. What is a trade union? It is a combination of persons working in any trade for the purpose of improving their conditions, and of increasing their rate of pay. We will take the increase of the rate of pay as the main aim of their combination; and to those who have prejudices upon the question, I would point out that there is existing, and has long existed, a very successful union, which has excited no prejudice—I refer to the union of medical men. Every member of that trade union must take a certain rate of payment, and, if we call in a man who is not a member of the union, so that we may pay less, that man becomes subject to the law, and may be fined, or even imprisoned. That is a union of a very successful and powerful character, which fixes the fees to be paid by those entering the profession, and also the fees to be paid by customers. I am anxious you should consider the working of the union, because class prejudices do not obtain with regard to it as they do with regard to other trade unions. I am sure there are some of you who think trade unions wicked things, because they encourage strikes. Trade unions do not encourage strikes. That is one of the delusions. One object of a trade union is to prevent strikes. Doctors do not have to strike, because they have the law on their side. It is not the strong union which has to strike; it is the weak, unorganized workers, who have no other means. I have seen too many strikes willingly to bring about another. I think that no person who has seen a strike from inside will differ from me. At the same time we know that war is a very sad thing, yet there are occasions when war is certainly justifiable; so there are times when a strike is a duty on the part of those who take part in it. Strikes are things which I hope will die out in time. A strike is a clumsy, wasteful, and injurious method of obtaining justice, but sometimes it is the only way. And let me remind you who it was that said, "I come not to bring peace, but the sword." Those who strive for the right have sometimes to be ready for the fight, because they have not yet come to the point when justice is strong enough to prevail. We

all hope to come to that point, but in the meantime it must be recognized as a fact that the stronger unions tend distinctly to prevent strikes. A strong union prevents such strikes as are unnecessary. Few people are aware of the inordinate number of useless and unsuccessful strikes which occur among the unorganized working-women in the East End of London. There is, it is no exaggeration to say, a little useless strike about every three weeks or so among some women-workers or other in the East End of London, strikes that might be avoided were they properly organized, and could they have their case, through their organization, represented in the public newspapers. It is the strong trade unions which prevent these foolish and unnecessary strikes, and that is one reason why we should desire to see unions. Again, no doubt you think unions interfere with individual liberty. That is true. But they do not interfere with individual liberty one half as much as individual liberty is interfered with by the action of what we call, very humorously, free competition. When women work long hours for low pay, do you suppose they do it out of choice? Surely the women who work under the conditions which Mrs. Hicks has described for eighteen hours a day, at a wage of 8s. or 9s. per week, have not their liberty. A certain amount of infringement of liberty is the price we pay for living in a community of any sort, and a certain amount we have to sacrifice to every kind of advance. It should be noted that those workers who promote trade unions are not engaged in working for themselves alone, but in endeavouring to improve the condition of others. They have to work on dull committees. They have to try to draw in others; and they have to do all the work which is necessary to promote the spread of the principle of unionism among their fellow-workers at the end of their own long day. We may think that humanity gets very bad sometimes; but the humanity which is ready to sacrifice time and trouble—and for people who have worked hard all day to give up their few hours of leisure, when they are fatigued and ready for rest, means a very great sacrifice indeed; a much greater sacrifice than can be felt by those of us who are fortunately placed, and who have not to go regularly every day to work—for the sake of helping others to be a little better off, is a humanity to be proud of. These are citizens really worth having in a nation, and who spread abroad in that way the essence and spirit of Christianity. They fight for the common advance of all. They enter upon the work which is for the good of all, and they become devoted to it. No one who knew these workers before the establishment of their union can deny that since the creation of their organization they have gained in self-respect and in their sense of duty. That sense of duty has been developed to a singular extent. The trade union in its essence is a social movement. It is not a movement of creed or doctrine, but it *is* a movement whose spirit is essentially Christian. The real question we have to ask ourselves in considering trade unions—I hope no one will consider me irreverent in saying so—is this: whether, if Jesus Christ were a working carpenter in England, He would or would not be paying His shilling a week to His trade union. That is a real question to put before you; and unless we can make our religion thus touch the problems of daily life around us, it is a religion that does no real good to our neighbours. You may think that what I talk of is a matter for workers solely. You may ask how the middle

class and better-off class can help? The reply which I give would be "By encouraging always, and by managing never." If you manage a trade union it is dead. It must be a combination of workpeople; and those who are better off can only help by encouraging working-women by showing them proper methods of proceeding, and by helping them in practical ways, such as looking over their books, and promoting their organization in different localities, and developing among them the spirit of association and of courage. I have not time now to go further into this question, as my limit has expired, but should any friends in the meeting desire information on any point connected with this question, I shall be very glad to answer them to the best of my power if they will communicate with me.

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MISS E. A. TOURNIER, 35, Oakley Crescent, Chelsea,  
London, S.W.

I WISH I knew how much you all know of this co-operative movement already, so that I might begin at exactly the right place to go forward; but I do not see how I can attain this knowledge. I will try, however, to minimise your sufferings down to the least possible extent in this respect.

The precise title of the subject this meeting is at present considering is, "The Industrial Conditions of Women." And this has been divided into two, for the purpose of drawing attention to two leading and powerful means at work to-day, which are calculated to help in improving the industrial condition of women. Miss Clementina Black has ably shown you how the first means—the association or trade union movement—is helping to that end; and I am now to show how the second means—the co-operative movement—is helping to that end.

At first thought it would appear that the only point which differentiates the work of women under trade union conditions and co-operative conditions is, that in the one case the woman works for a known wage, and leaves the directorate, with its risks and profits, to be taken by others; and in the other case the woman works for an unfixed wage, by sharing the risks and profits of the directorate.

I do not think it would be difficult for me to show that female labour, equally with male labour, benefits greatly by the adoption of this latter course, not only as regards the mere money profit to the worker, but as regards quality of goods turned out and moral improvement all round. But if I spent my allotted time this way, I should be stating a very narrow and one-sided case on behalf of a great movement which is trying to do for women very much more than that.

The great mass of women workers are not simply workers for bread; they have most of them, in addition, to attend to households, and are the buyers for households. Consequently they are not simply sellers of work, but buyers of it; so that to try to increase her wage, and to improve the factory or other conditions, in the midst of which she has to earn it, is only doing a half good to her if you do not also try to increase the amounts that wage can buy, and improve their qualities, so as to give her better health and working powers.

And it is these things that the co-operative movement is already doing for many thousands of women to-day. It is, therefore, to the co-operative movement in *its entirety* to which I must draw your attention, if I am to be logically within the programme set for me. And, to start with, although my little twenty minutes are running away far too quickly to suit me, I feel I cannot resist first giving a few moments to the past of that movement.

We all feel more trust and sympathy in any movement when it is found to date its origin far back in the past, and can give records of battles braved and storms well borne.

Of course I am not now speaking, and do not intend to speak, of such entirely misnamed affairs like the Army and Navy (so-called) Co-operative Stores, and other gigantic shops of that type. These have nothing to do with the genuine co-operative movement. They are concerns run neither for the benefit of the hands that make things, nor the hands that serve them over the counter; nor yet, in reality, the customers that buy them. They are affairs no more co-operative than cellulose is a tree.

True co-operation is something much more Christian; something much more beneficial and ennobling to *all* parties concerned, both to the capitalist, the worker, the distributor, and the consumer.

The history of the true co-operative movement is simply the history of an endeavour to engraft Christianity into our industrial and commercial every-day life. The world's way in all things in daily life has been, and still is, competition. The Christian's protest has always been for co-operation; but it was only now and then, as the centuries rolled past, that some soul more clear-seeing than his fellows, groped towards the discovery of anything like practicable and workable methods that could make it possible for the attaining of actuality to that protest. After many ages of thought and of suffering from the competitive system of this world, humanity slowly arrived at a more developed and rational conception of the co-operative idea.

In an embryonic way, different hints of it first began to appear in that series of books which have tried to fancy ideal states of society. Sir Thomas More's "Utopia," in the fifteenth century, for instance; Bacon's "New Atlantis," in the sixteenth; Campanella's "City of the Sun," a few years later; and, early in the seventeenth century, Harrington's "Oceana." These writers, like all men who happen to have been nobler and more enlightened than the noble and enlightened of their day, suffered, as usual, in consequence, especially Campanella, who was confined in a dungeon twenty-seven years, tried five times, and tortured seven.

From the seventeenth century the movement began to merge tentatively out of abstractions into practical shapes. This period is from Bellars (a Quaker) to Fourier (a Frenchman), of whom Godin was a disciple (who founded the now flourishing co-operative community at Guise known as the "Familistère.")

To describe the truly wonderful achievement of the co-operative movement at Guise would take a paper in itself, and I want the remainder of this one for other things. The object of a paper of this sort can obviously be alone confined to the limited and superficial purpose of an endeavour to *create an appetite for the subject of the*

*co-operative movement in those who have it not.* When once the appetite is created for a study of this subject, I can safely leave the rest to the persuasive eloquence of the already existing fruits of this movement, which the student will find ready to her hands.

And if, after discovering what such co-operative factories as the Hebden Bridge Fustian Manufacturies are doing to-day, and what such distributive stores as those at Rochdale, Bolton, Burnley, Sheerness, Folkestone, Woolwich, and hundreds of others are doing to-day, you turn to the period in the building up of these things, when such men as Canon Kingsley and Maurice were taking a hand at it, I am sure you will not fail to sincerely regret that this grand and eminently rational, practical, and temperate movement for the social happiness and contentment of the masses, has not long since had extended to it a hearty and unanimous helping hand from the Church of Christ.

For see what this movement does. Everybody alive to-day, who has a feeling heart and an educated head, is agreed that the privileges and blessings of this world, both in its material and intellectual side, should be more equally distributed; and further, that the old, utterly faulty, though well-meant, notion, that this sad inequality in the distribution of the blessings of life should be righted by the rich giving out of their abundance to the poor, must of necessity fail in this object.

For centuries there has not been a country in existence in which the rich have out of their abundance given so much to the poor as England, and to-day there is no country in existence in which there are so many paupers. These things being so, we find that this co-operative movement is the only idea yet heard of that has been able to put into execution a method—a practical, rational, workable method—that does, by the *actual showing of actual fruits to-day*, attain that object with thoroughness, and with safety to the common weal.

The co-operative idea starts with the postulate that any person who gets money by any agency work, which could be dispensed with without detriment to the ultimate object to be attained, is a person who is a cause of poverty. Thus, supposing you are in want of a pair of shoes. The man who rears, and the man who tans the leather, is entitled to an equitable share of what you pay for those shoes, but not the man who, by virtue of his superior cunning, buys up that leather in order to rig the leather market. Then, again, the man who cuts and sews that leather, and the men who invented, made, and managed the machinery that helped the man to cut and sew the leather, are entitled to their share in what you pay for those shoes; and likewise the young fellow or girl who helps you to try them on and to find the particular pair to suit your peace of mind; but not the man who simply puts them behind a big plate-glass window and demoralizes you by letting you have that pair of shoes without demanding of you cash down for them.

Now, it is the function of the co-operative idea to weed out these intervening individuals that at present swarm in every transaction of life, and further to see that every man who can show claim to having given real help, either intellectual or manual, in the production of any article or want of civilization, shall participate in the profit obtained by its ultimate sale.

The extent to which this has already been achieved by co-operators in this country is simply startling to any who comes fresh to the inquiry. There are at present going on, on this principle, watch factories at Coventry, ironworks at Keighley, padlock works at Walsall, mat makers at Long Melford, printing works in London, Manchester, Edinburgh and Newcastle; boot-making concerns at Leicester, Wollaston, and other places; bookbinding in Bloomsbury; worsted at Bradford; hosiery at Leicester, etc.

Of course there have been failures. A movement that endeavours to make such a drastic change in all our preconceived ideas of business and general transactions in commodities must necessarily go through many trials, both by reason of the inexperienced errors of true friends, and the cupidity of false ones. But tangible results are incontestable, and tangible results can be pointed to.

I referred just now to the fustian factory at Hebden Bridge. This is a striking as well as a typical example. It started in 1870. Its origin came about through a man who sank down dead under a heavy load of cloth he had to carry. A collection was made amongst his comrades to defray the cost of a funeral, and the men (who had been brought together by this act of common brotherhood) determined to go on together in their bitter struggle to get a living. To quote Joseph Greenwood, the present manager: "The keen adversity through which we young men had to struggle to provide the bare necessities for those dependent upon us, was rendered all the more acute by the uncertainty of our being able to stave off hunger. But there was one advantage of adversity—it brought us closer together. This plucky little band of about thirty began to put by their threepence a week. When sufficient funds were raised, they rented a small room to hold their stock of fustian. The members would cut the fustian at home after their day's work was done, and some of their number would be appointed to drudge round to the workmen's stores on the country side with the completed piece. Their business was not only to sell the fustian, but to persuade their customers to take shares in the little society. It was up-hill work, but it was work fostered by a living unity of aim and a happy goal to fight for; and it consequently prospered. At last an estate, costing more than £5,000, was acquired, and on it warehouses and workmen's cottages have been erected—making quite a model mill." Two hundred men and women find employment in it, and I can personally testify that they are as happy a community of workers as one can wish to see.

Thus far, my details given have been concerning the success of the co-operative principle when applied to the makers of things.

As regards the distribution of things on this same principle, that also can show tangible evidence as being both possible and a success. Retail stores, conducted on the true co-operative principle, are to be found now dotted over the whole of the United Kingdom. Some of them are able to distribute to all concerned an annual profit of 20 per cent. on the turnover, and others only manage to pay their way; and, of course, from time to time, some go bankrupt. But here, again, the successful survivals predominate and prove the point.

The main supplies for these retail distributive stores come from large co-operative wholesale stores—one in London, another in Manchester,



another in Glasgow. These are such undeniable successes, from whatever point you look at them, that they demand a reference here. Here are some of their figures for the past year:—

Received for goods sold during the year 1891 ... £48,571,786

Total net profit made during the year 1891 ... 4,774,030

Number of members ... 1,191,369

Their annual report is a thick, closely-printed volume of over 500 pages. It is full of dry facts and figures, but I can assure you that the reading of it is absolutely interesting, by reason of the utterly different *tone* of the whole affair as contrasted with the way we have become accustomed to see trade statements put by traders under the competitive system. I open the book at random, and find myself in the biscuits and sweets department.

Doctors tell us, and every thinking man or woman is aware of the fact, that everything we eat and drink, short of a nut and a raw apple, is more or less adulterated by the craft and subtlety of the competitive trader.

This is how the case for the co-operative biscuits and sweets is put: "This branch has been established eighteen years. By the rules of the society the custom of the private trader is refused, and none but registered co-operative societies are supplied. Nearly all the flour used is of co-operative manufacture. We boil the best sugar—all cane; use only vegetable colouring matter, all of which is perfectly harmless. We challenge analysis." I go on and find: "Jams, jellies, and marmalade made of the best fruit procurable; cane sugar used exclusively."

I again open the book at random, and find myself at dry soap. I learn that in dry soap it is usual to introduce cheap ingredients, which have no cleaning properties, and only serve to increase the bulk and the weight, thus catching the unwary by giving them for their money a *large packet of small value*. "We use no ingredients which have no cleaning properties. Our article has recently been subjected to the test of analysis by the Manchester City Analyst, and his figures show that for detergent value or cleaning power, our dry soap powder stands in front, when compared with the analysis of three other samples from makers of the highest repute and longest standing."

I go on and find the society possesses a fleet of six magnificent modern steamers that do their own importing. And so on.

Another very striking feature of this movement is the way the propaganda work is done. There is no appeal to the charitable public for funds to hire halls and lecturers and magic lanterns, in order to drum up recruits. Nor is one penny of money ever squandered in advertisement appeals in the newspapers, or any such artificial ways ever resorted to of booming the idea. Each store usually sets aside 2½ per cent. of the profits for educational work, and think any progress got by other means is not worth having.

In the work of educational propagation of the co-operative idea, I think women may justly claim to have borne an honourable share; and nine years ago there was started a special company of women for that special purpose, called the "Women's Co-operative Guild." Last July, at Manchester, it held its first congressional festival to commemorate the establishment of the one hundredth branch of the guild, and it now numbers over 4,000 genuine members.

We had a grand time in Manchester. The proceedings extended over two days. The delegates and visitors numbered between 200 and 300 women. They came from north, south, east, and west, reaching to a periphery on one side of Plymouth, Bristol, Hastings, etc., and of far Scotland on the other.

I think I may safely say this much in praise of the guild—that it is a grand one for rousing the dormant intellect and ripening the intellectual faculties of women; for the guild firmly believes that the more intelligent a woman is, the more enthusiastic she will become in the co-operative movement.

Of this guild I have been elected president for the current year, and I conclude that is why it occurs that I have been invited to speak to-day at the Church Congress. Our General Secretary is Miss Llewelyn Davies, of Kirkby Lonsdale.

In conclusion, I naturally do not want to lose this golden opportunity of giving a warm and hearty word for this guild.

The various phases of our activity are too numerous to tell here, but they are detailed in our annual report, which I very earnestly ask you to procure and to read. Frankly (as I said at Manchester), I can scarcely conceive of any woman with a brain to think and a heart to feel, who can read that report through without being impelled to join us and lend a helping hand in the great work we are doing. It seems to me that the co-operative movement is the only way out of this horrible problem of poverty and squalor that meets you at every turn, until the heart is utterly sick. We women of the guild appeal to every woman in the land to come forward and contribute her share of effort in the *dispelling*—not simply alleviating, which has been hitherto the portion assigned as fitted to her—of misery, injustice, and pain and want from among us, Up to this century, the initial or dynamic part of the labour for these ends has mainly come from men. It is now for woman (who in the childhood of the world has been but a child) to prove that *she has grown up*; and that, although she may still retain a child's liking for pretty things, and a child's gentle ways and pure thoughts, she can unite with these the helpfulness of a logical brain and a more systematized and less wastefully spent energy.

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ON the face of it there is, perhaps, something invidious in addressing one's self to one particular class of persons, upon a subject which so directly bears upon religion and morals, as does the subject of Temperance.

It would be easy to convey more than one false impression. One might be supposed to imply, either that the class in question was especially prone to intoxication—sinners above all others—or, on the contrary, especially guiltless in the matter, and therefore free to lecture all other classes on the subject. But I need hardly explain that, in all we say, we desire simply to bring before the upper and middle classes their duties, not only to God and to each other, but to all ranks and sections of the community as well.

There can be no doubt that our duties, difficulties, temptations, snares, opportunities, powers of usefulness, methods of influence, vary immensely according to our positions in life ; and it follows from this, that we may do good by addressing ourselves, as we have been asked to do to-day, to those classes about which we may be expected to know most.

Time was, not so very long ago, when all the world would have put down a total abstainer as a rather dangerous lunatic, or at best an objectionable oddity. Those were the days when a royal duke, on hearing one of his guests ask for a glass of water, exclaimed in stronger language than you would care to hear, that he would allow no water-drinker at his table. I have quite lately been staying at a country house, where some stoutly-made, roomy old chairs are still in use, of which the framework of the seats is made in a deep curve, so as to save gentlemen from falling out of them after dinner. Most thankful may we be for the revolution (it is nothing less) which, within the last sixty years, has taken place in the habits of what is conventionally termed the "best society." Times are now altered. It would certainly be a mere pointless insult, now-a-days, to say of any tippler, "He is as drunk as a lord." A gentleman, even an officer, may give up wine with just as much freedom from remark as if he gave up pepper or mustard, and I have often seen water-drinkers at London dinner parties, who ran no risk of being sworn at by their host.

But, alas ! when we have said this, we are bound to look upon the darker side of the picture, and to acknowledge how much still needs correction, and, indeed, how much evil of a new sort is springing up, little observed, and hardly recognized, among us. In the old, heavy drinking days, excess among *ladies* was, to the best of my belief, absolutely unknown. Can we say as much to-day ? Is the word "Pick-me-up" known only among men ? Are "nips" at eleven a.m. or after dinner unheard of, or "B. and S.'s" never resorted to by ladies ? What is the precise nature of the refreshment mysteriously called "something hot," partaken of at bedtime ? I have heard of a young lady who could not get through the exertions of a London season without a "cordial" (*i.e.*, a dram), kept handy in a corner of her dressing box ; and I remember my amazement at tea, after an afternoon concert, when a lady beside me called for "white cup." In my innocence I supposed she had an artistic fancy for a white china tea-cup, but I found it was a glass of champagne cup that she was asking for.

At the risk of making a slight digression, I must here protest against a new, a *very* new fashion of young ladies (or old ones for the matter of that) accompanying gentlemen to the smoking room after dinner, and sharing, not only the cigars, but the spirits and water. It is not only on account of the spirits that this custom is objectionable, but I confine myself here to that one objection.

When we turn to quieter circles, customs of an equally bad or worse description are to be met with. A distinguished physician has told me of respectable elderly ladies living indoor lives in perhaps rather "stuffy" rooms, and without much occupation, sending for him to consult him, and revealing in perfect unconsciousness, by their own statement of their symptoms, a condition of alcoholism bordering on *delirium tremens*. A little questioning would elicit from the poor lady that when she got

up in the morning she was "all of a shake," and could not do "without a drop of something" the first thing. She had no appetite for breakfast unless she put another "drop" into her tea. About eleven o'clock she found "such a sinking" come over her that "a glass of something" was necessary. At dinner there must be a couple of glasses more, at tea the "drop" again, at supper another glass, and a bottle of "something" upstairs in case of the "sinking" coming on at night. Now the old lady would be sure to say, "Ah, the doctor has ordered me to take spirits for the good of my health." Perhaps he did, and in many cases he might be to blame; but if the truth were known, he very likely ordered a strictly-measured quantity to be taken at one meal in the day, for a week or a month. He would be shocked, indeed, to find how much had grown out of his careful prescription, and that the poor lady, whom he had hoped just to help through an illness, had fallen into the clutches of a frightful disease, a thousand times worse than any he may have cured her of.

One other medical point I will refer to. It is the reckless use of such drugs as chloral, chlorodyne, or morphia: edged tools that surely should be resorted to only for the most serious reasons, on most exceptional occasions. I make no apology for warning my hearers against these dangerous nostrums, excess in which is really only dram-drinking in another and perhaps even more deadly form.

I would next put in a protest against the habit, not confined to any one class, of giving stimulants to women after child-birth. This is a practice which the best physicians are agreed in setting their faces against. Of course, stimulants are necessary at such times in exceptional cases. The mistake is taking to them as a rule. In the case of poor women in a Convalescent Home the risk is run of sending them back to their (often) miserable homes with a taste for beer, either newly-awakened or created in them. They naturally miss the comforts they have been enjoying, of which the *one* thing easily come by is the beer. In the next place, there is the tipping of the nurse; a nearly certain result of beer being always "handy" when women are attended at their own homes. Mrs. Gamp is, I fear, not an altogether extinct species, and she is kept in existence by this bad custom.

I belong myself to the General Section of the Church of England Temperance Society, but there are departments of Total Abstinence work which I would urge upon all members alike. Two in particular I would mention. One, the formation of a Total Abstinence Branch in the Girls' Friendly Society. Knowing the manifold temptations with which girls in service, in factories, and in shops are surrounded, there can surely be little doubt as to the advantage of thus arming them against danger. If, along with this, something could be done to get wholesomer notions with regard to nourishing food into the girls' heads, we should improve their health all round.

My second suggestion is for far more energy in establishing Church Bands of Hope. They ought to flourish in every parish, whereas we see them left only too often in the hands of Dissenters. All honour to the sects for their great temperance work; they were beforehand with the Church, and have reaped their reward. None the less, it is for the Church zealously to care for her own little ones, while I think I may

claim for her that she runs *less* risk than do the sects of making total abstinence an equivalent for religion.

As to general advice upon the matter, I would remind you, and I would remind myself, of the duty that lies upon all Christian people, in all miseries and adversities, to bear one another's burdens, and to come to one another's rescue. Not that we are all of us called to give up our lives to the temperance crusade. It is in the course of ordinary social life that we may do our part, always, of course, by example, and sometimes by what is far more irksome to most of us, by precept. Without going at all out of our way, opportunities come to everyone, at times, of *speaking out*, with gentleness and tact, bravely overcoming English horror of "interference." Again, there is the duty of standing out against that abuse of hospitality which consists in encouraging *guests* to drink more than they ought. And cannot some of us help to brighten dull evenings, to supply wholesome entertainments? Have we *no* talents that can be used for such ends? Can we do nothing with music, readings, teaching, or even speechifying? Can we not help, in one way or the other, with money, with time, with pen, with voice?

Perhaps many of our audience are thinking all this while that we are preaching a great deal too much about outside duties. You may say, "Well, really, I don't see that it is any business of mine to run after all those things, I have my own home to see to." But if we believe in the holy link that binds us all together as members of Christ and children of God, can we dare to say that we have nothing to do with the sins and sorrows of the world around us?

I will, however, allow with all my heart that the duty of women, as heads of houses, does not only begin, but principally lies, at home. And so I would take the very words I have put into your mouths, and make *home* the text of what I have yet to say. In the first place, is it not well to begin by making up our minds as to our own drinking practices? I will not here venture to lay down the law about men, or about delicate women, or about aged people; but as to women in general, I can speak with more certainty; and it is my firm belief, founded on personal experience, that a healthy woman can do perfectly well without alcohol. She can be active both with head and hands, and can get through her daily work (with or without an eight hours' limitation), and can keep clear of influenza into the bargain, without the aid of stimulants. Why, then, should she resort to them at all?

In the next place, how valuable can a wife be, by putting sensible notions into her husband's head on this, as on every other subject. Very likely he has never been properly instructed on what may be called the A B C of medical science as to the use of alcohol; as for instance, the deadly harm it wreaks on an empty stomach, the mischief of "nips" between meals, or of the habit of drinking wine to spur the flagging brain or tired nerves. In addition, I need hardly say that the wife should see to the wholesome cooking and regular meals which are necessary to keep a busy man in working order, and which will prevent even the desire for alcoholic spurs and whips.

In the third place, I would plead most earnestly the duty of helping and encouraging servants in the matter of temperance. It is surely a sin to let things drift along anyhow in our own households, just from laziness, or mis-called good-nature, or unwillingness to go against

custom. The supplying servants with beer has, I hope, almost universally been superseded by giving them the equivalent in money instead ; and if, when we pay them their "beer money," we make it a text of a small sermon against *beer*, the money may learn to find its way into the Post-Office Savings' Bank. The shortest way, no doubt, of preventing the ceaseless flow of beer, is to have in the house no beer to flow ; but there is something to be said for good advice *versus* compulsion. An entire stop, however, should be put to the abominable practice of giving glasses of beer to all area visitors below, and glasses of wine to all drawing-room visitors above, stairs. Why *any* refreshment should be needed by an able-bodied friend who drops in between meals, or by a messenger who brings a note an hour after his dinner, is certainly a question hard to answer. But if either the friend or the messenger *does* appear to be in a state of exhaustion, why not have tea and coffee, biscuits or sandwiches going ?

I have kept to the last, among home duties, what is the most important of all—namely, our duty to our children. Here, thank God, we are met by none of the puzzles and disputes that affect other branches of the question ; for here all doctors are agreed. A child should never taste alcohol in any form whatever until he has done growing—(and then comes the time when you had better advise him not to begin ; why should he ?) The only exception should be by the doctor's orders.

We should bring up the children free from all absurd notions of wine being a treat, a proper way of celebrating birthdays, or Christmas, or family events. What is the sense of either eating or drinking more than is good for us, because it is Christmas, or New Year, or because somebody is born or somebody is dead ? There can be all due celebration of home holidays, all reasonable good cheer, surely, without gluttony or excess ; there can be all the sweet mirth of happy childhood—the purest thing that is to be seen in this fallen world—without any degrading pleasures.

There is in these days too much reaction from the old strict discipline—often, I quite allow, cruel and excessive—to which children used to be subjected. The danger now is of making them soft and selfish. While we make their lives bright, and surround them with love, let us not forget to teach them the great Christian duty of self-sacrifice ; let us arouse in them the noble desire to go into God's battle—to bear something, to brave something, to give up something, for Him. There is courage latent in every Christian child's heart, which will awake if you appeal to it. Teach them to deny themselves in little things for the sake of helping others—to put up with little privations—to be content with plain food—to endure hardness. Let them see by our own example that self should be thought of last, not first ; and that, if by giving up indulgences of any kind we can do good to our fellows, we should be ready to do it gladly, after the pattern of Christ and His Apostles.

If the victors of Waterloo were trained in the playing-fields of Eton, the victors in a nobler contest can be trained in the homes of England. God help us all to strive together for these great ends.

HER GRACE THE DUCHESS OF BEDFORD.

THE subject allotted to me has received a long and somewhat formidable title. I propose, however, to consider it in one special aspect, namely, *the practical wisdom of total abstinence from a personal point of view.*

I suppose that these few words (which I speak with the greatest diffidence, but, nevertheless, with the most earnest conviction) are addressed to two classes of hearers. I may be speaking to some who are chiefly occupied with the duties of home life, the care of children, or the claims of society, who, although often actively interested in benevolent schemes, are not called upon to enter into close contact with the poorer classes. Among these, I venture to think, may be some persons who, feeling themselves unfitted for such work, are somewhat weary of the philanthropy which is in vogue at the present day. It is natural, however, to suppose that the greater proportion of those present are pledged to various and arduous forms of Christian work, and that the point of view of the worker is widely different to that of the non-worker. Be this as it may, I am going to assume a three-fold classification, under which all must find a place. First, those who, having given full attention to the subject of total abstinence, have dismissed it, having formed adverse conclusions; secondly, those who having given no attention to it, have followed the same course; and thirdly, those who have already adopted the practice.

Addressing myself in the first place to the second class, those, namely, whose attention not having been arrested by the subject have naturally taken no definite step in connection with it, I should like to state clearly that I attach no sort of blame to their indifference. They are neutral because they are uninterested. It cannot, they think, affect them, although they readily admit that total abstinence is beneficial to the lower orders. But that, they say, is a question for the masses, not for them. The subject is, as far as they have encountered it in newspapers and magazine articles, singularly unattractive to cultivated minds, and it is rapidly effaced from their mental horizon. It is at this point that I venture to join issue with those who regard the matter in this light.

I maintain that the special characteristic of a cultivated mind is that breadth of view which seeks to range beyond those topics which lie close to its vision, by reason of mental affinity, and to understand the subjects which are observed to be exercising an absorbing influence over minds of a differing type to its own. If in any true sense we are or aim to be "breathing thoughtful breath," we must perceive that a matter of this moment cannot be dismissed with the simple assertion that it fails to interest us. If we are at all conversant with the characteristics of the age we live in, its intellectual movements, and its chief currents of thought, we cannot fail to see the bearing of this question on many others which occupy, and, indeed, engross our minds. This question of total abstinence has a national aspect, and it is being nobly dealt with by competent thinkers; but it has a personal aspect as well.

Is it not a fact that the demand made by the exigencies of modern life upon our nerve-power is producing maladies and discomforts which

are tormenting this generation in ways too numerous to mention? The enormous number of impressions which are daily conveyed by the nerves to the brain, the wear and tear of constant locomotion, the perpetual demands of social life which admit of no refusal—all these things are bringing forth a corresponding requirement, that of incessant stimulation in some form or another. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say of those who live in large towns that everyone is exhausted, everyone needs restoratives, and that many people take them. It seems only natural and wise (however erroneous it is in reality) to endeavour to supply the strength that is lacking, for a sensitive organization appears to need support, and tired nerves crave for a fillip, and everything seems to point to the fact that as life has been taken out, so life must be put in.

Any careful thinker, however, will perceive that either this is a true argument—the argument, namely, that the exhausted nerves must be recruited by stimulant (and, if so, it justifies a great deal which is on the borderland of the utmost danger)—or it is a worthless one. If we seriously adopt this argument, we must admit that it affords very slight protection against temptation, *especially in cases of alcoholic heredity*, and yet to use it without conviction is a responsibility of the gravest kind.

I only wish at this moment to indicate this dilemma, as I hope to return to it when speaking to workers as such. I should like now to concentrate the attention of non-workers on the peculiar characteristic of the age, a characteristic from which they may not be exempt—that of expenditure of nervous force at an extravagant rate. If we admit that it is so, and that we ourselves are not wholly unaffected by it, then we are confronted with the fact that numbers of persons attempt to restore the equilibrium of the over-strained nerves by the use of alcohol and narcotics, which for the time being act as stimulants, and are followed by the most deleterious effects.

Now, having admitted that we are not personally exempt from the liability to such temptation by reason of some measure at least of the disorder it seeks to remedy, is there no personal aspect to the duty of taking a definite step which shall place a barrier between that danger and ourselves?

The existence of this difficulty—the difficulty of meeting the extraordinary demands of modern life with an ordinary stock of strength—should make us realize that some special cultivation should be given to the powers of self-control, the quality which above all others is needed, if women are to reach the full development towards which so many noble aspirations are tending at the present time. It is self-mastery which we each need to acquire, the absolute control of the nerves, the even balance of the temper, the reserve of power, which, invaluable in emergencies, is still more needed in the friction of daily life. This state of equilibrium, so necessary and so rare, is not by any means antagonistic to the finer sensibilities. It would be easy to prove that in most cases, where fine and highly sensitive faculties were called into play, its absence was a sensible loss. It seems quite clear that it is increasingly a duty to keep steady nerves, serviceable nerves, nerves with a quality of resistance in them, and this is, nevertheless, compatible with



the most sensitive organization. There is, therefore, a distinct connection between the practice which of all others serves this end, and that development of the finer qualities of the character which all earnest spirits desire to experience. I maintain that this practice is not a fad or a fancy, or a mere bit of self-immolation in response to an enthusiastic appeal, but that it is part of a sincere effort to resist dangerous tendencies which invade every fibre of one's being in various directions, suggesting at every turn that it is useless and absurd to endure anything, however trivial, which may produce a moment's discomfort, adopting the indiscriminate use of anæsthetics, lest pain, even of the most endurable kind, should be felt—impatient of even an hour's exhaustion ; intolerant of any kind of hardship. Nor are these the only manifestations of the special tendencies of which I am thinking. There is the craving for excitement, the desire for sensation, the constant demand for intense emotions—who does not recognize these tendencies in literature, in art, and in social life ? Asceticism will not protect us, for reaction follows and discounts its work, but a thoughtful perception of dangers will surround us with safeguards.

It is probable, however, that we are all in full agreement on the need of strict self-government, while we still differ as to the value of total abstinence.

Many people urge that moderation is a higher form of self-control than abstinence, and are prepared to endorse all that has been said with this proviso.

Although the proposition is reasonable enough from a general point of view, I take exception to it in the present connection for three reasons :—

(1) Moderation is a very elastic term. It can have no precisely defined meaning, especially when applied to this question, and it is a purely relative term. It is therefore impossible to use the term *moderation* in direct antithesis to the term *abstinence*, as the one has a relative, and the other an absolute meaning. The results I have mentioned of the practice of total abstinence are physiological facts ; such results may be obtained in equal degree by those who use a very small measure of alcohol, but the element of uncertainty is present (beyond a doubt) in the second case, and absent in the first. I argue in favour of the exclusion of uncertainty, as far as our own action can effect this object. I think the truth is that moderation is a *different* form of self-control, but that it does not meet the case we are considering in the same way as abstinence. For—

(2) We must not lose sight of the fact that there are persons who, moderate in the use of alcohol, are, nevertheless, victims to some other form of stimulant. It is at least presumable, that if they have abandoned the use of alcohol *on the grounds I have mentioned*, they will not yield in other directions, the will being braced and strengthened by self-denial. Nor must the strange ramifications of alcoholic heredity be forgotten ; it starts up in quarters where we least expect it, and throws down the arguments built on the superiority of moderation like a house of cards. The question is in a large number of cases a purely physical one, and cannot therefore be treated on the same basis as other mischievous forms of excitement, such as gambling and the like.

(3) The argument from example (and the benefits derived from example) has been purposely withheld for later consideration, but it has a very effective side to it, even for those who are not called upon to deal with the less educated classes. It is obvious that if persons of education and culture adopt the practice of total abstinence, they have thrust aside the two considerations which are paramount in the minds of most people in regard to this subject. One is the supposed necessity of alcohol for brain workers, the other is the personal privation entailed by abstinence from it. The fact that such persons have virtually denied the first, and ignored the second of these considerations, is one which has a powerful influence over their equals, and an appreciable one in the case of dependents. Can we deny that any influence at our command which increases our self-control and strengthens the will in others, is one we can leave unused without regret when the time comes for casting up our accounts with life? I do not propose this subject to the consideration of the selfish or thoughtless—it has no relation to their mode of life—but I do press it earnestly on those faithful and conscientious spirits who have hitherto neglected to consider its bearings on their personal development.

I have now to enter on a branch of the subject which has been often and fully dealt with by much more competent persons than myself, but on which I cannot, nevertheless, be wholly silent—I mean the responsibilities of Christian workers in this matter. I have alluded more than once to the conviction in the minds of many conscientious persons, that a certain amount of alcohol is necessary for the maintenance of ordinary health, and still more emphatically necessary, when a considerable demand is made on the nervous strength, such as is usually the case with workers in large and populous parishes. The conviction is based on the idea that alcohol, like food, is a necessary of life, a primary necessary for those who have hard work to do. This principle (as I have ventured to hint) is not laid down in works which give an impartial view of the subject, though the reason for its general adoption is quite intelligible. A sense of strength and vigour is the immediate accompaniment of a moderate use of alcohol, and this transient effect is regarded as an addition to the permanent stock of strength we desire to have at our command. The fact that abstinence is in the first instance a decidedly trying experience, confirms some who have ventured upon it to reject the practice, and fall back on their original notion that alcohol in moderate quantities is their final resort. Such persons have weighed the arguments in favour of abstinence, and come to the conclusion that they must personally reject them, as they have an arduous work to carry on, and have no strength for such experiments.

They are therefore pledged to the principle that *a certain amount of alcohol is a necessity*. It is a serious thing to be pledged to this principle, and yet it is to this principle and to no other that Christian workers are pledged, if they have considered and rejected the practice of total abstinence. A large proportion of non-abstainers frankly say that they are not called upon to renounce an indulgence, innocent within bounds, and distinctly agreeable to them. But this is not a consideration which a devoted worker among the poor will allow to have weight when the question of increased or decreased fitness for work is in the balance. I

am perfectly aware that it is a question of sacrifice, and there are many people who would forego many comforts to retain this one. It is an extremely hard chain to break, not only on account of the gratification it affords, but on account of the almost superstitious value that is attached to the practice of taking stimulant in some form. But we cannot suppose for an instant that the main reason for non-abstinence among workers is the consideration of sacrifice. It is universally acknowledged that temperance work is a fundamental necessity among the poor, and any close acquaintance with it will soon prove that the total abstinence branch is the vital part of it. Workers among the poor readily assent to this statement, and many would gladly identify themselves wholly with the work, but they cannot do this, for they have pledged themselves to the principle that alcohol is a necessity. They feel sure they would break down were they to become abstainers; the work must wait till someone can be found to do it, or it is put aside altogether. The commonest plan is not to initiate it, but simply to deal with cases of drunkenness as they arise.

It is a serious thing to be pledged to the principle of the necessity of alcohol, since it carries with it the consequence of personally disqualifying those who adopt it from aggressive attacks on the main source of crime and misery in the people among whom they work. It may be urged that this disqualification does not exist, that a very prosperous temperance work is carried on in this place and that, by the non-abstainer; but, as a matter of fact, *dare* we urge the poor and cold and hungry to abstain, when, with all the assistance of wholesome diet and warm rooms—putting the question of luxury aside—we are unable (or unwilling) to carry out our own recommendations? Now this is the crux of the matter for workers. What are they to do? Are they to decrease their fitness for work materially in many and various directions, while they increase it morally in one aspect only? There are many and serious arguments in favour of maintaining bodily health at a serviceable pitch—do we really dare risk it for the sake of a theory which is commonly advanced by persons of robust constitutions, iron nerves, and tireless lungs.

These difficulties may be solved in our own case with comparative ease, but when we perceive that those dearer far to us than ourselves are adopting the same solution, we begin to tremble and shrink. Can we not dissuade them? Is it not all rather a fancy? How many arguments we remember in support of the well-worn theme that moderation is better than abstinence; how few recur to us on the other side! The question resolves itself into this: How can we best attain a state of fitness for our work? By the extra physical strength which some think they derive from their daily slight modicum of alcohol? or by the increased moral authority which enables us to deal with the temperance question from the level on which we inculcate it to others?

The true answer to this question is, in my firm conviction, the most satisfactory that can be found. *In normal cases, both are attained by the same means.* All rational demands on bodily strength may be met by the total abstainer; irrational demands should not be made, or for any length of time complied with. It is not an evidence of faithfulness to "overdraw my daily income of vital force" (to use the graphic expression

of a wise woman), but rather the contrary. And if we are in the habit of doing this, the sooner we give up doing it the better. We have no right to flog a tired horse; if he has done his day's work, let him go to the stable. We have no right to flog tired brains, tired limbs, weary nerves, with stimulant; if they have done all they can do, let them seek the repair that Nature gives with rest. It must be borne in mind that these statements do not apply in cases of disease, advanced age, or of chronic ill-health; such cases are under special limitations, and we are not now bound to consider them. But it is well, perhaps, to remember the distinct advantage derived in acute illness from total abstinence in health: one of the strongest weapons known to the medical man has been left unused, and will prove of good service to the patient.

May I now offer one word of advice to those who are already abstainers? To these I venture to say, "Avoid all banter and jest when speaking on this subject, either at a temperance meeting or in conversation at ordinary times." We do not joke about fasting to those who practise it, and the same spirit of reverence may very fitly restrain such a tone when applied to abstinence. If we are penetrated with the sense of the misery and crime which are the results of excessive drinking among the lower orders, and acquainted, in any measure, with the dangers which threaten and often overthrow the most refined and educated persons, we shall speak rarely perhaps, but with weight, on such topics. But though I have said, "Speak little," let me add, "Study much." Get a thorough grasp of the subject, find a solid basis for your argument, and seek to use every fitting opportunity to win others to your view, and persuade them to adopt the practice which is, I firmly believe, the soundest method of preservation of bodily and mental health, as well as a practical witness against one of the most deadly and destructive evils of our time.

I have quoted no statistics, for this branch of the subject does not admit of them; I have cited no authorities, for the best can be obtained at the dépôts for Temperance publications (such as the Dépôt of the Church of England Temperance Society, in Bridge Street, Westminster, and that of the National Temperance League, in Pater-noster Row); I have not sought to rouse enthusiasm, though that is a legitimate means of advancing the great cause, but I have endeavoured so to fasten this question to the individual conscience, that all may feel that it has for them a personal application, and calls for a personal decision.

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WHEN we attempt seriously to consider any social question, it becomes imperative that we not only look at it as a whole, but that we take it in its component parts—pull it to pieces, so to speak. Society, taken collectively, is a very complex body, made up of all sorts and conditions of men and women, and all questions affecting society must of necessity be very complex.

It may be argued that my advocacy of temperance is strongly

opposed to individual liberty. What is meant by "The liberty of the individual?" Surely, says one, I am at least free to eat and drink what I like. Now, to the unthinking, this seems but fair. It may be true if the person be placed, like Robinson Crusoe, on a desolate island; but the liberty of all members of human society is not, as is generally supposed, absolutely free, even to eat and drink what they like, without paying a penalty. It would seem, then, that there is but one absolute form of liberty, and that is thought, for, as Lovelace says, "Stone walls do not a prison make, and iron bars a cage."

In the first place it may be anticipated that all who make a claim to absolute personal liberty have not arrived at the age of maturity, and are not prepared to admit that there is an ethical side to all human actions, of knowing the right and wrong of things, and of distinguishing just from unjust. An intelligent member of a community is capable of knowing that he is amenable to society for all those acts in his conduct which concern others.

Before any individual can justly claim the benefits of any society as a member, he must subscribe to the conditions laid down for its proper working and government, these rules or laws being framed for the well being and security of its members, and any act upon himself, affecting others through himself, is a distinct violation of the laws of society. Thus, eating or drinking whatever may disturb the bodily fitness of such a member of a community, renders him unfit to fill his place as a helpful member of society. It is not in the regarding of social laws, or the exactions of our fellow-creatures, that we find the origin of what, by some, may be regarded as oppression. If we seek the root of the force working through the liberties of life, it is to be found in the science of life (biology), whose laws, representing forces eternal and unchangeable, never permit one violation without the infliction of a penalty.

Now, if we look at the question of the liquor traffic in this country alone, with a proper spirit of enquiry, we are enabled to see how far our freedom has affected us, and we shall find it has carried us into a sea of troubles. It is not difficult to discover the inducements and facilities held out to the people for the generation of almost every ill flesh is heir to. Look at our hospital reports upon the cases treated for accidents and disease, look at the daily papers for the reports of crime, and the remarks of the judges as to its cause. Study the reports of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, and see the percentage of insanity directly and indirectly due to drink. Take the official returns of our gaols and workhouses, and observe the horrible proportion of crime, misery, and physical degradation of the people, and then ask yourselves what consistency there is in a State parental government holding in one hand a most alarming firebrand of disease and death, and in the other a comparative toy to extinguish it—as in the Health Act. And if this enquiry be followed by statistics of the cost to the people for the punishment of criminals, from the judge down to the dutiful policemen, the machinery of the Poor Law Board down to the relieving officer, the medical officers of health to the nuisance inspectors, we are able to gain some idea how the worthy are taxed, not only to support, but to perpetuate the worthless. With these facts before us, we are forced to

acknowledge the necessity of doing something to remove or control this cause of human misery. Particularly is this a question for the women of the upper and middle classes. Their influence is very great in all social questions, while it is to them that the great mass of English poor look up and imitate, not only in matters of dress, but in habits of life, and it is therefore of the utmost importance that no bias should be allowed to influence our judgment, but seek only for right and truth in all things affecting us in relation to our fellow creatures. I am not going to weary you with a long scientific discourse upon the physiological action of alcohol. A very slight acquaintance with one or two general facts will be sufficient for our purpose. Imagine for a moment that I hold in my hand a brick, and that I reduce the brick to its finest particles. I shall then have a brick no longer, but a quantity of brickdust. You know that the human body is made up of a number of organs, each doing a definite work in the economy of the whole body. If, now, I take any one of these organs, and reduce it (by scientific methods) to its smallest particles or cells, these cells will stand in the same relation to the body as the brickdust to the brick. Each little cell, although much smaller than the smallest particle of brickdust, is a living, active thing, and if the organ is to perform its work perfectly, it can only do so in proportion as the cells of which it is composed maintain their proper function. Passing between and binding them together is a beautiful, glistening, transparent membrane. Under the influence of alcohol it becomes changed. It is no longer transparent, but dense, thick, and contracted. You will readily see that contraction of this membrane must cause pressure on the cells, and the greater the contraction, the greater will be the pressure. The result of this is that the cells are no longer able to do their work, and disease of the organ follows as a natural sequence. Disease of the organs means disease of body, and eventually death.

Mental degeneration, as well as physical, must also result from this cause. The tiny brain cells become affected, loss of brain power results, and insanity follows. The action of alcohol is in all cases the same, the extent of the mischief varying in proportion to the amount taken. With this loss of brain health follows a corresponding degradation of the higher faculties. You cannot have a healthy mind in an unhealthy body. There is no greater factor in the production of disease than the use of alcohol, its victims numbering many thousands (60,000) yearly. Truly—

“We are our own fates,  
Our own deeds are our dooms ever.”

Socially, each individual stands in the same relation to society as the single cell does to the whole body.

If any social organization is to reap the greatest benefits of co-operation, it is needful that each member forming it shall contribute a fair share of benefits in return for those he exacts from others.

The welfare of society is dependent on the characters of its members. It will be seen, then, that in proportion as individuals cease to observe their obligations, so the benefits become lessened proportionately for the remainder. And if the social balance is to be maintained, it can only

be so by increased pressure upon the active ones, and they, like the human machine, have only a limited power of endurance. Social machinery is framed out of existing human nature, and that society which not only offers every facility, but accepts a premium for the demoralization of its members, is guilty of social suicide.

Unfortunately, the evils accruing from intemperance do not end with the individual sinning. "Men do not gather grapes of thorns." Neither can diseased parents expect to have healthy children. Remember our old simile of the brick. What would be thought of the builder who reared his structure upon a bad foundation, and provided materials or bricks which were unfit for building and crumbled away under stress? The men and women of to-day are the builders of the future generations, and the physical, mental, and moral endowments of their offsprings will be good or bad proportionately to the conditions and habits of the parents. Children born of a drunken ancestry, poisoned by alcohol, inherit those diseases, or a predisposition to them, which follow in its train.

Truly, the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children, for they are cursed with a double curse; born with bodies thus enfeebled, they carry also the added weight of an inborn desire or craving for the poison which has wrecked their lives.

The evil effect of this upon society collectively is almost incalculable, for with weakened mental power is associated weakened moral power. Thus we get thousands of social wrecks, and with these we fill our workhouses, gaols, and asylums. Dr. Harris, at a meeting in America, 1874, brought forward an example which will speak better than words of mine. On the Upper Hudson, a little gutter child, Margaret, grew up, and became the mother of a large family. Eventually, two criminals were traced from the county records to the same source, beside a large number of idiots and paupers. There is no greater curse to posterity than that of bequeathing an increasing population of imbeciles, criminals, and paupers.

"We mould our destiny;  
The future lies as clay within our hands,  
And our own will fashions the present to the good or ill,  
Which in the great hereafter shall arise  
To damn us or to lift us to the skies."

Many may ask what has this to do with us? Much, nay everything. Individually, you are responsible. You have no right to destroy the body entrusted to your care, or to render yourself incapable of fulfilling in their highest sense the duties of life. There is a physical morality binding on us all. The cry of a weak and suffering humanity must and will force itself upon every true woman. But it is as professing members of a Christian Church which renders this duty peculiarly your own. What have you who call yourselves Christians to say to a legislature which, while boasting of its Christianity, extracts something like forty millions yearly as the price of its people's degradation. We want less boasted Christianity, and more Christlikeness. Is it not time that the women of our Churches not only ask themselves, but force home the question to those responsible, whether it is consistent to preach the gospel of salvation from our pulpits, while at the same moment of time

thousands of our fellow-creatures are being carried down the tide of sin, and many are unable to withstand the temptations held out to them? Is it not time that we asked ourselves whether it is in keeping with the teaching of Him whose sacrifice we commemorate, that our weaker sisters should be exposed to temptations within the very precincts of our altars? Is it not time that the Christian women of our land should demand that the dissolute man shall no longer be forced upon us by that society which, while it stretches out a welcome hand to him, makes an outcast of his victim. Truly, you have much to do. Look at the hundreds and thousands of little ones who fill our large cities—little children worse than homeless, and worse than orphaned—children who have never known a childhood, with misery and want indelibly stamped upon the tiny face, and whose only refuge, unless some Christlike hand is stretched to save them, will be the workhouse or the gaol.

“This should have been a noble creature.  
As it is, it is an awful chaos. . . .  
He will perish, and yet he must not,  
For such are worth redemption.”

Think of the wretched prostitutes thronging your cities nightly, many, nay, most, more sinned against than sinning. Are they nothing to the followers of the Master who taught and practised, nay, died in defence of that doctrine of humanity, and laid down as the leading precept of religion—that “ye love one another.”

I am convinced that if this race is to be redeemed, it is the women who will have to take up the task, and I ask you, in the name of the Christ you serve, to make your lives, and as far as you can the society in which you move, a lever for practical Christianity.

Let us take as our motto the words of Rama, “Virtue, even so, my soul, shall triumph,” as he dashed away a spray of softened tears from his eyes. Virtue is a duty man owes to himself, and though there were no heaven above us, no God to rule the world, it were not less the binding law of life. It is man’s privilege to know the right, and follow it.

“Virtue, even so, my soul, shall triumph,  
And dying give the lie to soulless destiny,  
That dares to boast itself man’s master.”

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## CONGRESS HALL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 5TH, 1892.

The BISHOP OF COVENTRY in the Chair.

## THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

## PAPERS.

Sir W. J. HERSCHEL, Bart., Lawn Upton, Littlemore, Oxford.

IN reading the first paper this evening on the reforms which seem necessary in the Liquor Laws, I would naturally start with the scheme for which I entertain a preference, that of the Church of England Temperance Society, and refer, as far as I properly may, to others, such as the Westminster Committee's, and the Manchester Bills, and the plan proposed by the Lord Bishop of Chester. But an abler hand than mine will deal with these warmly debated matters. What I propose to myself is to deal with certain fundamental difficulties, which will survive the adoption of all these schemes, and will have to be faced, if not by Parliament, then, with less hope of success, by the executive administration which we hope to see created.

The first point I desire to bring to your notice is one which I think specially suitable to such an assembly as this; for it goes to the very root of the law of temperance, so far as it rests with the publican himself. We all know that the line of prohibition followed by the law in its restraint of intemperance is drawn at present at that advanced stage which is called drunkenness. The existence of this line is the cause of one of the most lamentable of popular errors, the theory that every man has a legal right to be supplied with liquor on tender of payment, so long as he is sober. It is only within this last year that we have begun to see this error dispelled. One Licensing Bench, at the late Brewster Sessions, did itself honour by formally instructing their licensees that the law of England put no compulsion whatever upon them to comply with a demand for intoxicating liquor against their own judgment.

The enormous value of this declaration from such a source can hardly be realized by anyone who has not witnessed the fascination which the contrary doctrine exercises upon those who "love to have it so." How common it is, when anyone remonstrates with a publican for selling spirits to a very neighbour of his own, one whom the publican sees daily drawing nearer and nearer to utter ruin, to be told in reply that he is helpless in the matter; that he dare not refuse. Some of us who read the *Church Temperance Chronicle* may have seen the last authentic instance. A resolute clergyman follows a tipsy man into a bar, and protests with all his might against his being served, but unsuccessfully. The landlady does not admit that the man is drunk. "He has a right to get what he pays for," she says; and, inferring from

this a corresponding obligation upon herself, she delivers the liquor. Speaking for myself, I found the belief cherished almost as a privilege of citizenship in the village where I live, that as long as a man is not drunk the law gives him a right to one glass more, and that the publican is his servant at command.

Thank God, this doctrine has been challenged at last, and is now exploded. The publican is shown to be, as he ought to be, master of the situation in his own house, and in defence of his own character and conscience. The most effective movers in the matter (I say it to their credit) have been the Licensed Victuallers. They have fought for liberty on trade principles, no doubt, but also, I think, from a genuine sense of the monstrosity of the old doctrine. The other agents have been the several Temperance Societies, who have worked on purely moral motives. It is not too much to say that the revolution thus silently effected from below has been the greatest practical aid to temperance that has been given during the last two years. It has liberated the conscience of the publican from bonds, which were none the less powerful for evil because they were fictitious, and even in some cases known to be so. One is almost ashamed to desire that such an elementary law of charity should be embodied in an Act of Parliament; yet looking at the fact that it is only now beginning to be known, and at the enormous mass of prejudice which has to be dispelled, and the numbers who will resist it from selfish motives, I think we should do well to ask that a declaratory clause be added to the code, to the effect *that no licensed person is bound to supply intoxicating liquor to any individual, even on tender of payment.*

To the Church this emancipation of the conscience of the public-house keeper is of incalculable value. It opens a way, where the law of the State was supposed to have erected a barrier; and it affords a solid base on which to plead with him for a truly temperate use of his dangerous powers.

But, in the second place, it does more than that. It suggests a possibility of drawing the line of prohibition closer in. We have seen that drunkenness, downright and undeniable, is the great test which the present discipline of the law applies. We all desire to see the test made far more narrow. But the practical difficulties are supposed insuperable. Nevertheless, the liberty vindicated for themselves by the Licensed Victuallers solves the difficulty. What they put forth as their aim, to judge by the tone of their organs at times, is certainly more near to the liberty of moderation than is the wild freedom allowed by the law. They *do* form for themselves a conception of a temperate enjoyment of wine, beer, or spirits, which, they declare, abhors the thought of drunkenness. I do not adopt their ideal; but it is a move in the right direction. And why should not the law be able to do the same, or better? The fact is that in one instance it *has* faced the difficulty, and *has* drawn in its line. In the case of a certain class of customers it has restricted the publican to the supply of what it terms "reasonable refreshment." I am not aware that this term has been found more difficult of interpretation than the word "drunkenness." Great disputes have indeed arisen over the section in question, but they have turned upon the abstract right to be served, and not upon the amount to be consumed; so that this very useful section, depending

wholly as it does upon the novel term "reasonable refreshment," is being rapidly put into effective operation.

That being so, there is nothing to prevent us from aiming at the adoption of the same limit in all cases, and making "reasonable refreshment" the standard of public-house supply. The method of introducing this change would require consideration. I fear it would lead to hopeless wrangling, and to a reduplicated mass of conflicting testimony, if we introduce it among the penal clauses of the code. But it should at least be laid down in a mandatory clause *that no one licensed to supply liquor to be consumed on the premises should be authorized to supply more than is sufficient for reasonable refreshment*. The effect of this would be that the licence must be issued subject to the same condition; and that the conduct of a public-house which does *not* make "reasonable refreshment" the standard of its business, will come under review on a larger and more trustworthy mass of evidence at the Annual Sessions.

In the third place, I conceive it to be very essential that the object of the law in creating Licensing Authorities should be more clearly expressed than it is. The Local Option Bill has the courage of its opinions on the face of its preamble. I do not go so far as to agree with that manifesto. But I will go further by urging that whatever be the trust to be conferred on our agents, its expression be transferred from a preamble, for which no lawyer cares a straw, to the body of the law in force. The question is—what is the object and scope of the so-called "absolute discretion" of the Board or other authority? At present there is practically no indication on the face of the law. That is our constitutional way of shutting our eyes to grave moral difficulties—by shuffling them off on to the shoulders of others; and I am not going to quarrel with it. It has its merits, and one is that by its means we do now see a little more clearly than we did. And I hope I may use the privilege given me to-day by marking somewhat sharply the legal necessity which lies upon us now of expressing the true mind of temperance more unequivocally in the Statute Book.

No more robust intellect than Lord Bramwell's ever dealt with a fallacy pressed upon him in court. He it was, supported by the Lord Chancellor, who, in the course of argument before them in the House of Lords, scattered to the winds the celebrated "lottery" doctrine, set up on behalf of the trade—that, as between two equally well conducted houses, the Bench could not possibly choose which to abolish and which to retain, except by drawing lots. He showed that there were ample materials judiciously available. He it was who demolished the word "injustice" as applied to a choice so made, and enforced the substitution of the word "hardship" instead. But the same strong mind took an early opportunity of showing what a double-edged weapon discretion—undefined discretion—is, when it is asked to remedy hardships. Sitting as Chairman of the Tunbridge Licensing Bench, he heard an application for an "off" beer license from a shopkeeper, whose ground was studiously limited to this single allegation, that so many other grocers had been licensed around him that he was losing his proper business for want of similar attraction to his own shop. His lordship gave reason for his judgment by saying that he did not believe it would make any difference to the public whether there was one beer

license more in the place or not. Here, therefore, he said, is a case of "hardship" to a private individual which it is our province to remedy, and so they granted the license. The victuallers cried out in horror on hearing their monopoly called a hardship to others. I think they are right; for they have a privilege, granted in return for grave responsibility undertaken, and the injustice is towards them in making their position more difficult by the spur of unnecessary competition.

But our case is not theirs. To us the grant of this license for the reason assigned, and by such an authority, is a challenge which we must meet. Lord Bramwell plainly laid it down, first—that licenses are in some places so numerous that to grant one more may rightly be deemed a matter of indifference to public morality; and, secondly, that in such a case the grant may rightly be determined by regard to purely private interests. We cannot accept either proposition. We insist that the presence of a licensed liquor house cannot, from the nature of things, be a matter of indifference to public morality; that there must be *some* additional danger from every additional license; and that when the convenience of the public in obtaining a supply has been duly considered, it becomes the imperative duty of the Licensing Authority to prohibit every source of danger they can, without the very slightest regard for private interests, unless, and then only so far as, the law has expressly provided for them. If this be true (and I cannot conceive how any legislator in framing a liquor code can set any other object before his eyes, except under political pressure), we must strive to have it embodied in the law. Lord Bramwell's notable decision is thoroughly typical of the whole class of grants, renewals, and transfers, in which the interests of private persons are admitted to hearing among "the circumstances of the case," to the detriment of an undisturbed judgment on the prior claims of the public. The present law does recognize private interests in certain very precise terms. I do not wish to disturb the interests fairly built up upon these legal definitions. But they have been stretched beyond all reason under the yielding discretion of the past. That is why I deem it essential to protect the new Licensing Authority, be it Board or be it Council, from a war of opinions which must recommence the moment they get to work, unless we face this great problem ourselves. The law itself must declare first *the prior and indefeasible claim of the public at large to have its interests attended to and made sure, before any private claims are heard.* Secondly, *it must declare what private interests are to be deemed within the discretion of the Board, and to what extent; and their discretion must be expressly limited to that extent.*

Lastly, I would remind all who care to make it easy to do right and hard to do wrong, that the best legislative service they can render to their future administrators of the temperance laws is to make those laws simple, consistent, and complete. I venture to doubt whether one Justice in a hundred who administers the present law has ever pretended to make a study of it in the original Acts. It is the notorious impossibility of their doing so that has obliged the law to give them the assistance of clerks possessing some legal attainments. But so intricate is the present scattered code that I am persuaded that even the knowledge of the clerks of the court is derived

far more largely from the traditionary practices of their own neighbourhood, tested by the language of the text books, than from any serious attempt to master what the best judges pronounce the most impracticable portion of our statute law. If we are to place any personal confidence in the new Authority, I would plead earnestly for two things. First, that the men to work it be few in number, and free from other duties, so that they shall one and all be able to take their view of the task before them at first hand from the Parliamentary Code, and secondly, that this code be a legible document, complete in itself, and clothed in that simple language which it is almost the triumph of modern draftsmen to have re-learned. I confine my hope to the Licensing department; the disciplinary law need not be touched, administered, as it must be, by a separate body, and being itself incomparably more like a code already. I believe the great bulk of the retail trade itself is as desirous to see the law codified as we can possibly be.

Without such a code, we shall only enter on one more of those miserable episodes in the history of temperance which result from the feeble struggles of a half-informed Bench against the ponderous pressure of private interest. With the aid of a true code we may hope to see the new departure made by men possessed of a sense of power indeed, but who can afford to be just to old interests because quite clear as to their own duties, and quite clear that those duties involve no hardship but such as is inseparable from the dangers of the traffic which they are to control.

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Sir DYCE DUCKWORTH, M.D., LL.D., Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital; Hon. Physician to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

IN this communication I propose to show that the existing legislation for dealing with habitual drunkards is inadequate, and that it fails to meet both the needs of the individuals concerned and the communities affected by them.

I shall venture to indicate some methods whereby, in accordance with the best knowledge hitherto attained by practical physicians, such persons may be more fitly dealt with, and society at large delivered from the disgrace and nuisance entailed by them.

I have to state, first, that I take no gloomy or despairing view of the whole question, and that I recognize a progressive improvement in respect of drinking habits in the British Isles, an improvement due, in part, to the advance of education, but mainly, as I believe, to Christian influence.

In the next place, I may add that, in common with the majority of my profession, I recognize a legitimate employment of alcoholic drinks, unattended by any but beneficial results. I am not called upon here, and now, to defend this opinion. I have done so in public on many occasions with the result mainly, so far as I know, of incurring obloquy from those who have differed from me. I simply now reaffirm all I have previously stated, and add to it, as the result of larger study of the matter, a fuller conviction of the truth of it.

The distinction between legitimate use and abuse of alcoholic liquids

is too much lost sight of by the majority of persons who affect to be in earnest in the promotion of temperance. They do *not* really seek to secure the *temperate* employment of alcoholic drinks, but the *complete abolition* of them. This is obviously another matter. The majority of enthusiasts in the crusade against intemperance are total abstainers from alcohol, and are pledged to denounce the employment of it in every form as one that is not only unnecessary, but positively harmful and vicious. I am not in their ranks.

Those who think with me, and are also in earnest to foster true temperance, make less noise, and often appear to total abstainers to be not only indifferent spectators, but even supporters, of evil habits. Albeit, we temperate users of alcoholics have our work to do—a work far greater, as I think, than that before the total abstainers, and we mean to do it.

The fact is, as the Church Temperance Society recognizes so wisely in principle, but so imperfectly in fact, there are duties for both classes of reformers to do. (As I have long ceased to belong to that society, I may, by way of parenthesis, express my belief that the intolerance of the abstaining section in it has oftentimes greatly repressed the no less, or even more, valuable energy of the moderate section.)

Although I hold strong opinions as to the retention of perfect freedom for civilized man in respect of the use of alcohol, I am fully convinced of the importance and necessity, at this stage of our national civilization, of enjoining total abstention upon certain individuals and strata of our population, who are little, if at all, better fitted to employ them than savages, and who are tempted in ways that do not appeal to those possessed of moral control, and placed amidst more wholesome environments. If good examples of temperance are needed, no one has, now-a-days, far to seek for them, and abstainers are also plentiful.

I hold that any misuse of alcoholic drinks constitutes a vice. It is important to distinguish between alcoholic intemperance due to ignorance and carelessness, and that due to want of moral control, the result of nervous disease. We take note of the vice of occasional intemperance as a grievous evil and sin, but we also reprobate it because repeated indulgence in it may lead to a permanent morbid bodily condition or nervous disease. If this condition be not reached in an individual, his offspring may inherit a proclivity to it or to some other nervous disorder.

This brings us in face of two great classes of drunkards:—First, the occasional, careless, or criminal drunkard, who sins from ignorance or gross indifference; and secondly, the insane drunkard, who has lost by the evolution or onset of brain-disease all control of his moral nature. A victim of the first class may lapse into one of the second, or, in other words, the vicious, self-indulgent drunkard may become an insane person, the subject of uncontrollable inebriety, although this is not so common an event as is generally believed. The condition of the inebriate, or insane drunkard, is by no means invariably the result of occasional, or even frequent, lapses from sobriety. The vicious drunkard has not lost his control, and need not lose it. He is a criminal, and, as such, is amenable to corrective, and often, as I believe, to punitive measures. This class probably furnishes the only examples of reformed habitual drunkards. I much doubt if such

ever come from the class of insane drunkards. The latter are, to all intents, madmen, and are irresponsible, and, so far as my experience goes, irreclaimable. The insane drunkard is the victim of a form of insanity, and often comes of a stock predisposed to brain-disease, not, however, as I have said, necessarily engendered by alcoholic misuse.

This unfortunate subject of nervous instability is no more to be blamed than an epileptic or a maniac, and is in no way responsible for his conduct. He remains at this moment only an evil example, much misunderstood, and a source of mischief and annoyance while at large in any community.

He should at once be pronounced insane, and be placed under medical care away from his family. Such unfortunate persons must be carefully discriminated from self-indulgent and vicious drunkards, who require treatment, but after a very different fashion.

The public, the police, and the magistrates are necessarily incapable of making this discrimination, and commonly confound, with harm to both, the two classes of cases.

It is most true, as has lately been stated,\* that "what are to the doctor symptoms of *diseases*, are to the policemen and the magistrates proofs of criminality. In the rich family the doctor looks after the case, in the poor family the policeman and the gaoler, yet both cases are equally phases of brain-development due to hereditary weakness. Many are criminals because their brains are the same as those of their ancestors, and their environment has changed only within the present generation. In some districts of the country there are actually no criminals, yet when some of the people of those districts go to live in great cities, they become habitual criminals. The too sudden exposure to new environments and conditions is one of the great factors of criminality and of certain forms of insanity."

These facts point very plainly to the high importance of gathering into the fold of the Church all those who in early life aggregate, in too great numbers, as I think, in our great towns, so as to guide them and fortify them against their special instability and the tendency to succumb to new forms of temptation.

Misuse of alcohol by sane persons, who constitute the majority of habitual drunkards, is an offence which may be personally or publicly harmful, and must be dealt with as a vice. Overstepping of strict moderation must be stigmatized, and is, happily, now so regarded by the respectable classes of society. Amongst the poorer and ignorant classes, drunkenness is so common that it hardly attracts attention, or carries with it any condemnation unless it leads to cruelty or crime.

It may fairly be expected that with the spread of education, alcoholic intemperance may come to be always, and everywhere, regarded as vicious and reprehensible. It is a grievous matter that it should ever be considered a venial offence.

The magisterial sentences now pronounced on vicious or criminal drunkards are, in my opinion, quite inadequate—indeed ridiculous, and act in no way as a deterrent from renewed offences.

A man who may have spent many shillings on making himself brutal and dangerous is fined half-a-crown and sent about his business. Small

\* Dr. Clouston, "Proceedings of British Association, Edinburgh," 1892.

wonder that he repeats his offence. If the fine were always made ten shillings for the first conviction, a severer lesson would be taught. A second lapse from sobriety should be visited by an increased penalty, or, in default, by several days' imprisonment, with hair-cropping and hard labour. For a second conviction, I am strongly in favour of withdrawing the privilege of the electoral franchise and the power of voting for School Boards for at least ten years.

My firm belief is that sentences and deprivation of this kind would in many cases prove effectual as warnings, and also reclaim many careless drunkards.

No one can doubt that the ordinary sentences passed on drunkards are far too lenient, and too often ineffectual as deterrents. The tendency at the present time is to minimize punishment for most offences.

This I regard as a very unwholesome sign, and indicative of a general flabbiness and sentimentalism in society, which is as mischievous as it is unwarrantable.

It is certain that mild measures are often useless, and that the conscience can in many cases only be reached by smartly punitive measures. There is, without doubt, a stratum in our social scale that is amenable to nothing short of corporal punishment, and I have a conviction that this may be advisable in certain cases of criminal drunkenness, especially as a deterrent in the case of young lads.

To propose such measures in a Church Congress meeting may perhaps shock some who hear me, but I am not speaking without a large knowledge of human nature as it exists in many quarters, and I am an old-fashioned believer in the wisdom of Solomon, who is otherwise not sufficiently an authority amongst us in these days.

I sometimes regret that we do not once more set up the stocks in some of our country parishes.

The line dividing the criminal or responsible from the insane or irresponsible drunkard, may, I conceive, be fairly drawn where occasional lapses from sobriety pass into paroxysmal and incorrigible bouts of intoxication, all moral control being lost. Such insane persons may take and re-take the pledge of total abstinence, but it is again and again broken. Both voluntary and compulsory seclusion for short periods are of proved inutility, leading only to better health and renewed capacity for fresh debauches. To fine and imprison *insane* drunkards again and again is of no avail whatever, and is, moreover, an improper proceeding. Let it be noted that seclusion as a preventive measure would be harmful to the subsequent career of a *criminal* drunkard who had his bread to win. He is not a subject for this treatment, and is, as a rule, not irreclaimable by other methods if early applied.

In the case of the insane drunkard, whose uncontrolled life is of no value to his family, and certainly of none to the State, I believe that compulsory seclusion is imperatively called for. At this moment I know of no certainly approved method available for the permanent reform of such persons. There is, as yet, however, little evidence to prove that even prolonged seclusion with suitable environments, excluding dangerous contact with other inebriates, is of avail. Yet these persons must be dealt with by some new mode of legislation. They must no longer be left at large in their families or amongst any



community. The awful misery, danger, and mischief entailed at present by inefficient power of dealing with this class of madmen is insufficiently realized by the public, and known chiefly to the pitiable relatives and the doctors, who are unable to procure the necessary seclusion for such patients. No arrangement exists whereby the isolation requisite for insane drunkards can be secured. What is urgently needed is that they should be treated as are other insane persons, and, in the meantime, our lunatic asylums are, in my opinion, the best places wherein to seclude them, even if some of these institutions have to be enlarged for this purpose.

But the compulsory seclusion must be for a long term, appropriate treatment being carried out as in the case of other insane persons, tentative efforts being made at intervals to test the results of the treatment upon the patients, who will still remain subject to re-arrest while under certificate.

Care would of course be taken that criminal and responsible drunkards should not be able to claim indulgence for their sins on the plea that they were insane, and therefore irresponsible. In the case of persons with sufficient means, compulsory detention could be secured in authorized private asylums, while for the poor the charges could only fall on the State.

I am aware that in the United States of America it is asserted that temporary seclusion and medical treatment are of wondrous power in the reformation of insane habitual drunkards. There are also other methods in vogue in that country, questionable and unapproved, which clamour for recognition by us. We justly look askance at them, and, for myself, I will venture to condemn all of them as being at least insufficiently certified, suspiciously mysterious, or even worse.\*

An amendment of the law in the United Kingdom in the directions here indicated would, I believe, deal most fairly with habitual drunkards, both criminal and insane, and society would thus be purged of abiding sources of mischief and bad example.

There are naturally many details to be considered in organizing new legislation for habitual drunkards. I see no real difficulties in the matter. This is not the place to discuss them. It is certain that the medical profession as a body is rapidly coming into agreement as to the imperative necessity for new powers, and the matter will redound to the lasting credit of any statesmen who will treat it with intelligence and vigour.

For myself, however, I will confess that I look for little from any Government, of whatever party it be formed, till it has learned what is quite forgotten in these times—that the first duty of a Government is to govern, and not to be merely a reflector of the ignorance and passions of the country. The old cry of “liberty of the subject” in relation to State interference with such grave matters as are now before us, stands to-day, by consent of all rational and calm-thinking men as mere nonsense. Alcoholic intemperance, both as a vice and as a disease, is no mere personal or private sin or moral fault, as the law would define it; it is that, indeed, but it is far more, for it is too commonly a public offence, and harmful to public morals.

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\* “Charlatanism always hobbles on two crutches, the tattle of women and the certificates of clergymen.”—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

Other amendments are also called for in the direction of local option, of which I am an advocate, in the more complete supervision of public-houses and drinking bars, and in the strict enforcement of railway companies' bye-laws respecting the carriage of drunken persons in their trains, a dangerous evil much too common, and passively submitted to by travellers.

In conclusion, I will only add that for the removal of alcoholic intemperance I trust much to the benefits to be derived from the spread of education generally, and, as one result of this, the formation of a more national opinion respecting the uses and properties of alcoholized liquids. But I trust most of all to the advance of Christian education, and to the simple and unfailing influence of the fear of God in men's hearts. I have infinite faith in that. I think I may confidently express that opinion here and now, as one held by the great majority of the profession I represent at this moment—certainly in this country. I believe that secular education without dogmatic religious teaching will ever fail in combating sin and vice. To plant the fear and love of God in every human heart, and to cultivate simple Christian faith, will alone do the work we would fain see accomplished. In that belief I go forward with full hope and confidence.

I have been urged by several devoted workers in the cause of abolition of alcohol to say something in this paper respecting the great need of amended legislation for our sailors in the great seaports. This hardly comes within the scope of my remarks. But I may very well urge in this connection that in these towns unlicensed public-houses should not be sanctioned for sailors' lodgings, although, sad to say, there is evidence to show that the several sailors' homes are, if possible, rather worse places for seamen to live in. The seamen's chaplain at Swansea, the Rev. E. J. Wolfe, has kindly sent me the following very pertinent suggestions as the result of a long experience: "(1) That music licences should be withheld from public-houses wherein sailors lodge; (2) that sailors should be better fed at sea, and so be less tempted to indulge in strong drink when they land; and that no masters of vessels should be allowed to victual their own ships; (3) That the inspection of victuals should be more efficient, so that condemned stores from H.M. dockyards should not, as now, be supplied to merchant ships; (4) that a suitable class of inspectors should be appointed to supervise all public-houses affording lodgings to seamen in respect of sanitary arrangements and general conduct of the men; (5) that sailors' institutes, rests, and reading rooms be kept open, free, all day, and as long as public-houses are open—Government might subsidize such places by small dues collected from each vessel, and classes be formed therein for the study of navigation and ambulance duties; (6) that such inspectors of lodging-houses be empowered to give to well-behaved sailors, under their observation, commendatory notes as guarantee for owners and masters."

I do not hesitate to recommend these suggestions, inasmuch as they bear on the question of amended legislation for a large number of our worthiest and most grievously tempted fellow-countrymen.

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E. STAFFORD HOWARD, Esq., Thornbury Castle,  
Gloucestershire.

It is just seven years ago since I read a paper on this subject at the Church Congress at Portsmouth. In that paper I contended that there was then a very general agreement of public opinion that reform in the direction of a large measure of restriction of the existing facilities for the sale of intoxicating drinks was necessary in the public interest. It is to be regretted that seven years have passed without that general agreement as to the end desired having resulted in the application of any measures to bring it about. And yet matters have not remained stationary by any means. Something has been attempted more than once, and though the attempt failed, the fact that it was made, and the fact of its failure, have brought the question to the front rank, from which it can hardly fall back again. It is the business of temperance reformers to see to that. I am not concerned to discuss the rights or wrongs of the proposals of the late Government for reducing the number of licensed houses in the country. The Church of England Temperance Society supported the second reading conditionally, but never got the chance of having its amendments brought before the House, in consequence of the withdrawal of the whole of the clauses; but I must say, speaking for myself, that Mr. Goschen's subsequent admission to a deputation of "The Trade" that his proposals were intended as offering "consolation and compensation to the brewers," and that it was a deep personal disappointment to himself not to carry them, knowing that it would be a "disappointment to those who loyally supported the Government," very speedily dried any tears I might have been tempted to shed over the frustration of such good intentions framed in the interests of temperance, and yet intended to delight the Trade. But there is no doubt that the successful opposition to those proposals, coupled with the decision of the House of Lords in the famous case of *Sharpe v. Wakefield*, has had the effect of ripening the whole question for solution in a very marked degree.

Since that time schemes of licensing reform have been hatching in several amateur incubators at various degrees of temperance heat, each with a view of producing a measure which will give effect to the general desire, and at the same time be likely to pass. Six schemes at least have been more or less definitely sketched out. The first to try his hand was Lord Randolph Churchill, who introduced, in an excellent speech, a Bill in many ways excellent also, but, as it was before he had got accustomed to deal with lions in the path, when he came face to face with "compensation," he left the path of definite proposals and climbed for safety into a general disquisition on the sacredness of the vested interests of licensed victuallers. The second set of suggestions which I shall mention were made by Mr. George Curzon, a member of the late Government, in a notable speech during the late election at Southport. The third is a scheme of legislation formulated by a committee of temperance reformers at Manchester under the presidency of the bishop. The fourth by a similar committee which met at Westminster. The fifth, by Mr. Joseph Rowntree, in a speech at a conference of the Friends' Union in London this year. The sixth, by the Executive Committee of the Church of England Temperance Society, with these

other proposals before them. It would be impossible in the time at my disposal to describe them all in detail. I propose, therefore, to point out how far they are in agreement with one another, and to urge upon this meeting to consider whether, looking to the position of parties in the House of Commons in reference to this question, an earnest and combined effort upon the part of Church-people in favour of the main proposals of the Church of England Temperance Society may not furnish just the needful pressure to secure the passing of a most effective measure in this present Parliament.

One common principle is to be found in the majority of these schemes. It is this: That Parliament should lay down certain limits as to the maximum number of licensed houses in proportion to population, and should give locally elected Licensing Authorities a free hand in making further restrictions (or unmaking them if desired subsequently), according to the varying degree of temperance feeling in different places. Subject to exceptions in the case of hotels and railway refreshment rooms, it is proposed that Parliament should enact that in no case should licenses be issued, beyond, say, one per 1,000 of population in towns, and one per 600 in the country, and that the hours for sale should be limited generally as at present, by way of maximum, but be liable to further restriction by the Licensing Authority.

Lord R. Churchill and the Manchester Committee favour Licensing Committees appointed from amongst Town and County Councillors respectively, but the other four schemes, including that of the Church of England Temperance Society, prefer specially elected Boards, so as to keep the licensing question clear of other issues. These Licensing Authorities would take over the licensing jurisdiction of the magistrates, but the schemes vary somewhat as to its extent. Lord Randolph gives them absolute unfettered discretion to fix hours and days of sale, and the number of licensed houses, but subject to full compensation to those whose licenses may be not renewed in the public interest: a qualification which I think renders his proposal impracticable in the present state of public opinion, to say no more against it. The Manchester committee propose to limit the discretion of the Licensing Authority for six years, satisfying any claim set up for equitable compensation, by creating, as Mr. Bruce proposed to do in his Bill of 1871, a vested interest for a limited period, after which the discretion of the Licensing Authority would become full and absolute in all cases. The majority of these schemes, however, agree in leaving the powers and discretion of the Licensing Authority unimpaired, but they postpone the statutory reduction of the number of houses for five years, and give full discretion to the Licensing Authority after that time. These are the principal points. There are, of course, minor reforms and a mass of details connected with the whole proposals which will have to be discussed and settled when the time comes, and which I cannot attempt to deal with here, beyond adding the whole of the Church of England Temperance Society's proposals as an appendix to this paper.

I would, however, suggest in passing, as to the question of Sunday closing, that Parliament ought to make Sunday closing the rule, but in order to meet the case of places where the measure in its entirety would not be supported by public opinion, the Licensing Authority might be allowed to enact a very limited exception for sale off the premises.

It will be remarked, no doubt, that I have said nothing as to what is popularly called the Direct Veto, or of the scheme of which the Bishop of Chester has come forward as the latest champion. As to the first, namely, the power of the people in any locality to prevent, by the direct vote of a proportionate majority, the issuing of any licenses at all, I agree with Mr. Joshua Rowntree, that such a power would be a valuable adjunct to a Licensing Board, but not a substitute for it. The places where prohibition by such a simple method would be carried and enforced, cannot, at present, I think, be very many, though no doubt the happy experience of those sensible enough to try it and enforce it would tempt others to follow their example. On the other hand, the proposals which I have laid before the Congress as those upon which these various schemes unite, are such that after a very few years the number of licensed houses for the common sale of intoxicants would be reduced by two-thirds or thereabouts over the whole country. The Direct Prohibitory Veto does not run counter to any part of our licensing scheme, and if there are those who do not see their way to approve of it, at least it is not necessary to go out of the way to oppose our temperance friends who believe in it and support it. I would also remind the Congress that the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation, in their famous report on intemperance, distinctly urge that the people should have this power placed in their hands, though they did not specify the particular way in which it should be exercised.

Turning for a moment to the proposals of the Bishop of Chester, whilst we must all sympathize with the desire to purify and improve the public-house, and can readily appreciate the good effect of having managers who would have no interest in the sale of intoxicants, but every interest in orderly management and sobriety, which forms the essence of his scheme, it seems to me that the time to broach it with greater effect than now would be when the number of houses has been reduced to what I call more manageable proportions. I trust he will give the proposals of the Church of England Temperance Society the benefit of his powerful advocacy, because they will, if carried out, pave the way to a large extent for the successful trial of his own, and there are many who would heartily support him.

Now I come to the practical question—What prospect is there of carrying the Church of England Temperance Society proposals, or anything in the nature of them, in the present Parliament? We have in power a Government pledged to deal with this question if they can, but if it is made a purely party question it may be doubted if they succeed in face of a determined opposition. A measure introduced jointly by members sitting on different sides of the House, supported by the Government and carried by the general sense of the House, would be more thoroughly accepted and more efficiently worked throughout the country than one which only became law after strenuous party conflict.

For the proposals of the Church of England Temperance Society, we claim that they are such as should secure the support of moderate and reasonable people who are not blinded by indifference, prejudice, or the possession of brewery shares; and we think we are entitled to call upon members of our Church throughout the length and breadth of the land to give us their earnest and active support when our Bill is introduced into Parliament.

The Liberal party has been educated of late upon this question by

the energy and determination of the temperance reformers amongst them. I am afraid the efforts of the temperance reformers amongst the Conservatives have not been equally successful as yet. It is surely time to do more.

In 1869 was published the report of the Committee of Convocation to which I have before alluded. That Committee consisted of three deans, six archdeacons, seven canons, and two prebendaries, a body of men whose opinions ought to carry weight with the Church. After a long and painstaking enquiry into the whole subject of intemperance, they made, amongst many others, eleven recommendations under the heading of legislative remedies. Twenty-three years have passed by ! For twenty-one of those years the Church of England Temperance Society has been working and agitating amongst Churchpeople in all parts of the country, and yet, on looking over these recommendations, I find that up to the present only three of the minor ones have been dealt with at all, and those only partially. Surely it is time to make some greater effort. The election is over now, and no question of interfering in party politics need trouble us further as to this question. It is a question of which is to prevail in Parliament, the interests of beer and spirits, or the higher interests of the nation. To promote temperance, the annual drink bill of £140,000,000 must be reduced ; to reduce it, we must reduce the facilities for sale and temptations to indulgence, and therefore our action must be against the interests of those whose business is to make and sell as much drink as they can. We are training in our Bands of Hope hundreds of thousands of children to resist the temptation to acquire a taste for drink ; our laws allow them to be tempted on every side, and as they grow up they perish in numbers, directly and indirectly, in consequence. We have police court missionaries, devoted men and women, working in all parts of the land, and rescuing hundreds from degradation and destruction. Our laws provide facilities which create cases for them overwhelmingly faster than they can deal with them. We spend millions in repressing and punishing criminals, maintaining paupers, trying to cure inebriates, and we maintain a system which produces them all by thousands. Is it not time, I ask once more, to unite in one great effort to support all this religious, social, and philanthropic work which is vainly battling against what has been rightly described as a huge system of organized temptation ?

We ask, then, for a greater interest in the work of the Church of England Temperance Society. We ask specially for more sympathy—and more than sympathy—for an active support in the coming struggle which shall bring to bear upon Members of Parliament a mighty and irresistible pressure in favour of temperance reform.

I have tried to show that there has been a forward movement of public opinion towards a solution of this question ; that the proposals of the Church of England Temperance Society are framed with a view of giving effect to it in a gradual but certain manner. Let these proposals be widely discussed, amended if necessary, but first let us determine that so far as the National Church is concerned, acting through her temperance society, it shall not be her fault should no measure of temperance reform be passed by the present Parliament.

Resolutions, *re* Legislation, passed at the Executive Meetings of February and March, 1891, and forwarded to the Diocesan Councils for discussion:—

(a) **SUNDAY CLOSING.**—The following resolution of the Executive, December, 1889, was re-affirmed: "That, believing public opinion to be ripe over the greater part of the country for closing Public-houses during the Lord's Day, this Executive is of opinion that an Act should be passed without further delay for this purpose, applying to the whole of England the benefits of Sunday Closing, subject to such exceptions as may prove to be reasonably demanded, and which may be necessary to secure the passing of the Bill through the present Parliament."

(b) **SERVING OF CHILDREN.**—The following resolution of the Executive of June, 1891, was re-affirmed: "That it is desirable that children under the age of sixteen should not be served with intoxicating drink in Public-houses, whether for themselves or for others, and that our Branches be urged to keep this question to the front, with a view of amending the law in the next Parliament."

(c) **TEMPERANCE TEACHING IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.**—The resolution of the Executive of March, 1891, was amended to read as follows, and adopted: "That it is most desirable that the children in all Elementary Schools be taught, in connection with physiology or hygiene, the effects of alcoholic drinks, stimulants, and narcotics on the human system, and that it be made a compulsory subject under the Education Code."

(d) **MUSIC AND DANCING IN PUBLIC-HOUSES.**—"That no music, dancing, or dramatic performances shall be allowed on any premises licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors without special license."

(e) **GROCERS' LICENSES.**—"That the Bill for the abolition of the Grocers' Licenses for the sale of spirits be proceeded with as soon as possible."

(f) **LICENSING AUTHORITY.**—"That the C.E.T.S. has always advocated '*ad hoc*' licensing boards, and still considers this the best plan to lead to progressive restriction by popular control; but that it would accept Licensing Committees of County Councils if governed by an appeal to the people, and a restriction of the number of houses according to population."

(These "*ad hoc*" Boards are to be understood to mean Boards entirely elected by ratepayers.)

(g) **SPECIAL INSPECTORS.**—"That the Executive re-affirms its proposal that Special Inspectors be appointed by the Licensing Authority for the enforcement of the law."

(h) **RATING OF HOUSES.**—"That it is desirable that the rating qualification of the premises to be licensed be generally raised."

(i) **POWERS OF LICENSING AUTHORITY.**—The Licensing Authority to have the same powers and discretion in licensing matters as the Justices now have, except that (1) "No special license, or extension of hours of sale, may be granted in future, except at a public session of the Licensing Board, and after not less than seven days' public notice." (2) "That the Licensing Authority may refuse to renew a license on their own discretion, although no objection has been preferred by any individual, provided they give notice to the license holder, and the grounds on which they propose to refuse."

(j) **CHANGES AT EXPIRATION OF TIME LIMIT.**—Five years after the passing of the Act, the following changes shall come in operation: (1) "The Board to have full control over all licenses." (2) "Retail licenses to be issued only as follows: On licenses (a) Full publican's license; (b) Refreshment house wine and beer license (to include, as now, the right to sell off); (c) Off license to sell wine and beer only; (d) Special restricted form of license for hotels†; (e) Special restricted form of license for railway† refreshment rooms." (3) "Retail licenses to be reduced by the Board to the proportion of not more than one per thousand in towns, and one per six hundred in the country."

† **HOTELS AND REFRESHMENT ROOMS.**—Agreed "That the definition of Hotels and Railway Refreshment Rooms be those that are given in the proposed Bill of the Westminster Committee, pp. 7, ch. 13, secs. a and b": (a) "As Railway Refreshment Rooms, for persons arriving or departing by railway." (b) "As Hotels, that is to say, for the reception of travellers or persons sojourning therein."

It was agreed that a copy of these resolutions be sent to each of the Diocesan Boards for their opinion.

## ADDRESS.

The Rev. J. W. HORSLEY, M.A., Vicar of Holy Trinity,  
Woolwich.

ONE may be allowed to say that rescue work, about which I am solely to speak, is, in an especial sense, Christlike, and a contermination of that in the manifestation of His love which most differentiated His labours from those of any previous lovers of mankind. "The Son of Man," He said, "is come to seek and to save that which was lost." He became despised and rejected of men, that those like to Him at least in this respect, might become like unto Him in another respect. For the self-complacent man, who called the Baptist a lunatic for being a total abstainer, He had words of scornful contempt; for the outcast of society, He had magnetic glances of compassion and of love. It is the prodigal son, and not the painfully proper elder brother, that He makes the hero of His tale; it is the Magdalene He chooses to be graven into the hollow of His hand, to be healed of the great sickness by the still greater love. Men saw, men yet see—most men that name the Name of Christ yet see—only the dark rough crust of impenitence and the inveterate habit of evil; Christ saw beneath it the hot lava stream of anguish ready to break forth. The reed lay bruised and prostrate in the mire. One saw the tiny strip undiscovered along which the life-giving sap yet mounted. The mass of smouldering flax was undoubtedly fetid, and apparently useless; One descried a latent spark, and by the tender breath of a stooping God, once more the bright flame leapt forth. Cuvier, it has been well said, was derided for his habit of poking about old bones, but he saw the potentialities of a new science which should recover old truth, and presented to an astonished world undreamt-of pages of creation's book. So sneered the world, and perhaps especially the religious world, when it saw Christ at work among the wrecks of humanity, but He took the scattered fragments of a ruined nature, and astonished the very publicans and sinners by what He produced out of themselves. Only Cuvier did it from an inspired curiosity and a longing to restore the past; Christ from a sublime affection and a longing to open out present joy and future glory to whole classes which had been handed over to ignominy and despair. Other work, and work for others, He had; the Incarnate Wisdom had nothing to learn from the adage, "Prevention is better than cure;" yet in this rescue work of His He found His chief joy, He finds—we may say it with reverence—His chief glory. He is the Christ, the Anointed One, for the anointed ones of the earth; but more precious is His Name of Jesus, the Saviour of the lost. These theses may be accepted as truisms. Even the hideously numerous modern representatives of the priest and the Levite reach their level of humanity in desiring that somebody will do something for the half-dead victims of the robber alcohol. Shall I further narcotize their conscience by describing how grandly now is the Church of England Temperance Society doing rescue work in their name, though with little of their alms or intercession, by its forty-five police court missionaries, its homes for inebriate women, and the valiant persistence of some members in each and all of its innumerable parochial branches? I will not. For to describe work that is being done, while it may attract a few fresh workers, also gives non-workers an excuse for thinking the work will go on without them; and more helpful and suggestive it will be to indicate some of the chief obstacles to rescue work. First, there is fashion and the habits of society. The common saying, "One glass can do no harm," is for many an absolute and pernicious lie; yet on this our social customs and our ideas of good fellowship and hospitality are largely founded. Terrible, is it not, the responsibility of the indiscriminate offering of drink! There is no class of society, from the highest to the lowest, that is not permeated by this fashion whereby so many



poor, miserable ones are sent to their ruin. Sad it is, but we must acknowledge the truth in this matter. Secondly, there is the selfish want of co-operation on the part of relatives and friends. Three men have come to me in one day to talk about their drunken wives—a colonel, a grocer, and a policeman—not one of whom had given up his own glass. They would applaud those who abstained for the sake of other people's wives, but would not give up drink for the sake of their own. The third obstacle in the way of rescue work are the doctors, who possibly are our best allies, but certainly, also, are among our greatest hindrances. Three hundred metropolitan doctors, in 1871, said, "No medical man should prescribe alcohol without a grave sense of responsibility." Twenty years have passed since then, and who can maintain that the word "should" can be replaced by "does." The president of the medical association said, in my hearing, "There was a time when medical men gave alcohol right and left in a manner I consider simply disgraceful." I grant that they have improved largely. They prescribe, but how often do they order the discontinuance of the drink—they rather leave that to the discretion of the weak convalescent. As I have said, they are improving, but that is largely owing to the fact that they have been educated by their patients. I grant, further, that a most dishonest use is frequently made of their words by those who want only an excuse for drinking. Yet, after all, every rescue worker can tell of the hindrances and relapses due chiefly to doctors. The fourth great hindrance to our work is the law. It is a truism, it is a truth, and it is a lie, that you cannot make men sober by Act of Parliament. The law recognizes crime, and exercises power over it. There are certain things we want, and amongst the first is the abolition of grocers' licenses. I yield to no one here in reverence for the Grand Old Man now at the head of our Government (Mr. Gladstone). Our hearts will leap up with joy if from his escutcheon of honour there is removed that great blot upon his career. I would appeal to him not to pass away before he has done something to undo that fatal mistake. It is said he is trying to disestablish and disendow four dioceses in the province of Canterbury, because they are afflicted by being beyond the river Severn. I would appeal to him to try the more necessary work of disestablishing and disendowing Mr. Gilbey. Then we want an addition to existing statutes, statutes giving more power to the people. Those people, the populous democracy in our towns and villages, are not brow-beaten by brewers and dumb-founded by distillers as their representatives in Parliament are. Give the people the power—not to continue the *status quo* by failure to adopt the direct veto—but give them power to diminish, by Licensing Boards, the number of houses and the hours of sale, as they would do at once if they possessed the power. Next, let us have enforcement of the law. In 1890 there were 14,085 drink houses in London, and only 266 summonses were issued for the numerous offences against the licensing laws. In 1881 there were only fifty-two convictions for the whole of the Metropolis. Then we want more inebriate homes, especially for the poor, State-built, State-aided, State-inspected, and managed by religious persons, or, as I should prefer, by religious bodies. That, I think, would go a long way towards the attainment of the great object we all have in view.

I began with some truisms, and I would end with Robertson's four cardinal principles:—

- (1) The worse men are, the more are they like those Christ came to seek and to save—this will save us from self-righteous pride.
- (2) The worse men are, the more they stand in need of pity and sympathy—this will save us from Pharisaic hardness.
- (3) In the worst there remains some spark, some unbroken fibre—this thought will bid us not despair.

(4) The worse men are, the more their conversion will redound to the glory of God, and the mightier instruments for good they may become in His hands—this will preserve us from the easy-going sloth or cowardice which would incline us to take up less difficult cases or work.

And, withal, grind indignantly under foot any rising feeling that you are condescending in the work ; no such ennobling and Christ-like work comes to you every day. Never mind just now the ninety and nine, case-hardened in their respectability, and compounding very likely for sin by denouncing crime ; here you will find the object of the Master's peculiar care, aye, even the very members of Christ, sore from the world's buffeting, foul with its mire, quivering with its scorn, but as the holy woman tended, and washed, and anointed that Body when rescued from its bed of shame, the cross, so will you with reverence, love, and gratitude to the Giver of the task, prepare the despised and rejected man for a resurrection and a life of glory.

## DISCUSSION.

The Rev. S. REYNOLDS HOLE, Dean of Rochester.

IN memory of an innumerable company of Christian men and women who have died in the faith, "Whose souls are with the saints, we trust," and who never heard of "Teetotalism" ; in the name of an innumerable company of Christian men and women who are trying to live righteously, soberly, and godly in this present world, who believe in temperance, but not in "Teetotalism," except as a restraint upon those who are incapacitated by self-indulgence from using without abusing ; in the cause of hospitality, custom, and common sense, I desire to protest before this great Congress of Churchmen against the intolerance and extravagance of certain extreme partisans, who, having a zeal, but not according to knowledge, are doing far more harm than good to the cause which they profess to serve. I protest against an innovation which seems to be not only presumptuous, but profane, in no longer using that which has always been regarded as wine in the Holy Communion ; against their private interpretations of Holy Scripture—their assertion that the wine which our Lord drank when He was called a wine bibber, the wine at Cana, the wine of the Holy Sacrament, was the unfermented juice of the grape. I verily believe that they would eliminate, if they could, the word *wine* from the Bible, and would have us read that the "Good Samaritan poured in oil and water, and took the poor wounded Jew to a temperance hotel." I protest against the railing accusation, as insolent as it is untrue, that we moderate drinkers are the best friends of the drunkard, and the worst enemies of the temperance cause. I protest against coercion, boycotting, and tyranny. A bishop, afterwards an archbishop, went to help a priest in his diocese by speaking at a public meeting. When the hour of refection came, he was informed by his host that "there was nothing but water on the table, but that he could have a little whiskey"—this prelate was of Irish extraction—"in his bedroom." The bishop remarked to him—from whom I received this history—"I shall ask my host to be my guest, and I shall say to him, there's nothing but whiskey on the table, but you can have a little water in your bedroom." I have been asked, after a long journey and a long sermon, whether, at my meal, I would take lemonade or zoedone? Iced lemonade at the aerated-bread shops is a boon on a summer's day, and in sickness a grateful beverage to the feverish lip ; and every man has a right to sing his *zoedone-sas-agapo, con amore*, in his own house, but he has no right to make me sit down and play his accompaniment, or even to join in the chorus. What is meant, though it is not spoken, is this : "I am aware that you have degrading habits, alcoholic proclivities, but you shall not display them here. If you, my lord bishop, must have your whiskey, you must retire to your bedroom like a naughty boy. If you, Mr. Dean, would like your glass of claret, you must wait until you reach your deanery. Stand by, I am better than thou." Not so. I tell these men that we love temperance and abhor drunkenness as heartily, but more wisely, than they—more wisely—we do not propose to discard our raiment, because some men get into debt with their tailors ; we decline to give up horse exercise because

some men tumble off; and we cannot accept decapitation as the only cure for headache. In all seriousness, we believe in conversion, and not in constraint; in the love of virtue, rather than in the fear of vice; in Divine guidance, rather than in human laws.

The Ven. WM. EMERY, Archdeacon and Canon of Ely,  
Hon. Permanent Secretary to the Church Congress.

IN giving in my name, I did not expect to be called upon so soon. I have not had much time during the Congress for thinking over this subject of temperance, but I have, for a great many years, taken a very deep interest in it. I happened to be one of the Convocation Committee that assisted in bringing out that very remarkable report on intemperance, chiefly the work of the late Archdeacon Sandford; a work which had a great effect upon the whole country, and turned its thoughts and aims much more distinctly to plans for reformation and improvement in the direction of temperance. I remember at this time there were great efforts made by two teetotal societies in which Nonconformists took a very leading part. All honour to these efforts. But they declared that till the Church of England took up the great question of temperance as a Church, no permanent or national effect could be produced. These societies were very anxious indeed that Convocation should give its *imprimatur* to teetotalism. After serious consideration of that proposition, it was decided by the committee that we could not ask the Church of England through its Convocation to accept it. All we felt we could do, and what we did, and what has had I think a most important effect on the progress of temperance throughout the country, was to lay down the principle that every man, as a follower of Jesus Christ and a member of His Church, was bound by his baptismal vow to temperance; and, secondly, that it might be most desirable, and was worthy of all encouragement, for any to become teetotalers who thought by that means they might better affect for good those how were around them, and who might thus lead others to give up habits of intemperance. Upon those two principles the Church of England Temperance Society was formed. The one who drew up the statement of the principle on which we acted was that dear old Dean of Lichfield who has just resigned his position. The country took up the double plan of the Church of England Temperance Society, and obtained for it the highest patronage it could have in the State, that of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, as well as of the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England, and many of the chief laity. Though in some respects I have been disappointed at the progress the society has made, yet, under God, the basis and plan on which it has worked have done an immense good in the past, and will, please God, do still greater good in the future. One thing, may I say, which does not appear to me to redound altogether to the credit of my brethren of the clergy. They ought—they have been pressed to do it by their bishops—to have established branches of the Society in their parishes or districts, but in very many cases have not yet done so. We have heard this morning what an important position for laying down the law and ruling the Church the bishops possess, yet although the bishops have recommended continually the clergy to form in their own parishes a branch of the Church of England Temperance Society, both to encourage temperance, and if possible discourage intemperance, yet I am grieved to say the report of the society shows that this has not been so in very many cases. I did think at the beginning that such branches would form a very valuable means, not only of promoting temperance, but also of promoting home re-union. I thought they might be the means of bringing over to the Church many even of our Nonconformist brethren who feel most deeply and work most energetically in the cause of temperance and teetotalism. I trust one of the results of the discussion on temperance to-night will be, to turn the attention of our parochial clergy and their principal lay helpers to the importance of having, in every parish, a distinct organization for promoting temperance and checking intemperance on the principles of the Church of England Temperance Society. With respect to legislation on the subject, I do feel great difficulty. It seems to me very hard, indeed, to determine that others shall not have anything because some very often are unable to resist taking too much. Working-men are often very tyrannical indeed in such matters. Excellent as very many of them are, they get a certain idea into their minds, and because they think it is good for themselves, they try to force their opinion upon everybody else. This is not quite fair; still we do need sensible, common sense legislation. Whether it is desirable to diminish the number of public-houses in the way which is proposed, or whether all public-houses should be closed on Sundays, I

really cannot say. There can be no doubt, however, that we ought to make efforts by legislation, as well as otherwise, to check what is one of the most deadly vices to soul and body, as well as to the country at large. There is no doubt existing in certain quarters a very great desire to close the public-houses on Sunday. I was called upon at Ely some while ago to take the chair upon the subject of Sunday closing, and there was a most enthusiastic meeting in our public room. A gentleman was present from London who came specially to try and persuade the people to go in for most stringent legislation. Well, I confess I felt in rather a difficult position. I stated I was not a teetotaler, though I had often abstained for awhile, but I had been obliged under medical advice from time to time to take a little stimulant. At the same time, I strongly urged the people to temperance. "I do not like to do to others," I said, "what I know need not and cannot be done to me. If the people determine to have the public-houses closed, and they show that they will have it done, I won't stand in the way." But I hesitate to press for such a measure myself, lest they should say "You are a tyrant; you can have your cellar and can take out of it whatever you like and when you like, whilst you are shutting up my place of refreshment, who cannot have a cellar. Why should you hinder me from having a pint of beer on Sunday from the public-house, if you can have it from your own cellar." If the great body of the community who have not got wine cellars or beer cellars, and who are obliged to go to the public-houses to get what they consider desirable or necessary, if they go strongly by a great majority for restrictive legislation, then, I say, do not let us oppose it. But let us be careful lest, having suddenly agreed to restriction and very strong legislation, those who do not agree with us should turn round and say "Why do you interfere with our liberty and comforts?" Before such legislation is really determined on, the greatest care should be taken to secure the real consent of the majority whom it will principally affect.

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#### CANON STOWELL.

THE archdeacon who has preceded me has somewhat prepared my way. I am glad he returned to legislation in the latter part of his speech, for I began to think that the deans and archdeacons had license to wander from the subject on the programme. On the question of legislation I wish to say a few words. I have had the privilege of advocating side by side with your lordship, notably on one occasion in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford—the Sunday closing of public-houses. I wish to put in a word for this measure, and to say that before you enter upon the large and difficult question of temperance legislation in general, you have this question waiting for solution, and demanding solution, which is ripe for legislation, and which has long been due—that is, the Sunday closing of public-houses. I believe that this measure should take the first place, because it would do more to promote temperance than any other practicable measure which we are likely to get within any reasonable time. It occupies a very remarkable position of vantage. It unites in its support all those who are zealous on behalf of the due observance of the Lord's Day, and those who are desirous of promoting temperance. It unites the support of abstainers and non-abstainers. I may remind Archdeacon Emery that he need have no fear of difficulty in this matter, because Sunday closing deals, not with the use, but with the sale of liquor. Then, again, it occupies a distinct and distinctive basis. Its demand is based upon the character of the day even more than of the trade affected. Further, it introduces no new principle into our legislation. The late Archbishop Magee said, on one occasion, "The real question to my mind is, not whether those houses should be closed, but whether they should be open on Sunday. The question is not to impose an exceptional restraint upon the publican, but to confer an exceptional privilege upon him." Is there such an exceptional care due to the trade of the publican as to entitle him to an exceptional privilege? And his Grace said it was a question of fact and not of principle, and it seems clear from the returns that the public generally do not want the convenience. Again, this is not an untried experiment. I would remind you that we have had Sunday closing in Scotland since 1854, and the united testimony of select committees, the police, and the magistrates is altogether in its favour. I may further mention, as a very significant fact, that when the English Bill was last brought into the House of Commons, forty-three Scottish members voted in favour of it, and three against it. Then, again, we have had Sunday closing in Ireland since 1878. There has been an important select committee sitting to investigate the

working of that Act, and that committee has pronounced altogether in its favour. Two chief secretaries of successive Governments of opposite parties have both expressed their conviction of the excellent results of that Act, and were in favour of its extension and of its being made permanent. Further, since 1881 we have had Sunday closing in Wales, and a recent report of a Royal Commission which examined into the working of Sunday closing in Wales has been decidedly favourable. And a more important practical proof still is, that twenty-three Welsh members voted in favour of the English Bill to one against it. If I had time, I should like to show you that this measure is demanded and desired by those whom it will chiefly affect. The *Quarterly Review*, in an article on Financial Prospects a few years ago, said :—"It is the wage-receiver who calls for it. It is from the new electorate, the great mass of whom live by weekly wages, that that pressure has proceeded, which has made possible a kind of legislation of which, prior to 1868, no practical statesman dreamed, which even in 1875 seemed indefinitely remote." That nearly half the drinking and three-fourths of the drunkenness of this country takes place on Saturday evening and Sunday, is too notorious to need proof or illustration. The demand for Sunday closing, then, means a demand to curtail, by at least one-half, the period during which their habits and the necessities of their daily work permit the wage-receivers to indulge in their favourite vice ; and such a demand argues a very great and significant change of feeling among them. It is almost too late in the day to argue the question of Sunday closing. I was very much delighted and surprised to find, in reading the speeches of candidates at the recent general election to their constituents or expected constituents, that hardly anyone did not admit the principle of Sunday closing. Many of them, however, said that some exception must be made in order to give facilities for obtaining dinner and supper beer, and at least there must be some modifications. This supposed necessity has been already alluded to by Mr. Stafford Howard. On this point I would simply read you the following quotation on the subject, from the report of the Welsh Sunday Closing Commissioners :—"One of the suggestions most frequently made to us was the repeal of the Sunday Closing Act, or its modification in the direction of repeal by permitting the opening of public-houses for a short time in the middle and evening of Sunday, either for sale both on and off the premises, or for the latter only. We cannot, after giving them the fullest and most careful consideration, endorse either of these recommendations. Had it been our duty to advise on the form of the original legislation, we might have suggested that some facilities should have been given for obtaining drink in small quantities for domestic consumption. We are, however, convinced that a change in this direction would be so unwelcome to so vast a majority of the population in so large an area of the Principality, that we do not think it ought to be forced on this large area for the sake of a possible benefit to the rest of the country. Moreover, we find an almost complete absence of evidence of a desire for such an amendment of the law on the part of those classes who would be most likely to require or use it. We think, however, that the law may be usefully amended in regard to travellers, clubs, shebeens, the wholesale trade, and certain minor matters." That, I hope, will dispose of one of the objections which have been taken on this score, and lead all friends of temperance to support this movement for the closing of public-houses on Sunday.

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**Mr. THOMAS MASTERS COWLEY, Member of the Council of  
the United Kingdom Railway Temperance Union.**

I THINK it is about time a layman had a turn. This is not only a clergy, but a people's question, not less important to laymen than to clergymen. We are brethren of the Church of England Temperance Society, which has two sections ; notwithstanding which we are all one body, having the same objects in view, the promotion of temperance and sobriety amongst the people of the country. When I consider the reception given by the Nonconformists of this town to this Congress—honour to whom honour is due—I cannot help remembering the fact that they took up this question before we did ; we have come in late, and are making up for lost time. I appear before you to-night as a railway man, and as an attached member of the Church of England, that noble but much maligned institution which is spoken against for various reasons, some of which, doubtless, are well founded, and others of which have no foundation whatever. I therefore want to stand up here in defence of her principles, and

particularly of her worthy action with reference to her being the only section of the Christian Church that took up the temperance cause among railway men as a body. There is a branch of the Church of England Temperance Society with which I am connected, viz., the railway temperance interest of this country, which is no small interest, as it represents 360,000 men engaged in its operations. I doubt not the train was the first thing that brought you here, and that it will be the last thing to take you back to your respective homes; and it would not have been a proper thing if, in a Congress of the Church of England, railway men had been left out. When I consider the vast importance, not only to the men themselves, for their personal comfort and safety, but also for the comfort and safety of the travelling public, that principles of temperance and habits of sobriety should prevail, I feel there is no excuse necessary for my appearing before you. I may state that within the year 1891, 549 railway servants were killed, and 3,161 were injured, while in the execution of their duties. Then, again, the safety of the public has to be considered; for nearly all the members of this Congress, excepting those who have come by sea, have been indebted to the railways and to railway-men for bringing them here in safety. Considering that about nine hundred millions of people travel by the railways of Great Britain annually, and that the lives of the public are in the hands of the railway servants, anything which tends to promote temperance amongst those men lessens the dangers of travelling to the public. The United Kingdom Railway Temperance Union is one of the best insurance societies in the world for every traveller by the railway. You have heard from a gentleman from Liverpool that the companies make bye-laws, but there is no use of the companies making bye-laws if their men are tempted and permitted to break them. Will you, as the public, help the men to keep and observe the bye-laws, by not giving them drink? And, remember, they are dealt with severely enough for any offences they may commit. Travellers ask railway servants, "Will you have a drink?" and, if the man says "No, I cannot," then the traveller should say, "Here is sixpence for you to take home to your wife and children." If that were the universal practice, how much good would result? But I fear the drink has often the best of it, and the wife and children don't get the sixpence. Then, again, the interest of the railway company is at stake. Here is what a chairman says in enclosing a cheque for the funds of the union:—"I desire and wish it every success; I am fully conscious of the good work which is being effected through its instrumentality." The superintendent of New Street station—one of the largest stations in the world—says: "During the last few years, since the establishment of the Temperance Union, at New Street station the punishments of the men have been practically nominal." My Lord Bishop, I am very pleased to see you in the chair to-night, because I am a Warwickshire man, and it gives me much pleasure to see our bishop with us on this important occasion. My object in appearing before you is to plead the cause of the Railway Temperance movement, in the hope that your consciences may be awakened and your generosity evoked in support of that movement. And I trust that, on going home, most of us will be able to say: "Surely this Congress has been a railway Congress." And when you members of Congress get—I trust in perfect safety—to your respective places of abode, I trust your consciences may be touched with a feeling of thankfulness to the railway companies and to the railway servants. And you will have an opportunity before long of showing your thankfulness in a practical manner, for we are going to have a bazaar in London, on the 30th of November and the 1st and 2nd of December, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of the week. I ask you to notice the dates and record them in your memorandum books; and if any of you have any articles you do not know what to do with, or any loan pictures you want to exhibit for a few days in London, send them to us through our secretary—Mr. Thompson, 4, The Sanctuary, Westminster. And if the people of Folkestone and other towns will come to the bazaar, say by special train, we will give them a right royal welcome at S. Martin's Town Hall in the royal parish of London.

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The Rev. E. LAMBERT, Rector of Herne.

I WOULD not have sent up my card to-night had I not felt that some part of your interest was due to that large and important body of men, the seamen connected with the town of Folkestone, for England, throughout her whole history, and in connection with her commerce and very existence, is largely indebted to her seamen.

I think, in a Church Congress held at a seaport town, and at a temperance meeting, some reference should be made to those men ; and I have been specially asked by the committee of the Missions to Seamen to say a few words on this subject to-night. A remarkable degree of success has been vouchsafed to the Church of England Temperance Society. There is very little doubt that seamen have not only signed the pledge by the thousand, but that they have kept it, and that the whole tone of public opinion amongst seamen with regard to the abominable vice of drunkenness has been altered and elevated. With the Dean of Rochester, I believe that has been largely due to the self-sacrificing efforts of over thirty chaplains and fifty Scripture-readers, nearly all of whom are total abstainers, who said, "The example of total abstinence is the only example which we can set before the seamen which they can appreciate—however much we may admire the moderate section—if we are to persuade them to do without drink in the pursuit of their exposed and dangerous calling." And the good work which has been effected has been due, not only to the work of those chaplains and Scripture-readers, but also to other societies, such as the Seamen's Institutes, dotted round our coast, which have been a powerful factor in this movement. Many a sailor drifts into the public-house and loses his money, sometimes his life, simply because he has no better place to go to. I myself have had to bury more than one of them who have fallen into the dock and have been drowned whilst in a state of intoxication. The lives of sailors have been lost and their families pauperized simply for the want of a bright and attractive institute in each one of our English seaports. In all these institutes we have not only a free club room open during the day, but almost every night in the year we have some attractive entertainment, which is always well attended. We have also such things as ambulance classes, good concerts, magic-lantern exhibitions, and such like things, all of which draw the men together. Now, I think this course of procedure might be adopted with reference to other classes of the community besides the seamen, and that it might meet with the same or a like measure of success. The river policemen on the north side, at the annual temperance meeting of one of our institutes, said they noticed a most marvellous change has come over the seaport, and that, especially on Christmas Day and New Year's Day, when people frequently gave way to the degrading sin of drunkenness, the seamen had stood out as a pattern of society. Though we have many of those institutes in connection with the work of the Church in seaports, yet the greatest seaport in the world has as yet nothing of direct recognition and support from the Church in connection with those institutes. I would appeal to Churchpeople to rally round this great society, which has been called a travelling agency of the National Church, and help us to provide a large Seamen's Institute Church for the port of London, and an adequate staff to work it. In the spring of this year I put on a disguise one night and went to several public-houses to find out the haunts of sailors. I was not so successful as a friend of mine who did the same thing, but I found some sailors, and tracked down from sixteen to twenty each night. But a friend of mine, who did the same thing a little afterwards, found in one of the public-houses of London, between eleven and twelve at night, a very much larger number of seamen drinking and spending their money, and at the same time ruining both body and soul. In London every night such things go on to the most frightful extent, and I would most earnestly appeal to those interested in temperance work, and all those who believe in what I have stated as to the wonderful amount of good which is being effected amongst our seamen at the present, as well as what has been accomplished in the past, whilst they may send up something for the railway men, that they will remember that it is not only the railways and railway men that have brought numbers to the Congress at Folkestone, but that the sailors also have done something, and are entitled to a liberal share of your support.

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The Rev. FORBES E. WINSLOW, Rector of S. Paul's,  
S. Leonards.

As I have been listening to the papers and debates of this Congress, I have been very much struck with their wonderful unanimity ; so much so, that I have rather longed for a more breezy atmosphere such as would be engendered by the introduction of the Italian institution, an *Advocatus Diaboli*, into our midst. This desire of mine has been unexpectedly gratified this evening, and I hope that you have been satisfied with the result. I stand here to-night, not as a Protestant, but as a Catholic, not as

one who feels it incumbent upon him to protest against other people's views and ideas, but rather as one who—having strong views of his own on this matter of temperance—is perfectly willing to be kind and large-hearted and charitably sympathetic towards those who conscientiously differ from him. I am a total abstainer of sixteen years' standing, and throughout the whole of that period have excluded that which I believe to be poisonous and pernicious from my own home, so that if the Dean of Rochester were to favour me with a visit and accept my hospitality, it would be impossible to offer him even the last resource of a glass of whiskey in his bedroom. I became a total abstainer simply and solely out of a desire to do good to others by example as well as precept, for intoxicating liquors have no charms for me, nor have I ever had the slightest dread of coming under their influence. The *raison d'être* of the total abstinence of so many of my clerical brethren is a desire to come down to the level of our poor tempted brothers and sisters, and so long as we indulge in alcohol, even to a limited extent, we realize that we are powerless to influence those whom we are anxious—in the spirit of our Divine Master—to seek and to save. I remember once seeing a picture in a shop window which arrested my attention. There was a stone cross planted firmly in a bed of rocks, and round it was raging a stormy sea; a woman who had evidently just escaped from the perils of the tempest was clinging to the cross with both hands. As I looked, I said to myself, "That symbolizes Christianity," but instinctively I felt there was something wanting, and I turned away disappointed, for my ideal of our holy religion was not there. The next day I saw by its side a companion picture—same cross, same bed of rock, and the same raging, angry sea; but this time the attitude of the figure was changed; the woman was now clinging with one arm to the cross and with the other striving to rescue some poor perishing soul, whose agonized hand was just visible above the stormy wave. "Yes," I said as I looked, "that is Christianity." Having found Christ, we must needs bring others to Him. Having rejoiced in the fulness of our salvation, realizing in our own hearts the joy of our Lord, finding how helpful to our spiritual life are the privileges of our Catholic worship, the sweet charm and grace of our Sacraments, and the abiding presence of our blessed Master, we must needs go out to seek and to save the lost, and bring them into the same haven of rest where we are safely anchored ourselves; but to do this we must read the cross into our own lives, and have the mind of Jesus, and to humble ourselves if haply we can reach those who otherwise would be left in the dominion of sin. Until I could do this I never knew the power of the Lord in my own life, and that is the reason—and to my mind an all-sufficient reason—why so many of my brethren are amongst those pledged abstainers upon whom so much unworthy and unjustifiable ridicule has been poured this evening.

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### Major EVERED POOLE.

I STAND here in rather a peculiar position, because I can happily declare myself a downright teetotaler. We have heard a great deal to-night on the other side, and I venture to say, with all respect to those who have gone before me, that the highest principle, and the principle which underlies God's Word, is self-denial for the sake of our brethren; and when we are told that the teetotaler says, "I am better than thou," I beg to say that such is really not the case at all. I have worked in the temperance cause now for a good many years. We have met together to-night in this great Congress, and I venture to affirm that all who are here present are perfectly aware that the standing national evil in our land is intemperance which is caused by drinking, and if our nation is ever to be delivered from this sin it can only be delivered by the removal of the cause, and that cause is drink. Several speakers have wandered away altogether from the question before us. I want you just to consider what is really the aim and object before every citizen of this great country. Is it true, or is it not true, that we have a removable evil in our midst, which is the cause of all these asylums, workhouses, and gaols which are flourishing in our land, and of which I heard the Lord Chief Justice of England himself say, speaking of prisons, "But for drink, nine out of ten of the prisons could be torn down and turned into playgrounds for the people?" We are told it is fanatical to be a teetotaler; we are also told that if we are acting according to the principle of teetotalism we are almost directly acting in opposition to God's Word. One friend spoke strongly about punitive measures for the habitual drunkard. He quoted Solomon, but he did not quote S. Paul, who says, "I will neither eat flesh nor drink wine, nor do anything whereby my brother



stumbleth or is made weak." That is the principle upon which teetotalers rely, and, if we act on that principle, we shall be not only a comfort and example, but, if we are desirous of furthering the immediate cause of temperance, we shall be practising what we endeavour to preach. I do not believe in a man being a worker who does not act up to that which he professes. We must be leaders if we have any to follow, and in this cause of temperance, if we are to be a power in the country at all, it can only be by being downright total abstinents ourselves. Some points in regard to legislation have been brought forward to-night. I look upon one great cause of the evil in our land as the system of tied houses. Why is it that we have these tied houses? You may go through our principal cities and towns, and you will find that there are very few public-houses indeed that are not tied. In some cases the brewers own as many as ten, fifteen, or twenty houses in one town, and I say one great step in legislation would be one licence to one man. In reference to the recent controversy as regard compensation and the removal of public-houses, our position was greatly misunderstood by the Government, for it was supposed that, as teetotalers, we were opposed to all compensation; so we were, to a certain extent; we were opposed to compensation to the brewers, but not to the poor publican himself. By that means not only would the publicans be on our side, but we should be able to get rid of two-thirds or more of those public-houses which now exist. Again, I would ask you not to be misled as to the principle on which we are acting; if we are desirous of being rescuers, we must remove some of the public-houses if we can. Jesus Christ came down from His throne to be our rescuer, and you and I have the instinct of rescue planted within us. We should exercise that instinct very quickly if we saw a child in danger, and we should desire to go forth and do anything and everything which would be the means of rescuing our fellow-men and women.

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The Hon. and Rev. JAS WENTWORTH LEIGH, Hon. Canon  
of Worcester, Rector of S. Mary's, Bryanstone Square.

I HAVE only five minutes allotted to me to speak, and will not occupy your time with advertising Railway Temperance Bazaars, Seamen's Missions, or other extraneous matters. I stand here simply because a great deal has been said to-night by those high in authority which has distressed me much. It is very easy to be amusing at the cost of others, but at such a meeting as this we want to impress on those present that they have responsibilities, and that they are answerable to God for the welfare of their fellow-creatures, and I say that no speech which is made simply on the idea of affording amusement can confer any real benefit, however much it may delight the audience by its humorous eloquence. Quotations have been made from Scripture favouring the views of our opponents. We might make any number of quotations for our own view of the question. With reference to what has been said with regard to the action of the Good Samaritan, would there were many more Good Samaritans among us to rescue poor victims fallen among thieves, owing to the cursed drink. The teetotalers have no objections whatever to the use of alcohol for external application only, but we should like to see such alcohol as is ordered by a medical man made up at the chemist's, and marked "Poison." The very rev. gentleman said that temperance fanatics would probably say the inn to which the poor victim was taken was a temperance inn. I have no doubt that it was one, and I do not find anything to show that it was anything else. But we are met here this evening to discuss legislative measures for the suppression of intemperance. I came here to learn something with respect to this subject, but I regret to say I have learned but little, as no discussion has taken place on the subjects of the able papers. What we, as Christian men and women are anxious for, are such laws passed as will benefit our poor neighbours. We have had a paper from one high in authority among the medical professors, and yesterday afternoon I attended a very interesting meeting of medical gentlemen and others interested in the prevention and cure of inebriety, held in the hall of the Medical Society in Chandos Street, and there a discussion took place on the same subject which has this evening been brought before you, and the conclusion arrived at by those most competent to judge of the matter was, that it was most desirable that the poor victims of intemperance should be sent to asylums provided by the State, a course of action which I think all will approve of. At the present time we know of wretched inebriate females who have been convicted 200,

300, and 400 times for drunken and disorderly conduct. Is not this an absurdity? Why should not they be treated as other lunatics, and be committed to some asylum on the certificate of two medical men by a magistrate. Surely that is a matter which the moderates can help to carry out. Total abstiners often get blamed for their fanaticism and strong language. I think that anyone who has listened to the speeches to-night will agree that the fanaticism and strong language has been on the other side. A question was asked (I think by the Venerable Archdeacon) why there were not more branches of the Church of England Temperance Society in parishes throughout England. I believe I can answer that question. It is owing to the indifference shown towards the Temperance movement by so many incumbents of parishes. They feel no interest whatever in the cause. Well, if that be not so, what reason can there possibly be why a society should not be started in every parish? If it was a total abstinence society, we might possibly understand it. But the Church of England Temperance Society has a general or moderate section, and therefore there can be no excuse for not starting a parochial branch. I fear, however, that the incumbent often hesitates because he feels that he cannot go the whole length, and consequently is afraid that some of his more ardent parishioners may find fault with him for not doing so, and may ask him some awkward questions when he is in the chair. On one occasion when we were holding a temperance mission, I got a gentleman who belonged to the general section to preside at one of my meetings. He was a gentleman holding a high position, and was much respected by all who knew him, he supported the temperance cause, but was fond of a glass of old port, and he showed signs of it on his genial countenance. I was very anxious to reform an old woman who was too fond of indulging in gin, and I placed her in the first row that she might be converted by the wise words of counsel she would hear from the chair. She seemed attentive, and was gazing at the rubicund countenance of our chairman, and I heard her making an observation, the purport of which I could not catch, but I was afterwards told it was to this effect—"I'm blest if ever I could be converted by a man with such a face as that." Here is a danger which might happen to a gentleman presiding over a temperance meeting who is a moderate drinker.

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The Rev. P. R. P. BRAITHWAITE, Vicar of Andover, Hants.

I AM thankful to stand here as an object of the Dean of Rochester's scorn. I am one of those hundreds and thousands of clergy who have taken the pledge of total abstinence for the sake of our people, in order to do some rescue work. How could the Dean heap abuse on us after a speech like that of Mr. Horsley's to-night? Mr. Horsley gave you the very key note of the Church of England Temperance Society, viz., that we are working for God; and that if there is self-denial on the part of total abstiners, it is simply for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. Then we have a witty Dean, who can pour out his witticisms on a spirit like that. (Interruption.) I want to speak of something that Sir Dyce Duckworth said in his speech—(Cries of "Apologize")—I wish to speak of Sir Dyce Duckworth and his speech. (Interruption).

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

I MUST plead for order, and ask you to allow the speaker to go on.

The Rev. P. R. P. BRAITHWAITE.

SIR DYCE DUCKWORTH said he left the Church of England Temperance Society because of the intolerance of the total abstinence section.

Sir DYCE DUCKWORTH.

I MADE no such statement.

The Rev. P. R. P. BRAITHWAITE.

I BEG your pardon, sir, I am quite willing to apologize. But you said something to that effect. I quite apologize to Sir Dyce Duckworth; I had no desire to misrepresent him at all, but he said that the intolerance of the total abstiners depressed the desire for work on the part of the other section.

Sir DYCE DUCKWORTH.

I DID say something to that effect.

The Rev. P. R. P. BRAITHWAITE.

ALL we total abstiners want, is that we shall be overwhelmed by the general section. Come in your thousands and tens of thousands, outweigh us, outvote us, we will welcome you all. It is our great desire to have the whole nation with us, whether they come in as abstainers, or non-abstainers, and it is not our fault if we are misguided people, and make mistakes because we have not got you to help us—give us the benefit of your advice. We are pledged to try to put down this great evil of intemperance, to raise men and women who are sinking underneath it, to help them and bring them to Christ. If we can have all who are not abstainers to help us in this work, we shall be only too glad. Bring your friends in hundreds and thousands, and whether they are total abstiners or not, if they will only assist us in this great work, we shall be thankful for their aid.

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### EXHIBITION THEATRE.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 5TH, 1892.

The Right Rev. BISHOP SMYTHIES in the Chair.

## PHYSICAL RECREATION: ITS USE AND ABUSE.

### PAPERS.

Colonel G. M. ONSLOW, Cavalry Barracks, Canterbury.

I HAVE the honour of being here this evening by the invitation of His Grace the President, and of the members of the Subjects Committee of the Church Congress, to read a paper on "The Use and Abuse of Physical Recreation," or, in other words, of athletic exercises; and I am glad to find that the subject is deemed worthy of the consideration of the Congress, as it is, in my humble opinion, one the importance of which it is difficult to over-rate; for I am firmly convinced that upon the physical condition of our people, as much as upon their mental, does the maintenance and prosperity of our great country depend; and with such vast and far-reaching interests as we have at stake in all directions, possessing, as we do, wealth such as no other people have ever accumulated; holding, as we do, so many of the gates of our enemies; having to defend strategic positions of one sort and another all over the world, in many instances with a mere handful of men in the presence of apparently overwhelming odds, we are naturally hated by some nations, and the object of the envy and jealousy of most others; and consequently the health, vigour, energy, and stamina of our manhood can never fail to be a question of vital importance with us; for, as was stated in an article on National Defence in the *Daily Telegraph* some time back, "We may devise systems of military defence, but in

the long run they will mainly depend on the pith and sinews of Englishmen," and never were truer words written; and the late Lord Beaconsfield also, in a speech he delivered in 1872 at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, made use of the following portentous words: "The first consideration of a Minister should be the health of a people . . . a land may be covered with historic trophies . . . the people may be civilized and ingenious . . . the country may be famous in the annals and actions of the world . . . but if the stature of the race every ten years diminishes, the history of that country will soon be a history of the past."

I say then, that it is incumbent on us to pay due attention to the physical as well as to the mental education and culture of our youths, boys, and girls, for we cannot afford to ignore the fact, that upon the health and stamina of our men and women of the present, depends the stature and bodily strength and soundness of constitution of future generations of Englishmen; and I unhesitatingly affirm that by a robust and healthy race alone can our wealth be kept, our commerce and resources developed, the stability and unity of our Empire maintained, and last, not least, the great privilege enjoyed of making our civilizing influence felt, and the truths and blessings of Christianity known, in the furthest corners of the globe.

Now the time allowed in which to read a paper is so short—twenty minutes—that I have found it most difficult to do more than touch upon the fringe of my subject, and I have, therefore, thought it desirable to dwell upon the uses rather than the abuses of physical recreation, especially as there can be no question that for one man who suffers from the effects of over-indulgence therein, a hundred poor fellows, and a thousand poor girls, never get a chance of indulging in it at all, to their great and permanent injury—and more particularly does this apply to our girls; and I think you will agree with me that the evils attending its abuse are, to a great extent, self-evident, at any rate as far as its moral effects are concerned, and to attempt to consider at all thoroughly its effects from a physiological point of view would, on such an occasion as this, be impossible, even if desirable; I shall therefore confine myself to a few generalities, at the risk of their being stigmatized truisms.

I have seen it stated that "the first requisite to success in life is to be a good animal," and there is much truth in the statement, as without vigour and strength of body, a man's intellectual efforts must be lacking in proper force and persistence; but the man who aspires to physical superiority alone, loses sight of the fact that the perfection of one's corporeal faculties can only be approached when these latter are directed and controlled by a cultivated and well-balanced mind.

Health, it will not be denied, is one of God's greatest and most priceless blessings, though its value is seldom truly realized until it is lost; and it is every man's duty to strive to keep it. But it has been said that to become concerned about one's health is apt to foster fanciful anxieties, and to lead to valetudinarianism, and that there is something unworthy or at least trivial, in caring for the body. One might as well say that it is trivial to look after your house, and keep it in repair; for your body is, after all, the house you have to live in, and the better the repair in which you keep it, the more comfortable and happy you will be, and the more efficiently you will perform your

duties. No, *health* rather than *strength* is, with most men, the great requirement of modern times, and the object of all recreative bodily exercise should be the perfecting and maintenance of the human organism in health and vitality; but inordinate indulgence in athletic exercises cannot conduce to this, but on the contrary, it tends to sap a man's stamina, and to strain and injure him, causing but too often serious mental and organic waste and prostration. "Excessive exercise," as Lagrange puts it, "makes the brain of a man a blunted tool, which is no longer fitted for mental work."

The man who devotes his whole time and thoughts to the development of his bodily powers, and neglects the expansion and culture of his mental faculties, unfits himself for the duties he owes to society, and which his own interests demand of him, and he probably becomes in after life a burden to his family and a curse to himself. No, a man's powers, mental and material, must be cultivated concurrently, for it is the mind that has to govern the body; but it is the mind and body together that make the whole man, and to exclusively educate one and neglect the other, whichever it may be, is to do an injustice to both. I am a great believer in athletics; I have laboured hard to promote physical recreation among the masses, I daily see the great benefits accruing to those who reasonably and prudently indulge in it; but I have noticed the tendency there is—generally arising from ignorance—to lose sight of the fundamental principle which should govern all exercise, viz., "that it should always be regulated by the fitness of those who undergo it." There are men, and women, of perfectly different corporal powers and bodily capacity, who, without any thought or discretion, undertake the same physical feats of strength endurance or activity, though to the one it may mean little or no exertion to speak of, but to the other desperate fatigue or exhaustion.

The over-worked lawyer, clerk, clergyman, or whoever it may be, is perhaps warned both by nature and the doctor that he is devoting himself too closely to mental studies and sedentary occupations, and when he accepts the advice given him to rest his overstrained brain by some form of physical recreation, he too often does not stop to consider what he is fit for, or to what extent he may with safety tax his heart and other muscles, but plunges into some violent and prolonged exercise for which his muscular and organic systems are wholly unprepared, and is then surprised if he suffers rather than benefits therefrom. Such a man breaks one of the laws of health, and he pays the penalty, for the abuse of bodily recreation will assuredly sooner or later bring its own punishment. Every man should, as far as possible, gauge his own strength and powers, and never, if he can help it, tax them to the verge of exhaustion, but by moderate and steadily increasing exercise, should slowly and surely prepare himself for the additional and unaccustomed labour he is desirous of performing.

A man's physical faculties may be said to increase or diminish up to a certain point, in proportion to the exercise they are given, and violent exertions should never be made without due preparation, or, as they too often are, from a vain desire to perform some athletic feat for which a person's daily life and training have rendered him totally unfit.

The good resulting from physical recreation is not, however, necessarily in proportion to increased indulgence in it; the right measure only

is the wholesome one. Regularly and intelligently taken, it will make the weak man strong, but if not regulated by judgment and discretion will reduce the strong man to decrepitude. Oh that men in this, as in other things, would remember the adage: "That the excesses of our youth are drafts upon old age, payable with interest about thirty years after date." A good many have to meet the bill much sooner, with heavy interest too.

But, alas! how few, comparatively, even in this sports loving country of ours, get the right measure, or indeed any portion at all. Among what we term the classes, the majority of the boys and many of the girls get ample bodily exercise, and doubtless many get too much, especially as it is generally of a purely recreative character, not, as it should be, partly systematized; for physical education, as distinguished from recreative exercise, is unfortunately in its infancy in this country, to our shame and disgrace. However I cannot enter upon this now, it being outside the scope of my task, but what I do wish to bring home to my hearers as forcibly as in my power lies, is the supreme importance of encouraging and facilitating physical recreation among the masses, viz., the toilers and great unwashed of our large towns and cities. They it is whose occupations are irksome and monotonous, and but too frequently followed under conditions most injurious to health, and tending to stunt and distort the natural growth and development of their minds and bodies; and they are the beings to whom healthy recreative exercise in fresh pure air is an absolute necessity, not alone for their own individual good, but for the health and morality of the community at large, and yet they are the ones who in but few instances get it, to their very serious detriment and hurt.

There is a tremendous gravitation of the people just now toward great centres, they seek for employment in large towns, and it may be accepted as a fact that, *ceteris paribus*, the more people crowd together the more unhealthy do they become. That which injures the health of a community must in time cause deterioration of physique and stature, and this, as previously pointed out, constitutes a serious danger to our national existence. But physical culture, I maintain, is a means, and a potent means, of counteracting the deleterious influences which are at work, and is deserving of the careful attention of all thinking men and women, and the more attention it receives and the more the question is studied, the more will its importance to the individual and to the population at large be recognized and appreciated. Now you will note that I have classified it under two heads—educational and recreative, but it is with the latter that I have at present to deal.

The aim of all education should be to produce a good and useful citizen, and this a man cannot be called who, no matter what his intellectual powers may be, collapses in the midst of his labours, with his task but half accomplished, for the want of bodily health and endurance. Such qualities, then, must be cultivated if a man in these latter days is to hold his own in the great and increasing struggle for existence, and no clergymen, no schoolmasters, no parents or guardians, should think it beneath them, or outside the limit of their duties towards the youths entrusted to their care, and for whose education and general training they are responsible, to supervise, direct, and when possible take part in, the glorious games, out-door and in (particularly the former), which flourish

in this country; and they should bear in mind the aphorism of Sir Philip Sydney: "That youth will never live to age without they keep themselves in breath with exercise and in heart with joyfulness."

The term "exercise" is generally held to mean the movement and action of the voluntary muscles—that is, of those under the control of the will—and without it no proper development can take place in either these or in the involuntary muscles which work in connection with them, viz., the muscles of the brain, heart, lungs, etc.; but remember that upon the healthy condition and functional activity of these latter does a man's health and bodily comfort depend. Time will not allow of my describing, however shortly, the beautiful and interesting process of the development of the muscular system and organs under the action of exercise; but I must ask you to accept as a fact, that by it alone can the body approach perfection or be maintained in proper health, and a man be made in mind and body sound, hardy, and robust. Such, then, is briefly the general and immediate effect of rational exercise on the human frame; but with health and increased physical power comes increased capacity for productive labour, and a high state of health and activity of the body means improved energy and activity of the mind, for the action of the mind being dependent upon a "material" organ, the "brain," this latter (like any other organ), to be kept in sound health and vigour, must be constantly flushed with an adequate supply of pure oxygenized blood, and, as I have already said, it is the mind and body "together" that make the whole man, for the vigour of the mind will flourish or decay with that of the body, and a man's judgment, discretion, and strength of purpose is most assuredly greatly influenced by the state of his bodily health. But the benefits accruing to an individual from exercise are much enhanced if it is combined with pleasure; for with joy comes animation, a bounding pulse, a free and active circulation, and a blithe heart makes a blooming visage; hence the advantage of recreation.

Well, so far I have been indicating how physical recreative exercise makes one strong and healthy; but there is another most important acquirement to be sought after by all people, and that is "activity;" and the want of activity observable in thousands upon thousands of the masses is simply deplorable. You cannot well be active without being strong, though you may have great strength without activity. Activity of the body means a ready and immediate obedience of the muscles and limbs to the dictates of the will, and activity of the mind means a quick perception and the capacity to rapidly grasp a situation, at once taking in its advantages or difficulties as the case may be, and quickly determining how to act. Now this activity is acquired by establishing a rapid contraction of the muscles in swift obedience to the mandates of the will; and this habit, again, is greatly assisted and promoted by playing manly games, and by taking sharp, vigorous athletic exercise, of a character calculated to bring into energetic use every muscle of the body, thereby ensuring its full and perfect conformation. Then again, most people are better developed one side than the other; particularly among the working-classes is this the case, for the side most used in their daily labour is the stronger; but this is all wrong. Uniformity of development and general, not partial, strength is what is required, and it is for

this reason that it is so desirable that boys and girls should undergo *systematic* physical exercise at *school*, and should also have every opportunity of playing the glorious out-door games so dear to Englishmen during play hours, as by this means one group of muscles are exercised at one time and a different set at another, thus ensuring their general improvement, and the consequent regular performance of all the functions of the body.

But, in addition to the material good resulting from physical recreation, look at the moral improvement it is capable of effecting. To start with, individuality of character is the outcome of manly games; they promote courage, presence of mind, and self-reliance. Idiosyncrasies of disposition are laid bare in the excitement of a vigorous athletic struggle, and opportunities occur to parents, teachers, and others, to discern and appreciate the good qualities, to detect and check the bad. Then, we know that in all human beings there are certain gregarious instincts which it is wise to encourage, especially if they can congregate for good, not evil, purposes; and we know that there is no race like our own with such an innate love of athletic pastimes, and with such a superabundance of animal energy. Let us, therefore, direct this into safe and harmless channels, and what safer or more harmless way can there be, than to offer facilities to boys and girls to throw themselves heart and soul into some joyous healthy game? Depend upon it that many rough lads, of the corner-boy class, who are so often guilty of violence and disorder in public thoroughfares, had they but the chance of playing, and did they but know how to play, decent, vigorous games, would frequently be kept out of mischief thereby; and the manly instincts, the spirit of fair play, engendered in those who take part in athletic pastimes, would soon produce a humanizing effect upon them, to the lasting benefit of their souls and bodies, and to the improvement of the society of which they form part.

The grand virtue of temperance, also, is undoubtedly fostered in those who strive to excel in manly games, for no one can become an expert gymnast, a good cricketer, or a successful athlete, who is self-indulgent or intemperate in any way. His nerves must be braced, his wind sound and good; in short, he must be in condition before he can hope to hold his own in any manly contest, and temperance, in every acceptation of the word, is the one absolute essential to ensure success. As a rule, also, the strengthening of the body and bracing up of the nervous system moderates the animal passions in man, and lessens the inordinate desire for sensual pleasures to be observed oft-times in effeminate bodies; and as you may note that mental and moral weakness is frequently the accompaniment of a low order of physique, so will you find the intellectual and moral faculties developed and improved in strong and healthy people. Gross animal strength, without the tempering influence of intellectual culture, is, I believe, a grave danger; but, on the other hand, great mental capacity fails in practical application unless backed by good corporal powers. We should make it our aim, then, to establish the necessary equable balance between the two.

The foregoing are a few of the advantages that I claim for physical recreation, and I maintain that it is a powerful factor in the training of an individual, and an element of great value in the education and formation of the national character.



A day of fierce conflict with the trials and anxieties of this world comes sooner or later to most of us, and the man or woman in whose person is combined the sound mind and sound body, is the one who stands the best chance of surmounting all difficulties. God has united in us a two-fold nature, and it is our duty to cultivate and expand both parts equally, in order that they may afford each other mutual help and assistance in performing their respective tasks. As Rousseau said: "To develop the mind of a man you must develop the power which that mind has to govern. Exercise his body to make him healthy and strong, so that you may make him prudent and reasonable."

I maintain that physical recreation, indulged in moderately, and after a rational manner, conduces to this in a high degree.

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Miss STUART SNELL, The Gymnasium, Alexandra House,  
Kensington.

THIS branch of education, which at first sight appeals to so small a section of the public, is of untold importance to present and future generations. Because of that importance, it is, I feel, rather a hopeless subject to enter upon in the short time allotted to me. But parents and instructors of girls now realize that the more highly educated and distinguished in mental faculties a woman is required to be, the more certainly should a due proportion of physical exercise be included in her studies and employments.

Gymnastics, or *scientific exercise*, induces the formation of healthy brain matter, and improves or sustains the general physique of the pupil, who too frequently fails in examinations, or undermines her health at critical moments for all time, by a neglect of the very treatment which would build up her brain, keep her mind clear, and give a zest to her intellectual work.

The *uses* of gymnastics are not less apparent, and are in fact much more necessary for girls than for boys. These can, in nine cases out of ten, be trusted to take the rush and run into open air between schools, a veritable instinct from the Creator to expand lungs which have been contracted during desk work and been fed upon inferior air at the same time. We all know what a relief it is to stretch any member of the body which has been in a cramped or monotonous position, and whereas a boy flies to the cricket field or boat and does something, no matter what, to bring the blood from his heated brain to the trunk, a girl is not encouraged to make this use of the *interim* between work, to refresh both mind and body in a judicious manner, but it is left too much to choice whether a saunter or a game of tennis is to be the tonic administered to her exhausted mind. A definite plan of developing the muscular, and of bracing the nervous systems, should be carefully drawn up for every girl by a competent judge, who knows her bent of mind and body, and something of her constitutional failings.

This should be adhered to so long as she is under "tutors and governors," by which time she will be physically developed, and, it is presumed, of an age to estimate wisely the needs of her physical health. An essential in the benefits to be looked for from gymnastic exercise is,

that the air breathed at this time should be pure, not warmer than 50° Fahrenheit. There should be plenty of it, but without draught; for exercise ought not to be continuous, however gentle; there should be periods of rest, during which a draughty or insufficiently heated gymnasium might give chills of great severity. The building can hardly be too lofty, or too well lighted, with the light well tempered. Sight is trained and tested by judging distances, and it is advisable to jump, run, and catch with as little strain as need be, from too much glare, or too little light.

The dress should be of a porous woollen material, easy, but not voluminous; worn, if possible, over but one other woollen garment (of course without stays). A loosely belted tunic to the knee over knickerbockers is what I have found by experience most suitable, and if this is supplemented (for school girls) by a loose full skirt to wear during rest or at lessons, the circulation would be far less impeded, the head cooler, and the organs in a favourable condition for mental work. Girls in their ordinary school dress are oppressed with corset, collar, tight arm-holes, etc., etc. The costume I recommend has been introduced as a working dress with much success in two or three of the schools in which I teach, and has the additional advantage of leaving the pupils ready, at a moment's notice, for the drill or physical exercise which is inserted between other classes for only short periods; it also does away with one objection to gymnastics which has been raised in other educational establishments, that "the dressing and undressing swallows up much of the short time for relaxation, and is fatiguing and troublesome in itself."

Should it be suggested that gymnastics tire, and render pupils unfit for study, I may instance a voluntary statement made to me by one of the lecturers at a celebrated college for women, who asserts that all her best papers are written on gymnasium days; and one head-mistress whom I could mention begins her day's work with a steady half-hour's exercise at the extension machine so highly advocated by Dr. Sweiniger of Berlin. When a tired, exhausted woman does rouse herself with an effort, after much writing or lecturing, to use one of the many excellent machines for gently extending the muscles and regulating circulation, she is repaid by an undoubted feeling of relief to the head, rest to the spine, and a general sensation of renewed vigour; this is a fact that comes daily under my notice.

It ought to be more generally known than it is, even by those who are otherwise ignorant of human physiology, that the blood rushes to, and circulates most freely in, those parts of the body which are most exercised; and as the abdominal muscles are the most important of all in the frame of a woman, it stands to reason that these especial muscles should be developed and kept in order by careful education and training, whether for the purpose of withdrawing the blood from the brain after mental strain, and thus averting headache, or for the simpler and palpable service of guarding the general health and building up strength for the wear and tear of daily life, whether as matron or spinster.

I lay especial stress on this, as owing to ordinary dress, with the pressure of corsets, however slight, and the weight of skirts on the hips, there is one pair of muscles which can only be described as dormant in most women after they have reached their full stature, and these, unfortunately, are among the most necessary to the female health.

They are muscles that are not affected by the action of walking, but are only exercised when the knee is raised to the level of the waist, and thus are not brought into play in any of the usual conditions of life, unless it be when ascending a very steep flight of stairs. The recreations of rowing and riding are the only other feminine occupations I can recall by which these muscles are touched. Here it may be mentioned that I am in a position to furnish very valuable statistics to those who care to follow up the subject, as to the value of gymnastics in after life to married women. A large proportion of my own pupils are married, and age need be no bar to this pilgrimage for health, as those now under my tuition range from three years old to sixty. At the present moment school-girls and the young women are chiefly victims to anæmia, but those of all ages are under treatment for spinal diseases, curvatures, or nervous affections, and many who have injured their hands by over-practising the piano, or who wish to equalise their fingers and wrists, and strengthen the particular muscles required by pianists. A very ingenious little apparatus for this purpose has lately been perfected and introduced into England. The dangers that can accrue from gymnastics ought not to occur under a teacher scientifically and practically trained.

Violent exercise is not necessary. I think myself that some apparatus is needed, but the movements upon it need not be complicated feats, but all gentle, and directed to the perfecting of the symmetry of the body. There should be a distinct difference in the lessons given to those pupils working for an examination, or who have come from a scene of anxiety, suffering, or worry of mind. The exercise should be of a nature that can be executed by instinct rather than by thought, and requires no computation or trial of nerve; whilst a curb must be put upon the girl who, with plenty of muscular power and high spirits, asserts that she is never tired, and could "go on" for hours. It is the last-named pupil who brings the gymnasium into ill-repute, for Nemesis overtakes her at home, and exhaustion from an ill-regulated lesson does not betray her until some hours have elapsed.

But whilst ills of the body are ostensibly the reasons for attending a gymnasium, it must not be forgotten that the effect on the mind and imagination is all but immeasurable, at an age when girls are most impressionable, and their spirits most variable. It is not only that well-ordered exercise is as a tonic to the morbid and shallow-minded, but it is of value in fortifying the unstable, who, eager to seek after some new thing, readily listen to all the interesting and engrossing problems of the age, the *fin de siècle*, with its grand inventions, its eccentricities of thought, reason, and unreason, blended, alas, with many phases of infidelity, to test the faith of Christian Englishwomen.

It is painful enough to realize that the advance of science, and the open literature of the day, have their dangers for young women (especially at college), and it cannot be too persistently and monotonously brought before them, that the more interested they are in these things, whether it be religion, politics, or learning, of whatever nature, the more certainly are they dependent on a clear head, and a body as near perfection as it can be brought, in order to have a right judgment in all things.

In conclusion, then, I may briefly lay stress on the fact of gymnastics being the medium of a greater change in the present day in girls' habits—

dress and employments—than in boys', and proportionately more necessary both for their mind and body.

Not the less for *mind and spirit* during the period of education at school or college than for *body and spirit* for the matron, or woman of business in after life, to whom good health is her essential of success, her possibility of a happy existence ; in a word, her capital.

## ADDRESSES.

### The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

I HAVE now to introduce one whom I remember as a long distance runner at Cambridge, when he ran the two miles at the University sports and the one mile on the same afternoon, and won each competition.

### Sir RICHARD E. WEBSTER, Q.C., M.P., LL.D.

THE Right Rev. Chairman has kindly alluded to performances of mine many years ago. They have, however, nothing to do with the few observations which I wish to address to this meeting to-night. The two speakers who have preceded me have, as might be expected, covered the ground from the point of view of the use of physical exercises ; I will endeavour to supplement the observations which they have made by one or two of my own. It may possibly seem strange to some, though not to those who have thought much on the subject, if I say that I propose principally to devote my remarks to the second part of the subject, namely, "The abuse of physical exercise." In regard to their use, I hope we are now all pretty well agreed ; I expressed my views on this subject in writing many years ago when I was honoured by being asked to write the introduction to one of that most excellent series of books on sports ever written—the Badminton Series. In that preface, I said that in my judgment, founded on considerable experience and some prolonged study of many cases, it is impossible to develop effectively and usefully the highest mental qualities and capacities without a corresponding physical growth—regulated physical growth and exercise of the body. Not having changed my opinion in this respect one whit, I would appeal to those who know our public schools, and I would say that which I believe every schoolmaster would endorse, that the boy who causes him the most anxiety, and whom he has most to watch, is the loafer, who has no bent or pursuit or wish to indulge in any physical exercise of any sort or kind. I may perhaps be allowed to endorse the opinion of my gallant friend, Col. Onslow, with reference to those whom he called—though I do not approve of the expression in reference to the poorer classes, for it is one which has now fallen out of use—the "great unwashed." With reference to that class, I have seen a good deal of the good effects of physical exercise practised in the East End of London, and in the South-East of London, and in Birmingham, and in some of our most crowded centres, and I have seen the great advantages which were so graphically described by the lady in her paper, and I agree with her that it is necessary that our poorer boys and girls should have the advantage of regulated physical exercise by means of gymnastic drill, and by the adoption of those methods which have done such a deal during the last five years, under the supervision of our school authorities, to bring brightness and sunshine

into lives into which I am afraid very few beams shine. Nobody who has been present at the practice of musical drill by the young, and who has witnessed their performances, can fail to come to the conclusion that the physical and mental condition of the children is enormously improved by the introduction of the weekly practice of physical exercise as now carried on in our schools. From the point of use, therefore; there is very little to be added to what has already been said, but I should like to say a word or two in regard to a class with which I come into constant contact—I mean the city clerk—the hard-worked clerk. I cannot imagine anything better for him than the practice which has lately sprung up of his being encouraged to join football clubs, cycling clubs, and other institutions which induce him to take an hour or an hour-and-a-half of useful recreative physical exercise every week, and sometimes more than once a week, instead of being tempted to go and find amusement in places where he may get more harm than good. You will see that from the point of use, although I look at it from a layman's point of view, and not from an expert's, there is little that I can add to what has been said by those who have gone before me, except to endorse heartily and confidently, as I may be permitted to do, the opinions they have expressed.

But I do want to say a word or two in reference to the second branch of the subject, which has been styled in the papers circulated at the Congress, "The abuse of physical exercise." And, I confess that, much as I believe we ought to encourage those pursuits, and much as I believe that they are of great value to girls and boys, yet I cannot hide that there is a tendency at the present time, which I think ought to be checked, and that is the tendency to put athletic exercises too much into the foremost position. I feel that we parents are to blame in the matter; I know the temptation that I myself feel, when I speak to the father of a boy, to say, "Well, is he in the eleven?" or, "Is he in the boats?" "Is he going to play for his school?" Of course, such success is a very admirable thing, and I am quite satisfied that it ought not to be discouraged, and one is apt to ask too often such questions as I have described. I think we ought to caution young men—I do not know whether it is so necessary for the young women of the present day—against the idea that athletic exercises are the be-all and end-all and object of their lives. No one can feel more strongly, however weakly I may express myself, than I do the enormous advantage and great gain to health of mind and body to be derived from the pursuit of physical exercises. But, on the other hand, it is not a good thing for a boy to go to school—I speak of public schools—with the belief and idea that it is more important for him to get into the eleven than it is for him to get into the sixth. I want parents to recognize the fact that, while they should be proud of their sons and daughters who may excel in physical exercise, on the other hand, they should be careful that, in the admiration naturally evoked by skill in such pursuits, there should not be lost sight of that which, in the work of life, is ultimately more important, namely, the development of mental culture, and the inculcation of habits of perseverance, industry, and application.

There is another direction in which physical exercise has developed of late years. Some of us who have had to do with the sports year after year know what we used to think in days gone by of men whom we called "pot hunters." I may explain to the ladies that that is a man who simply goes about from contest to contest in order to gain prizes. There can be nothing worse than for a man to cultivate athletic exercises simply for the purpose of getting what he can in the shape of prizes. I have my doubts sometimes, whether the Greeks who competed for the laurel wreath did so for it alone; but I should be extremely glad if there could be found any large number of men who would enter into contests with the knowledge that no prizes would be given, but for the love of the exercise. That is why we ought to spread

the feeling that you do not compete simply for what you can get, but for the purpose of improving mind and body, and to encourage habits of self-denial and discipline. In this connection I feel sometimes inclined to enter my protest against the constant desire for record breaking. It is an admirable thing to be the best, and nobody ought to go into a race without wishing to win ; still I would impress upon those who take physical exercise, and enter into competitions, that their object is not so much to immortalize a few persons as to improve the general standard of bodily and mental health. I usually look at the sporting papers, and I see reference is made to this extraordinary performance and to that which has taken place somewhere, and I feel that that is not pure athletic exercise, but that it is merely the erection of a platform on which some particular individuals may be distinguished from those around them. I hope those who encourage the young to engage in athletic exercises will approve the view which I am expressing, namely, that the object should be to attain a general excellence, rather than to adopt those methods which result in the distinction of the particular individual.

There is one other thought. I hope my clerical friends will forgive me for mentioning it, for possibly it is beyond the province of a layman, and it may be considered that I ought not to touch upon it. It seems to me that of late years there has been a tendency growing up among those who have become very skilled in athletic exercises, and who have shown great prowess, to become, or imagine that they are, indifferent to God and religion. I do trust those who are developing their bodies will remember that it is not solely the development of the body, or even the development of the mind which is alone required, but, in addition, the culture of the soul, which ought to receive our attention. I cannot help feeling that the tendency to become indifferent to and independent of religious feeling, to which I have referred, is one which ought to be especially guarded against. We ought to remember that even bodily powers, not to speak of mental, are attributes implanted by God, and that if any of us excel in bodily powers and mental acquirements, they should be regarded humbly and reverently as divine gifts. But all said and done, I do rejoice at the spirit which prompts many to enter into physical exercises. I know that such exercises are aids to good fellowship, that they establish life-long friendships, and that they imbue those who practise them with self-reliance and manly confidence. I know that among those who properly pursue athletic exercises, a spirit of modesty is developed, for each man has regard to what has been achieved by others, and to what others may achieve. I say confidently, that if athletic exercises be pursued in the spirit which I have endeavoured to indicate, namely, with the object of the development of a healthy mind and body, so that the general standard may be raised, then pride will give way to humility, presumption to a proper self-reliance, and there will result a race of men and women not only fitter to do man's work, but fitter instruments for their Master.

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Rev. E. HOSKYNS, Rector of Stepney.

I MUST have a text to-night, but I will take it from a scene in Scotland, and I wish you to come with me to the far north, say to Killiecrankie, as a night mail arrives at the commencement of August. Stand there, and you will see three or four engines dragging a number of carriages. If you look into these carriages you will see them crammed with those in search of physical recreation. There, in the corner, sit two judges, not talking about law or any legal matter, but discussing the probable colour of the water. There are also tired politicians ; there is one, for instance, who has just

made a capital speech on the subject of free access to mountains, and he is thinking to himself what that rascally keeper has been doing in regard to keeping his own moor absolutely free from any intruder. There are also clergymen in that train not very well recognizable by their dress, and we see all these tired men arriving in Scotland. Some have already equipped themselves in kilts with the knees rather white, and they are upon recreation bent. As we look at the paraphernalia which fills the luggage vans, and hear the dogs and see the rods, guns, and bicycles, and everything that is necessary to the making of a pleasant five or six weeks holiday, we know that these men are all intending to have a period of healthful recreation. If we come to the station some six weeks after, we see these men returning, browner, ruddier, merrier, free from dyspepsia and indigestion, and altogether with sweeter temper, thereby to be more useful to society, and certainly far more pleasant. This, I take it, is the use and purpose of recreation. I might put it, of course, on higher grounds than that; the ground upon which it was placed yesterday, but, doctrine admitted, we all agree that the purpose of recreation is to restore health, and thereby the usefulness of the individual. But no doubt many of us who have enjoyed this recreation have constantly thought of those who were not in a position to obtain it, and the question has arisen, What can we do for them? What is the Church's duty in regard to making opportunities for recreation among people of the poorer classes unable to obtain it for themselves? It is not for us to-night to go over the pleasant story of our races when we were boys, though for myself I should like to see the faces of some of those Oxford men whose backs I was privileged to see all the way from Putney to Mortlake. The real point is this, we have had our opportunities of recreation, and I wish, therefore, to call your attention to the condition of those who have not had those opportunities. Therefore, my subject to-night is the Church's work in providing those opportunities. I am not going to make any apology for the Church's work in that direction in the past. If there is a body of men who have set the well-being and the recreation of the people before them, that body consists of the clergy and laity of the Church of England. The clergy have not been brought up in seminaries, they have lived with all classes, played with them in playfields, mixed with them in the public schools. It is, therefore, not very unnatural that, when they leave school and enter upon life, they should be filled with the desire to support village cricket, village athletics, village institutions, or the village gymnasium. There is no need for me to apologize for the work of the Church in this direction. It may be the popular thing to decry the work of the squire and the parson, but I venture to say that those people who do so know little of either the squire or the parson or the men amongst whom they live. Go yourselves to the country villages and the town institutes at the present day, and see what work the Church is doing, and how it affords opportunities to boys and girls for recreation. But now a distinct work lies before the Church in assisting to provide recreation grounds. In many instances playing grounds or playing closes, given to the village children years ago for the purpose of recreation, have disappeared, but there are numerous instances in which they have been preserved through the instrumentality of the local clergyman, and this might be done more frequently. I have the report of a play-stowe in Hertfordshire where the girls, who did not use their playground, lost it, but that which belonged to the boys was recovered to them by the care and foresight of the vicar. It often occurs that these playgrounds or closes are appropriated and made orchards of, and it is a sad thing to see village children driven to the highway for a playground, when they can see so many open fields around them. It is a sadder sight almost than that to be seen in large and crowded towns, where the children are driven to the streets to play for lack of open spaces. Often the man who returns to his village must be irritated

to see the playground of his childhood stocked with apple trees, and it is desirable that while such open spaces still exist they should be preserved to the use of the children. That is a part of the work of the Church, and of those who are engaged in providing open spaces for recreation grounds. Lord Salisbury has been twitted about the circus phrase and the Parish Council. Had he used the word "playground" instead of "circus," there would have been a great deal of truth in what he said, though. I must confess that if Parish Councils or District Councils were established, I believe the first thing they would do would be to provide, not only allotments for cultivation, but playgrounds for the people. What is true of the country is, of course, more true of the towns, and we ought to bring every pressure to bear upon those who plan new towns or extensions of towns.

Secondly, as to the opportunity for recreation. How, I ask, can we hope to provide recreation when we remember the hours of labour worked by the young at the present day? I am afraid I must speak in opposition here to Colonel Onslow. I find that those who cannot get recreation are not the men, but the little boys and little girls who have just left school, and who live in London or in other great cities of the country. It is a sorry and dire spectacle to behold that of children of fourteen years of age coming home at nights at ten, eleven, and even twelve o'clock. Those of us who have confirmation classes in the East End of London know very well that we have to hold them at terribly late hours if we are to secure the attendance of these children who are employed so late at night. Here is a question which is distinctly one for working-men, who, while they talk of forty-eight hours for themselves, do seem to me to act in a cowardly manner when they sweat their own boys and girls for seventy-four to eighty hours a week. I have said this over and over again to bodies of working-men, and I want to say it until they understand it. It is they who keep young people in shops by doing their marketing at half-past twelve on Saturday night; it is they who prevent physical recreation being enjoyed by the young; it is they who bring boys and girls to disease, and very often to early death, by the long hours they have to work in shops in order to be ready for the working-men who do their marketing so late. I had in my study two weeks ago four girls out of one draper's shop. They had gone to that shop because it was a good one. I collected evidence from them in regard to their work, and what shall we say about the recreation? One girl had been working seventy-three and a half hours as an apprentice, and never sat down during the whole day; another seventy-two hours, another seventy-four, and another eighty and a half. None of these sat down at all during the whole day. This life brings upon them diseases, and doctors state that in many instances among shop assistants, anæmia and the seed of consumption is sown in consequence of their mode of life. At the present moment a seventy-four hours Bill is actually being prepared for our girls, but I hope that the Church's politicians who are here will see that that limit is greatly reduced before long.

Thirdly, under the head of opportunity, there is the opening up of the whole Sunday question. What is the Church's duty? I venture to say that it is not so much to provide as to guide. And here I wish to make an earnest appeal to the country clergy within fifty miles of London. We beg the country clergy to open their churches and to welcome cyclists on Sundays. No better decision was ever come to by the Bishops than that in reference to the Good Friday question and the volunteer manoeuvres, when they answered that they could not ask volunteers to stop marching at that time of the year, but they did ask the country clergyman to make the best of it, and make their service as good as they could for these men on that day. But still we must always uphold the principle—"Duty towards God first, and



recreation afterwards." But I have not time to enter into that question now. The only difficulty we have upon this Sunday question comes from what I may call the vaunting vulgarity of smart society. It is they who ruin this Sunday question ; it is they who make it so difficult for us to pursue our work among the poorer classes. At the Oxford and Cambridge match at Lord's this year, the following conversation between the occupants of two carriages took place. On the top of a drag there was a young lady, and she was yawning. Another young lady said, "Why are you so tired?" "Oh, well, I was up until half-past three this morning." "Why so late?" "Oh, well, the fact of the matter is, Sir So-and-so only comes in at half-past twelve, and then we have cards." On another drag close by there was this conversation—"What were you doing last Sunday?" "We always go down to Hurlingham, unless we go down to Maidenhead." Now who are these people? Are they the overworked people for whom we are to provide opportunity? What I should like to do would be to stand on the Paddington platform to see these ribboned and flaunting girls, and say to them, "Go to work, that is the recreation you need." It is a positive insult to have a tennis bat flaunted in your face by some Tam-o'-Shantered girl when you are entering S. Mary Abbot's for Holy Communion. These are the people who are dragging down this question and making it difficult for us to work. We want to have compassion for those whose life is one of hard work, and who are compelled to pursue their labour in a gas-heated atmosphere for hours and hours—but I only have indignation when I see these vulgar people who enjoy life, and are so tired of enjoyment that they must needs go to find recreation on Sundays.

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GEORGE EASTES, M.B., F.R.C.S.

PHYSICAL recreation is another term for physical or bodily exercise ; and daily labour and bodily exercise are essentially the same—that is, muscular work. But they differ in the one respect that exercise can be taken at suitable times, according to the calls of hygiene, rest, diet, etc. An abuse of athletic exercises, however, causes exhaustion just as certainly as does excessive daily labour. In ordinary exercise the nervous and muscular tissues are those chiefly concerned, though the circulatory, respiratory, and other systems of the body are secondarily affected. The great strain falls primarily on the muscles, the flesh proper, which usually constitute about half the whole weight of the body. Our brains (or spinal cord, if it be a reflex or automatic action that has to be done) telegraph to the proper sets of muscles the notice to act, and the muscles notified immediately contract, and set limbs or other parts in motion ; that is the function of the muscles. In contracting, a muscle becomes warmer, in consequence chiefly of the combustion of certain compounds stored within it, as fat and inosite (muscle sugar) ; such combustion produces  $\text{CO}_2$  (Carbonic Acid gas) and  $\text{H}_2\text{O}$  (water) from the oxidation of all tissues, and urea and other less oxidized products (such as the so-called "extractives") when nitrogenous tissues are oxidized. It is the formation of these various products which causes the distress that comes of exercise until the products be removed from the body by skin, lungs, kidneys, etc. Well regulated exercise, taken in a proper "dose," not only warms the muscles that are in action, but also quickens the circulation through them, and then through the body generally ; it therefore freshens the brain, improves digestion, and strengthens all the powers of life, for the nutrition of an organ is proportional to the quantity of healthy blood that passes through it.

One of the chief functions of exercise, therefore, is the restoration and preservation

of health—an effect of which we are all cognizant ; and each must take his or her proper share of daily exercise, otherwise the penalty for inaction, in the shape of impaired health, has inevitably to be paid. The amount of daily exercise that is required varies with every individual. For strong ones much is wanted. For a student, a brisk daily walk of from one to three miles anywhere, “up hill or down dale,” may suffice ; for feeble natures, and those accustomed to muscular inactivity, a few hundred yards, or even less, on the level, will bring about fatigue and compel rest.


Physical exercise which produces the beneficial result of tending to the improvement or restoration of health is, in a medical sense, being used properly, whether the exercise be walking, riding, tennis, cricket, golf, climbing, cycling ; but if prejudicial consequences ensue, there is an *abuse* of exercise. Of this side of the question I wish chiefly to speak.

The evil consequences of prolonged exercise may be chiefly grouped under the heads of muscular fatigue, stiffness, breathlessness, overwork, or exhaustion, as in the classification of Dr. Lagrange, to whose masterly treatise on the subject I am indebted for much valuable information. All exercise causes a rapid combustion of material in the contracting muscles, heat is developed, the muscles concerned become loaded with products of combustion, and if the exercise be violent, muscular fatigue and breathlessness directly ensue.

*Fatigue* is due to the fact that the muscular fibres, and the delicate nerve filaments energizing them, have been to an extent bruised by the violence of their action. The heat of the muscular mass has been raised, but the increase of temperature is mostly dissipated by the augmented circulation of blood through the part. How beneficial is the lowering of the heightened temperature which is thus effected you will at once recognize upon learning that at a temperature of about 113° F., muscle becomes incapable of action ; to all intents and purposes it dies. But what of the products of combustion ? Their destination is removal by the stream of blood circulating through the muscle. With gentle exercise their formation and removal are co-equal, and no evil consequence, not even stiffness, results. But in excessive exercise the formation far exceeds the removal, and an accumulation of effete material more or less rapidly ensues. This is the chief cause of the after-effects of violent exercise ; the least of which is *stiffness*, but which, in exaggerated cases, may amount almost to complete paralysis, since the over-tired muscle can scarcely be made to contract. Finally, the combustion products may, in extreme instances, as in the case of those poor horses lately raced from Vienna to Berlin, accumulate in the system to so great an extent as actually to cause the death of the whole body.

The sensation of fatigue may be deemed to be in part beneficial, in that it gives warning that the exercise is becoming excessive, and should be soon ended. Again, the subjective fatigue that comes of nerve prostration and exhaustion, as under depressing emotion, or after sleeplessness, must be carefully distinguished from the muscle fatigue due to alterations in the muscles themselves.

*Breathlessness*.—One of the chief products of muscle action is  $\text{CO}_2$  ; and all exercises requiring a great expenditure of force in very little time, as running, going up stairs, or climbing a hill, produce  $\text{CO}_2$  in very large quantities. Now this gas must be removed from the system by the lungs as rapidly as possible, since it is one of the compounds most inimical to life. Its removal causes a very great increase of the respiratory effort, not of inspiration particularly, but of expiration, which becomes laboured, short, inefficient, and leaves behind the sensation of an unsatisfied want. This breathlessness after exercise is proportional to the quantity of  $\text{CO}_2$  in the blood, and may be so profound as to amount to intense dyspnoea, particularly in elderly people whose chests have lost the flexibility of youth, and whose lungs are becoming



inefficient. Carbonic acid gas ( $\text{CO}_2$ ) is always exhaled with every breath throughout life; but the quantity given forth in a certain time by anyone running, is five or six times that breathed out during sleep. Breathlessness is retarded by general vigour, size of lungs, integrity of heart, and acquired aptitude in the use of the respiratory organs. Nevertheless, in violent exercise, in the strongest individual more  $\text{CO}_2$  is produced in the muscles than the lungs can eliminate. During breathlessness there is great temporary congestion of the lungs, and dilatation of the right side of the heart. The respirations, if quickened to thirty per minute, increase the elimination of  $\text{CO}_2$ , but beyond this point rapidity is harmful, for the respirations are perforce shallow, and the time between each breath allows but imperfect interchange of gases in the lungs. Then the heart beats become quickened, though each beat is less forcible than when the body is in repose; the right side of the heart becomes dilated, and danger is ahead, especially for persons with valvular disease of the organ, or those enfeebled by long illness.

But, besides  $\text{CO}_2$ , there are various other products resulting from the combustion that occurs in exercise as above stated; it is the accumulation of these other extractive substances, which are mostly solids, in the muscles and in the system generally, that gives rise to stiffness. Days may be required for their removal by the excretory organs after violent exertion, and until their complete elimination various troubles in the way of disease may result.

Those who are undergoing heavy and continuous exertion should pull up if they find health in any way suffering from the overwork; and a liberal dietary is required by all when muscular combustion is in vigorous progress, otherwise more or less exhaustion must ensue. As to food for those undergoing much exercise, it should be a good mixed dietary, including, for most persons, both animal and vegetable compounds; but vegetarians may be as athletic and equal to great exertion as those who take animal food.

We all recognize the advantage derived from *training*, and contrast the amount of work done by the trained individual, and the ease with which he does it, with the small amount of exercise of which one unaccustomed to the work is capable, in consequence of the speedy onset of fatigue. Now, why is this? Trained muscles do their daily exercise with the least expenditure of force. By training, also, all the tissues of the body are more or less affected, the muscular fibres themselves become fuller, whilst the unnecessary storage of fat and other reserve materials, which in untrained persons collects in and about the muscles, has been burnt off. For these reserve materials are very unstable compounds, especially those that are nitrogenous, are easily disintegrated by slight exercise, and their products then saturate the muscle, and cause its stiffness until their removal in the course of hours or days. It is curious that a man may have some sets of muscles thoroughly trained, and others very imperfectly so. Thus, a good walker, who has not touched an oar for years, if he take a long row—say one of two or three hours—will the next day feel extreme stiffness in his arm and shoulder muscles. Nay, a healthy, strong man, walking perhaps eight or ten miles daily on level roads, as in London, and then taking a walk up and down a hill 2,000 or 3,000 feet high, in Cumberland, for example, will soon find that he has severely taxed untrained sets of muscles, and pays the penalty of severe stiffness. After a week or two, however, of daily climbing, he will find himself equal to a long day's climb, with little real after-fatigue. And here let me give one word of warning to those who usually lead sedentary lives. They should not, when the annual holiday arrives, rush off, say to Switzerland, and without preliminary training, at once begin to climb the loftiest mountains. The muscles, lungs, heart, must all be gradually accustomed to the new order of things, or disaster will in some

direction or other occur. All medical men constantly see the ill effects of such ill advised energy. At first, gentle walks and easy slopes should be tried, and afterwards longer, more difficult heights and passes may be attacked.

After every feat of exercise should come the needful rest, that repair of the used-up motor apparatus of the body may be effected ; exercises of endurance, long walks or climbs, for example, requiring the longest repose.

Such are some of the physiological principles involved in physical recreation or exercise. Of them I have tried to make a plain unvarnished story, which I trust may prove serviceable for the proper understanding of the present discussion of this most important subject.

## DISCUSSION.

### The Right Hon. the EARL OF MEATH.

I DESIRE simply to say a few words in support of the plea which has been made for assistance in promoting physical training and recreation. Notwithstanding all that we hear the clergy have done in the country districts, I am persuaded there is an immense amount they can yet do, if they will only put their shoulders to the wheel, to bring back to our fields in the country the young lads who do not play there, but who spend their time in the public-house. I only hope that, after what has been heard here to-day, the clergy will encourage both those in the country and town to do what they can to provide honest physical recreation for the lads and girls of the rising generation. We have only to go into our large towns to see that the rising generation are not what they used to be. I know it is a controverted point as to whether the nation is physically degenerating ; but I myself am perfectly persuaded that in our large towns it is deteriorating. Of this there can be no question—that both in the town and in the country we ought as Churchmen to do all we can to raise the physique of the children. And for this reason, that if you get a healthy child, you are much more likely to get a moral child. If you wish to find healthy and virtuous children, or healthy and moral young men and women, you will not seek for them in the public-houses, but in our playgrounds and fields. It is very much easier for all who are interested in this question to work than it was twenty years ago. Legislation has been passed which assists us in a great measure, and recently a step has been taken which, I believe, will very much further aid the promotion of physical recreation. For some time an association, of which I am the chairman, has been trying to get the Board school playgrounds open on Saturdays to children in London. We have so far succeeded that some 163 of these playgrounds are now thrown open. But you will be astonished when I tell you that the Local Government Board have surcharged the School Board with the sum which was expended in keeping these playgrounds. We appealed to the Local Government Board, and we have this day received a letter stating that they consider our view is the right one, and that they do not intend to support the surcharge of the auditor. I hope all of you will do everything you can both in towns and in the country to improve the playgrounds and the open spaces which are at the disposal of the young and rising generation ; and I wish the clergy especially would do their best to encourage physical training and education in Church schools. I hope those who are on School Boards will also assist in the same direction. We are the only nation in Europe which does not make physical education compulsory in schools. In Norway, Sweden, Germany, and nominally in France, physical education is compulsory. I see no reason why it should not be compulsory here ; in fact, I see great reasons why it should be. The countries which I have mentioned are inhabited mainly by an agricultural population ; whereas at home we are rapidly becoming an urban population. At the commencement of this century quite the reverse was the case, but now there are about 300,000 souls added each year to our large towns. It stands to reason that the physical condition of those who are born and bred in towns cannot be so good as that of people born and bred in the country. I think you have only to look at our gallant defenders who march along the streets of this town to see that they are not the kind of men whom we remember in former days. They certainly have not the physique of the soldiers who used to be recruited among the

country lads. What is the reason of that? It is this, that the country lads have largely migrated to the towns. This is not my own opinion only, it is the opinion which I have heard expressed by His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, and Lord Wolseley; but they are obviously in a position which prevents their expressing any very strong views openly upon the point. I hope that this subject will be taken up as a National question. During the last few years, I have introduced a Bill into the House of Lords, and it has met with the fate of most new Bills—it has been kicked out. This Bill was to give some encouragement to School Boards to give physical training. What we want is to encourage the teachers of our National Church or Board schools to see to the physical improvement of the rising generation.

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### The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

I MAY be allowed to say one or two words from my point of view. I see a very great reason why the clergy should turn their attention to the subject of improved physical training. Those young men who intend to become missionaries—and I hope the proportion will be a growing one—should certainly be trained physically, as well as religiously and mentally, for the hardships which they will have to endure in their mission work. They are often called upon to walk very long distances, and it would be very useful that the rising generation, from whom the missionaries are to be recruited, should turn their attention to these exercises. In that part of tropical Africa in which I work, athletic exercises and games on the part of the boys are entirely identified with Christianity. For instance, we find everywhere among the boys who come to our schools a readiness to play football—a game at which I have seen our boys play there with naked feet against Europeans with their boots on, and sometimes winning the game too. Athletic exercises seem to the natives to be associated with Christianity. They have not yet taken much to cricket, but no doubt in time they will develop in that direction too. I have no doubt of the great usefulness of athletic exercises among the Africans, who are accustomed to idle their time doing nothing. It may be a satisfaction to English people, who set so high a value on athletics, to know that, while these people are taught Christianity, they are, at the same time, being taught to develop their physical powers, so as to become stronger, healthier, and braver men, as well as good Christians.

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### TOWN HALL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 5TH, 1892.

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The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

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### WORKING WOMEN'S MEETING.

#### ADDRESSES.

The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT.

LADIES—I do not feel called upon to notice the gentlemen to-night. I am sorry to say that I have received a shock of surprise at this moment by seeing for the first time the notice that the chair was to be taken by myself. It can only be taken; it cannot be kept. I understood that the Mayor of Folkestone was to take the chair—by which I understood he was to take it and keep it. But when I heard of this meeting, and the importance of it, I really could not resist an endeavour to be in two places at the same time, for in ten minutes I am absolutely due in another place, but I was anxious

with my own eyes to see this meeting. And now that I am here, I am sure you will allow me to say in the shortest possible way the two things that lie nearest to my heart about this meeting and about its purpose. One of the speakers outside the room said just now, "We are all going to speak about the same thing," referring to the list of the speakers and the subjects; but that will not deter me from speaking to you about the same thing. I assume, and I have the right to assume on the present occasion, that the ladies who are here are Churchwomen. If that is so, there can be no impropriety whatever in my saying that I am sure that all here wish to do the best they can for the Church to which they belong. Then what is the best thing that you can do for the Church? There are a large number of good things that you can do for the Church, but the best thing of all that you can possibly do is that which God has given you to do in the first instance, and that is the very ideal of your life on earth—it is to bring up your boys and girls to be good little Churchmen and Churchwomen. That is a long, continuous process, but it may be shortly expressed in this way. It is to teach them the things that we and the Church both know, and are quite sure of, although we do not see them; that is to say, to teach them the things that we know by faith. Every Churchwoman who has really conviction in her heart is assured of things which she does not see. Well, then, the next thing is: how to teach them—the little Churchmen and Churchwomen—to make their way into the presence of the things they do not see; then, having made their way into the presence of the things they do not see, to know how to behave themselves in this world, both towards the things they see and towards the things they do not see; and after that to know, and to be quite sure of, certain means that are among us by which we may prepare ourselves to leave the things we see in order that we may dwell for ever among things that we do not see—that is a simple outline of Church duty; and, lastly, to be quite sure that they have certain powers committed to them which will enable them to dwell among the lasting things they do not see, as being themselves even here part of them. Now all that is put for the little Churchmen and Churchwomen in a very popular and useful little tract, shall I call it, or a little paper, called the Church Catechism—the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments; my duty towards my God, and my duty towards my neighbour; and the knowledge of the means of grace. It is an old-fashioned document according to some people. I never have come across a better treatise on theology than that, which is in all hands. The next thing that I have in my heart to entreat is, that the education of little Churchmen and Churchwomen may begin early enough. I do not mean their A, B, C, or that Italy looks like a boot, and Spain is a peninsular. Long before we can teach anything of that kind their real education must begin; and I should say, from observations, that it begins quite by the time that children are a week old. We may depend upon it that the formation of character begins about that time. The great writer and Father Augustine wrote a wonderful book called his "Confessions"; some of you know it. All through the confessions he is speaking to God. He is confessing to God, trying to pour out all that is in his heart—all the whole secret history of his life. He says his passions were strong, and never any stronger than when he was a little infant. "I screamed, I pulled faces, I tried to fight, although there was nothing to fight." He also said, "I cannot distinguish between those dawning passions and those that have been a trouble to me all my life long." It is in infancy that the education of character begins. The absolute perfection of temper in the mother and the nurse, the gentle laying of the hand upon the little fighting hands, the calming it and making it feel safe, the bringing it up in love before it knows anything about love—this is education. Many of us are tormented by bad temper from the beginning to the end, and might have been spared that if the first discipline had been begun in those earliest days of our lives. What Augustine says is quite right, it is resistance to the controlling will; it is some want of restraint which troubles us all our lives; and the power of the mother in those earliest days is to draw away the little passions and calm them, just as the lightning conductor draws the passions out of the clouds and carries them safely away. Well, I am only going to touch upon one more small point to-night—not small in results—and I believe it has more bearing upon the present time than on the time when I was young. What I would ask you, and entreat you to do, is, to make your boys more respectful to your girls from the very first; to insist upon it that the boys shall give up to the girls; that they shall make way for them; that they shall consider themselves as their protectors, bound in honour to do their best for them—then they will grow up with a natural courtesy, with that noble feeling which we commonly call chivalry. I have seen it stir in little children, and if it is implanted in its beauty, it will make it unnatural for him in after life to do any wrong

to any woman, because of his mother and his sisters. Old memoirs tell us of days when no young man of rank or fashion could behave with the smallest want of courtesy or chivalry towards any lady, without some lady present considering it her duty to report him to his mother, who, the next morning, sat in her high chair with her son before her—yes, even if he were an officer in the Guards—and read him a lecture. Well, I am afraid that such lessons have passed away. Those were the days, you know, when the great ladies, the heads of families of all ranks in France, were, as it were, a kind of queens in their society—and not a bad thing; it kept things in very sweet courtesy indeed. But I can see plainly, I am sorry to say, now, as I go about the towns and villages, a roughness in the girls, and a want of behaviour in the boys, which I do not think becomes schools as good as ours are. But if you only take what we read in the old memoirs for a kind of parable (if we cannot aim at restoring it), a kind of parable of a true condition of things, in which the mother asserts her dignity, and makes her sons behave well, first of all to their little sisters, and sends them out of doors when first they have to go to school with the understanding that they are to behave respectfully towards every girl, and if they do not they will hear of it again, we should not hear so many teachers complain of the home-bred roughness of the girls or rudeness of the boys. Ladies, what I have had to say is, I am aware, very crude. I wish I had had more time to try to put it more neatly, to make a better exordium or a better conclusion, but I shall have said what I most wish to say to you at Folkestone, that there are two means or ways in which you can truly serve the Church, namely, by beginning the education of the little ones in earliest infancy, and by making the boys respectful to the girls.

[His Grace then left the hall, and the chair was taken by the Bishop of Peterborough.]

### The Right Rev. MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Peterborough.

MY SISTERS—I am going to follow the Archbishop's example and disregard the gentlemen, because they ought not to be here. Perhaps you would go further, and say that no gentleman ought to be here at all. In fact, I do not quite see why we should take upon ourselves the duty of talking to you, when you might just as well have had some ladies to address you. I am sure that they could tell you many more useful things than we can. I was once in my life called a bold man. I do not know whether it was meant for a compliment or not, but I am sure I did not deserve the name on that occasion. I am equally sure that I deserve to be called it to-night, because, on looking at the bill before me, I see that I am put down to speak to you upon your duties to husbands and children. I want to explain to you how it comes about that I have to talk upon such a subject as that. When I was asked to speak to you, I did what I am quite sure you will approve of, I turned to my wife and I said, "What am I to talk about?" She answered, "Talk about what women ought to do for their husbands." I said, "I suppose you mean that I have been so well educated by you that I am able to talk about that subject particularly well." She replied, "No, that is not the reason at all, but I want to come and hear you; and, as I have been trying all these twenty years to make you what I want you to be, and have not succeeded, I think, perhaps, if I listen to you, I may find out how you think I ought to go to work to succeed better." You will agree with me in thinking that that was not quite fair, and I ended the conversation by saying, "I think you ought not to expect that your husband should be exactly made to suit you." That remark brings me to the point which I want to impress upon you. The first duty of a wife to her husband is not to be too exacting. Remember that married life, after all, is a partnership; and the meaning of a partnership is that partners have equal shares. What husbands say about their wives very often is that they want to have too much of their own way. You see two people come together and have to live together, and it is perfectly clear that each can only have half of his or her own way. When you make a division of your own way into halves you ought to make a liberal division against yourself, that is to say, when you see what your way is, you should say, "I can only get half of that." If both husband and wife did so, do not you think they would agree amicably? I have said married life is a partnership. You have to consider, I suppose, in a deed of partnership, what is the capital that each of the partners contributes. Now, it is quite clear, as a rule, that the husband provides the

greater part of the money capital. He spends his day in earning what is necessary for the maintenance of the family; and it is quite true that the wife contributes for her part the duty of spending that money rightly. You will agree with me, I am sure, when I say that it is the husband's business to earn the money, but that it is the wife's business to spend it. Husbands are not here, and you can give them this advice: that husband would be the wisest who made his wife the finance minister of the household. Husbands ought to earn, and wives ought to spend; and husbands ought to bring to their wives all the wages that they earn, and then ought to discuss the best way of spending. I always found in Northumberland, where I once lived, that the best families were managed in this way. Where there was a husband and three or four sons who were earning wages, they brought their money every Saturday night to the wife, and she gave each of them an allowance, such as she thought they ought to have. She was tolerably liberal; and you ought to be, for you must remember that your husband earns the livelihood for the family, and he has a right to a certain amount of amusement and relaxation of his own, if he allows the wife to take the rest of the money to distribute for such purposes as she thinks best. The money certainly used to go much further when she bought the coats, waistcoats, and other articles, than when the husband bought them. Women always buy better than a man. They are not so proud and stuck-up as men are. Every man, as far as I have seen, however poor, likes to behave as if he had a hundred pounds in his pocket. Women are more truthful, and they do not mind behaving as if they were poor, and wanted to make a penny go as far as it possibly can, and that is a very wise thing. No one can be trusted to spend money unless they give some assurance that they are going to spend it wisely and well. Ofttimes when I look at two young folks who are going to get married, I think, "What is this poor girl going to do when she has to keep house? What does she know about it? Can she cook a decent dinner?" I want to give a most useful piece of advice to mothers and daughters. To mothers I would say: "Do train your daughters in housekeeping"; and to daughters I would say: "Do try to learn to do the things about the house, so that when you get married you may not be a useless person. For, if a husband is to behave himself properly, he must be kept in good humour. And if he is to stay at home when he comes from his day's work, he must find a comfortable, decent fireside to sit down by." The work of the house, like all other work, can only be done by regularity. I have often seen two cottages side by side, where I have known that the wages are exactly the same, and I have found in one cottage nothing but squalor and misery, while in the other I have found good temper and good humour. I have also found in one of these cottages the wife slatternly, and in the other clean; one always discontented, and the other always happy. Why was that difference? In one case the woman was a good manager, and in the other case she was not. Now, how is anybody to be a good manager? It all comes from order, system, and method in one's work. I have often sat in a cottage and talked to a good woman whilst she was doing what she called "tidying up." I have seen her pick up one thing and then another, and then go back to something she had left. She would begin in one corner, and then in the middle, with the result that she swept the dust from one corner to the other, and it never got out of the room. That is what happens with bad managers. They do not know where to begin, and if they do not know where to begin they do not know how to go on. And so I would say to you, if you wish to do your duty to your husband, and to be trusted by him as a manager of the house, you must learn order and method, and you must make it a rule to have your house tidy by the time he comes home from his work. Take care that he does not find you all hot and untidy, with your hair down your back, and your children squalling by your fireside. Make it a point to have everything tidied up. Everyone can do what they make up their minds to do. Pray remember this. There is another point I would mention, that of cooking the dinner. There is a good deal to learn about cooking a dinner, and it is a very important thing to learn it. There are great opportunities now to learn cookery; and it is quite worth while to find out how you can cook a good dinner that will sustain a working-man quite well at a small cost and in a tasty manner. I am perfectly certain of this, that if the women of England would learn better cookery, there would be a great deal less drunkenness. I will tell you why I think that I have found out that one cause which makes a man drink more than he ought to do, is because, having eaten food which does not nourish him, he gets out of order; and when he gets out of order he feels, as I have known women also feel, what they call a "sinking;" and when he feels a sinking he thinks that he can rouse himself by having a glass of brandy, and then the process goes on. Now



that "sinking" naturally comes because he has not eaten proper food, and if you can give him a good meal and a proper meal, fitted for him, I assure you, you would do a great deal towards weaning him from the public-house. Therefore, if you women would learn better cookery, you would do more to promote temperance and happiness amongst the working-classes than anything I know. Remember I am speaking in perfect frankness, and if you do not agree with me I cannot help it. I know that I am pressing on a tender point. I have roamed about in different parts of the Continent, and I have seen the cookery of many nations. I have come to the conclusion that the ordinary English working-woman wastes as much food in the course of a week as a corresponding French family lives upon. That seems a great deal to say, but I am quite sure of it. I have sat in a kitchen in France, and I have seen a French woman make excellent soup out of materials which an English woman would despise. I was talking to an English lady who lives in France, and she told me that she lived on so little that she was positively ashamed of herself. She said, "I do not think it right to teach my servant our extravagant English ways, and I can assure you that nothing is thrown away in my house. There is no tub for the pig, nothing goes to waste, and everything is used up again and again, and everything is nourishing. I should be perfectly ashamed to tell you how little it is I live upon." There is a great deal to learn in the way of more economical cooking, and, therefore, I am sure that a knowledge of cookery is one of the first of the duties of a wife towards her husband. These are material things, and I do not want to speak to you about these material things entirely; but, remember, that if married life is a partnership, one very necessary thing about the partnership besides settling how the house is to be managed, is the tempers in which you live together. Now I knew a young girl who was an orphan, and I used to take a great deal of interest in her many years ago. Since that time she married, and I had not seen her for some time. I came across her the other day, and we sat down and had a long talk. In the course of the conversation, I said, "How do you and your husband get on? What kind of temper has he?" She replied, "He has a quick temper." I then asked, "What kind of a temper have you got?" And she said, "Mine is of the sulky kind." It seems to me that represents very much what is the case generally; men are quick tempered, and women are sulky. Is not that the case? The important thing in married life is the first quarrel. I always say to anybody about to get married, "Take care how you get through the first quarrel; and determine that, even if you have to give way, it shall not rankle." In married life two people have to give way to one another. You will not always succeed in finding out at once how much you have to give way. There are, of course, a few quarrels before it is settled how much each has to give way. What I say applies to sweethearts as well as to wives. The first thing I would recommend you girls to do with your sweetheart is to find out his temper; the next thing is to find out your own temper; and then think how those two tempers are likely to get on together. The same rule applies to married people; let each discover what her own temper is, and then she will have less temptation to show it. The great fault, it is said, of women, is that they go on *nagging*. A good piece of advice to women in dealing with their husbands is, "Don't nag." If you will remember that, I am quite sure that I shall have made a most important contribution to your happiness. Perhaps some of you will say, "I do not know what nagging means." Well, there is an old story about a husband and wife who differed as to whether a piece of cloth should be cut with a knife or with a pair of scissors. The wife said scissors, and the husband said knife. They were walking beside a river when this quarrel arose, and their quarrel became so fierce that at last the husband gave the wife a shove and she fell into the river. As she was plunging about in the river, the husband said, "I will pull you out if you admit that it should be cut with a knife." Though the wife was nearly drowning, she held up her fingers to represent the scissors. You would call that nagging, would you not? It is sticking to a point to the very last, however unimportant it may be. I said that the wife generally had a sulky temper, and the husband often a quick temper. What happens in the case of a quarrel between a husband and wife? She says something that he does not like, and he objects. She goes back and says it again. He gives a shorter answer. Then she says it again, and his answer grows still shorter. When she says it a fourth time, he gets up and bangs out of the house. What does the wife do? She sits down before the fire, hugs her knees, nurses her grief, thinks over all the gloomy things in the world, and decides that the end of all things has come. The husband, meanwhile, has taken a walk, and goes back in half-an-hour, having forgotten all about the quarrel. He goes into the room, and finds his wife with a face as black as thunder. He sits down.

She heaves a sigh, and he tries to read a book. She heaves another sigh. He says, "What is the matter with you, aint you well?" "How can I be well," she says, "when you," etc.—you know how it goes on. Beware of that sort of thing; from it all mischief and misery comes. If this process be repeated sufficiently often, the happiest married couple at the beginning drift asunder. The man goes to the public-house, and the home is deserted. If you are going to be married, all remember that, in married life, you must give way sometimes, and the more you give way the more your husband is likely to give way to you. You do not get your rights by insisting upon them. Nobody ever got his rights by clamouring for them, but people get their rights by trying to do their duty. The more you determine to do your duty, to give way, to make your influence felt by kindness—constant kindness—the more you are ready to forgive, the more you are likely to produce an effect upon the life of another. You want to make your husband a better man. Women are generally better than men. They have a higher moral standard. They have a clearer conception of the broad lines of duty. They have a higher ideal of life in large things, often not in small things; but, on the whole, they aspire higher. You all want to make your husbands better. Again, I say, "Do not nag." You will not make them better by that. Remember that we have one great example set before us in all things—an example that applies to everything, even the smallest matters of every day life; an example which we have to keep before us in our household affairs; an example which we should call to our minds when passion arises—the example of our Lord Jesus Christ. You know what He did; you know how He saved the world; you know how He brought His majesty here. It was by His humility, by His abasement, because He came from heaven to earth, because He took upon Himself the likeness of man. We have no other example to follow. We have no other way to move the minds of others. As you bring the spirit of Christ into your life, you appeal to a power not your own. As by God's grace you learn to control yourself, so can you have control over the soul of another. You and your husband are one; you ought to be one; you ought to feel as the years go on that your two lives are growing closer and closer together, that there is little difficulty in fitting yourselves one to another.

"So were they one,  
Not only by the power of their great love,  
But in one common purpose set so high,  
That reaching to it lifted all their life  
Nearer to God."

Yes, if in your married state you are trying to lift your life nearer to God, you will not only be happy yourselves, but make the lives of others happy. Pursue that object. Follow the model of Jesus Christ. Let Him be before your minds when you are dispirited and downcast, when you feel you are slighted and misunderstood. Was not He slighted and misunderstood? Did He not overcome the world by His constant meekness and humility, by His power of giving way? Yes, you must follow His example, and then in that example all else will be summed up.

The Rev. A. F. W. INGRAM, Head of the Oxford House,  
Bethnal Green, E.

MY LORDS AND LADIES—The subject which I am going to speak to you about to-night—I only wish I could speak of my subject in the way in which the last speaker has treated his—is "Mothers in Relation to their Sons." I have chosen that subject because of all subjects relating to the duty of women, this is the one that I ought to know something about. If I came to you mothers and were to try and teach you how to mind the baby, or to tell you the really best kind of soothing syrup, you would say, "You may have come a long distance to speak to us, but we think we ought to know about that better than you." But although I am an unmarried man, I have what the people in Bethnal Green call a pretty tidy little family, and it consists of about four hundred boys. When I tell a woman in Bethnal Green that I have four hundred boys to look after, she holds up her hands and says, "Bless me, I find one quite enough." These boys, although they are together of an evening, are living the life of the ordinary lad in London; they live at home and go to work. As they come to us in all their troubles, and all their anxieties and joys, we are able to test, in a way,

perhaps, that no other people can test, what makes those boys good, and what makes them bad, and what is the strongest influence upon their characters. And that brings me to the point that I want to put before you. Out of the hundreds that I have admitted into that club, I have *not come across a single boy who came to us good who had a bad mother, nor a single boy who came to us thoroughly bad who had a good mother.* Now you will expect me to justify this rather sweeping statement by defining what I mean by a good mother. In the first place, a good mother *loves her sons.* The other day I was sitting in my room, and I was told that a boy wanted to see me. I went out to see him, and I found a large bruise on his forehead, and I also found a hole in his side. He spoke to me with that kind of painful stutter which I have learned to associate with ill-treatment. "Who has done that?" I asked; and the boy replied, "My mother." "Does she often ill-treat you?" I said. "Yes," said the boy; "she turns me out constantly at two in the morning." "Does not your father do anything to protect you?" "Oh," he replied, "when my mother is in drink he dare not speak to her." That poor lad was having the love in his heart turned to bitter gall by his mother, whose bounden duty it was to cherish and protect him. That is one picture. Here is another. It is within one of the London hospitals. There is a kind of hush about them when the lights are turned down. On a bed in one of the wards lies another of our lads ill with typhoid fever. The doctor thinks there is very little hope for him at all, but by his side kneels the mother. You should have seen the look of love with which she was bending over him. She had spoken to me at the door, and with heart-broken sobs, said, "He has been such a good son to me; I cannot face life without him." But now, with true mother's love, she has hushed her grief as she kneels down with me to pray, and with perfect self-control she joined in my prayer. God was merciful and heard our prayer, and the son was given back to that mother. If you could see him now with his mother, you would see what a good mother could make of a son, and what a return a good mother gets from her son. In comparing those pictures, I want you to notice this, that there was no difference in the home. In the first home they had more money coming in than in the other, but the difference was this, that one boy knew that he could depend upon love at home, while the other boy knew when he entered the door that his mother would not turn her face to look at him. And this love must be shown, not only in times of sickness, but in the little things of daily life. On Monday morning I went down to see one of the mothers at Bethnal Green who was very ill. I went down on Monday morning, because I was going away for four or five days. She was lying there still ill after an operation, but still well enough to talk, and I find that sick people who have to lie for long hours are glad to take an interest in others' lives, so I said, "I have come to see you on Monday morning instead of Tuesday, because I am going down to the Church Congress, and I have got to speak to a number of mothers about their sons. What shall I say?" Ill as she was, she raised herself up, and she said something that will make you smile. She said, and I knew she had brought up well four or five boys, "Tell them not to keep all the finery for the girls, but to give the boys a nice new jacket on Sunday morning." Now it is perhaps amusing to hear a remark like that when you expected a suggestion of a different nature, but there is a tremendous lot in it. Why, if the boys feel that their mother cares how they look, they know that she loves them; if they see that their mother respects them, they will begin to respect themselves. But, secondly, there is something else needed to make a good mother besides love, and that is *tact.* The other day I went with another clergyman to visit a mother. She was a good mother in her way, and a good Churchwoman, but she is a very talkative woman, and her tongue hardly stops for a single moment. She saw two parsons enter the room, and thought that a good opportunity for giving her boy a good lecture. She said, "I always tell Johnny to go to church; he will never come to any good if he doesn't," etc., and so on for some minutes. It was all quite true but what an awful time to choose to give him a lecture—before two parsons. If there was one thing more than another calculated to make him never go to church in his life, it was that. Fortunately, Johnny knew me, and I knew Johnny; so he grinned, and I nodded to him, and that took the fat out of the fire. But thirdly, not only must a mother have love and tact, but she must have the true love of God in her own heart. I do not know how it is, but parents seem to me sometimes to lose sight of a very common fact which I should have thought would be obvious to everybody, and it is this, that their children will do, when they grow up, *what they see them do, and not what they hear them say.* Of a Sunday afternoon I will just tell you what happens now in East London. Of course I do not know anything about Folkestone. I have no doubt you are all beautifully behaved here, but in East London, after the Sunday

dinner, father is very anxious indeed that the children shall be sent off at once to Sunday school. You will say, "What a good, religious father!" But I will tell you why it often is. He has *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, and he has also one or two glasses of beer by his side, and a pipe. He cannot sit down comfortable to that pipe, *Lloyd's Newspaper*, and the glasses of beer while the children are about, and so they are sent to Sunday school. The mother is very careful to brush up her little boy's clothes in order that he may appear respectable in the parish choir; but she often forgets this, that if she does not pray herself or go to church—I won't say *always* go to church, because I know that for some mothers at certain times it is impossible to go to church—but if she does not pray, if she does not show her boys and girls that she believes in religion herself, when they grow up—say thirty years hence, when some of us are in our graves—Johnny will be sending his children to school, but spending his own Sunday with the glass of beer and his pipe, and putting up his legs reading *Lloyd's Newspaper*. And Mary, who has been sent by her mother to Sunday school, she will not think it necessary to pray, because mother never prayed when she was alive; or go to church, because mother never went to church. There is a story which has come down to us from an old play, that a son once was kicking his father down stairs. It was in the good old times, which some people are always wanting to recal. Well, when the father got to the threshold of the door he said, "You must stop there." "Why?" said the son. "Why, because I stopped there when I was kicking my father down fifty years ago." Now, conversely, the exact point you reach in your own religious life, that, humanly speaking, is the high-water mark which your children will reach when they grow up. History repeats itself. If you mothers at Folkestone are living yourselves godless and prayerless lives, God help your children thirty years on. The time of a Congress or the time of a mission is such a time for taking a turn. We are always waiting for the chance to come. We are always meaning to change, but we are always waiting for the turning point to come. Well, it is come now. Go back to-night after this meeting, and say, "I will think about those boys of mine. Am I setting them a good example? Would they believe in prayer by watching my life?" If your conscience tells you that it is not so, then, I say, come back yourself to God; begin afresh to-day. If you *cannot* go to His house, at all events honour His name in your house. Pray again for help and for love to bring up your children, and especially your sons, and when your life is over you will have this reward, that you will stand in heaven, not alone, but with the children that God has given you.

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### The Rev. G. S. REANEY, Bickley, Kent.

I AM to talk to you about "The Christian Woman" and "The Churchwoman." Let me say a few words to the young maidens here to-night. I have a maiden of my own at home. Let me urge you young maidens to think very much of women. Do not say, as I sometimes have heard girls say, "I wish I was a boy." There are some advantages in being boys, but there are many disadvantages. The influence of women is immense. I owe much to God, every blessing that I have in this life; but the brightest and tenderest memories, and the most chastened and beautiful love, I owe to my mother and my wife. They have made women to me the holiest of all beings next to God. I beseech you to remember the honour that came upon woman, for He was born of a woman, and whatever you do, whatever position you are in, I beseech you to feel this, that God has committed to you the most delicate and beautiful of all gifts—the gift of maidenhood—Christian womanhood. Now, it seems to me the most natural thing in the world for a woman to be good. A woman can climb to higher heights of saintliness than a man, but she can descend to lower depths of sin. A Christian woman! Thank God for every Christian woman in this assembly, in this town, and in this nation to-night. What would England have been to-day—this free land—this land of the highest and noblest life—but for woman. Christian women! It seems so natural for a woman to be a Christian, to be penitent for sin, to be trustful in God, to be pitiful to others, to be faithful, brave, and true, even unto death. But now I come to my last word, and that is this—Churchwomen. Here a word to mothers. Now my mother was a Churchwoman, and I want to tell you, if you will forgive the personal reference, how it is that the memory of the Church and the memory of my mother lie in my heart like two leaves that face each other. My father was parish organist, and I was a little wee, delicate boy, not allowed to go out

on winter evenings. My father and stalwart brother went off to church. I can hear the bells chime as darkness came on in the winter night, and then the bells ceased, and my mother arrayed me in a little surplice, and I stood in an old arm chair, and we had prayer in church together. Then the child was father to the man. SHE would say, "Have you a little sermon to-night?" and then, with my dear mother as the congregation, I would preach to her, rudely, sometimes, I fear; but she always forgave me. How can you be Churchwomen? Well, you have a greater right to the name of Churchwomen than most men have to the name of Churchmen. You are our visitors of the sick. You are our district visitors; you are the larger part of our Sunday school teachers. We have sisterhoods of every kind, but few brotherhoods. Therefore, you have a greater right to be called Churchwomen than most of the men have to be called Churchmen, for you form the larger part of our congregations. Let me speak to you to-night of two things in which I want you to be true, honest, earnest Churchwomen. There was a statesman who always bragged that he was a Churchman, and never went to church. Upon someone calling his attention to this, he replied, "I am a buttress, I am not a pillar." Do not be Churchwomen like that! Go to church! Is there a grander and more beautiful building in Folkestone than your parish church? Well, suppose that the cry rang down, "The parish church is on fire!" Is there a single Folkestone woman here who would not hasten out to help to carry the pails of water? Is there here a single woman who would not stand in that living chain and pass the water on with trembling and strenuous hands to put out the fire that was destroying the parish church. Be you good Churchwomen by often being at church. Help the Church. That is the best way to show your sympathy with the Church. In Lancashire there are what they call "half-timers"—boys who go to school in the morning and the mill in the afternoon. There are "Sunday half-timers," who go to church, get there as late as they can, and leave as soon as they can. They are in a hurry to get home. They do not go to the mill or kitchen, but a very large number of them idle away the day in a miserable afternoon. Mr. Ingram has rightly said some of you cannot go to church, but many can. Be you like those women who, when all others forsook Him and fled, stood about His cross, tender and true. Be you at Church as often as you can, because that is a true test of the Churchwoman. If I had time, I would like to say that there are two things that you ought to be careful to remind your boys and girls of, and they are baptism in the past and the confirmation that is to come. Oh, you mothers, do you ever talk to your boys and girls about the cross with which they were signed? Do you tell them that they belong to Jesus Christ, and ask them to be true and faithful to Him and to that Church to which they were brought at their baptism, and by which they were received into the Church of the living God? And then, in your home life, talk to them about the confirmation that is to come. It comes at that critical time in life when the boy leaves day school to be apprenticed, and the girl goes into service. I beseech you to talk to them about that day which is coming, and let their home be a confirmation class. Oh, be jealous of your motherhood; be jealous of your Churchwomanship, and make up your mind to train up your boys and girls to be faithful to the Church. How that splendid church over yonder, with the history of centuries gathered about it, takes us back. One cannot but think of the stories of martyrdom, and of the boys and girls who were faithful to conscience and faithful to Christ. Thank God for the men and women who have lived good, true, and holy lives. God grant to you that when the time comes, when your care and your love must be withdrawn from your boys and girls whom God has committed to your charge, as in my case, that their earliest thoughts may be of God, the Church, and motherhood!

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The Right Rev. G. RODNEY EDEN, D.D., Bishop Suffragan of  
Dover, Archdeacon and Canon of Canterbury.

MY DEAR SISTERS—The Bishop of Peterborough, at the beginning of this meeting, thought himself a bold man, but I think I am a very badly treated man. I was asked to speak here to-night upon the subject of "How to make home happy," but I was not told what anybody else was going to speak about. Now, when I saw the notice of this meeting only yesterday, I found that all that makes home happy had been stolen by the other speakers, and that "The husband and the children," and "The mothers and the sons," and "The sisters and the brothers," and even "The

Christian woman," and "The Churchwoman," had all been taken out of the home, and I had nothing but the shell to speak about. And I found it all the more difficult, because I had never before spoken to a great assembly of women only, so I did what the Bishop of Peterborough does, and what everybody else does when in a difficulty—I went to my wife. Perhaps I had better not tell you what she said, but I will tell you what I want to say myself. I want to say two words about home, and one is that the happy home involves the greatest choice in the world, and the other is that the happy home involves the least choice in the world. Now that is all I am going to speak about. (1) First of all, then, a happy home means the greatest choice in the world. When I saw that the husband, the children, the mothers, the sons, and the sisters were gone out of the home, I said there was nothing left but the sweetheart, and so I said I will speak about the sweetheart. Now, when we speak about sweethearts and courtship, we always laugh. I suppose it is because it is so very sweet that we cannot help laughing. You see you are no exception to the rule, because you all laughed as soon as I mentioned that word, and yet there is no more noble, sacred, mysteriously sweet word than that word "courtship." It has a royal ring about it; and it is because in that mysterious drawing together of two hearts there is something so sovereign and so potent that we cannot analyze it—we cannot describe it. It is about this first drawing of the hearts together that I want to say my first word to-night to our younger sisters; and this is what I mean by the greatest choice in the world. You cannot have a home until you make your home, and the makings of a home begin with the courtship. I am quite sure of this, that the secret of half the unhappy homes that undoubtedly do exist is because there was a mistake made in the first choice which need not have been made. There is the great secret—making a safe choice—and that is the secret that I want to get at to-night. I told you that I consulted several people, all women except one, upon what I should speak to you to-night, and the only man I consulted said, "Do tell them to choose a good husband." Ah, that is the secret after all. Many years ago, at the first meeting held for women at the Church Congress at Carlisle, that great bishop, Bishop Harvey Goodwin, spoke to them about choosing husbands, and he said something of this kind, "When you are going to marry, inquire whether the young man to whom you are attached—and who, I hope, will be attached to you—is sober and steady, and, if he is not, then don't have him. He may say, perhaps, 'I do give way sometimes, but you know, Jane, if you will only marry me, and take care of me, you are just the person to keep me right—you are my guardian angel. If you will only marry me, I shall be such an improved character that you will never have cause to find fault.' I would advise you to give him this answer: 'Reform yourself first, then come to me, and I will talk to you about that other little matter.'" And he went on to say, "Never take a fellow on trust; do not take a man who wants you to reform him. It is very much like having a hedge between you and a bull. If a bull be dangerous, keep him on the other side of the hedge. Do not be deceived because he walks for a little while as if there were no harm in him. Do not undertake to tame him. Do not let him come on your side of the hedge. Keep the hedge between you. So do not take a husband until you are sure he is sober and steady." That is sound advice to you, but I would like to go further, as the good bishop did, and say, "If you find a man who has the love of God in his heart, you may be perfectly certain that the love he offers you is worthy of your acceptance." I should not like to put the contrary. I do not believe the contrary would be true in all cases, but I do say this, that many and many a good, holy, pure, and sweet girl has thrown herself away upon an unworthy man through that boundless compassion of which a woman always is capable, and she is left afterwards to see that if that first sacred choice had been left in the hands of God, and her own inclination had been put away, the greatest mistake in life might have been avoided, and she might have had a happy, instead of an unhappy, home. And that is what I mean by saying that a happy home depends first upon the greatest choice in the world. (2) The next thing I want to say is this: that a happy home is an example of the least choice in the world, in fact, of no choice at all. In the making of a home we have a choice in our own hands, but we have no choice about the home in which we begin. We are born into a home which we do not choose. We do not choose our parents, brothers, or sisters. We find ourselves with certain fixed influences and surroundings, where God has placed us, and therefore we have no choice about that. If you look into the meaning of this, and ask yourselves how it is that God has placed us in families, why has He made the home the unit of life? I think you will see it is to teach us that life is social, and not individual; that we are not meant to live to ourselves; and that, therefore, from

the beginning we are surrounded by conditions which are not our own choice. You will see that the secret of really living our life is to accept the home as an ordinance of God, to take up our home duties cheerfully and willingly, to lay down our own choice from the first, and then to find our highest joy in serving others. This seems to me to be the meaning of home. It is God's training ground for all the work of love, afterwards for our Church, or our country, or our race. A great writer has said, "All the anarchy and half the social errors by which we are troubled spring from placing the individual, the self, at the centre of all things." I am sure you will see that that is the meaning of home when you come to think of it. Unselfish love, the protection of the weak, the privilege of giving up, the joy of serving others, this is the atmosphere of the happy home. And if you ask me who is it that makes this sweet atmosphere of home, I say, without hesitation, it is the women—the sister, the wife, and the mother. Yes, the true mother is the highest, purest type of unselfish service. From the beginning she gives her life up to the children that she has to bring up. That is the true atmosphere of home. You make it, sisters, wives, and mothers; and we men have to breathe the atmosphere that you make. And the whole secret of an unselfish home is an unselfish, loving woman at the heart of it. It is you who can make it so happy, so wonderful, and so powerful for good, because in the centre of it you show us the pattern of love. That is my answer to the question "How to make home happy?" But there are other answers too. I asked a little girl the other day what would make home happy, and she replied instantly, "Plenty of chocolate." Another dear little girl, younger than the first, said: "I should like to have a wishing machine, and then I should get what I like." And then she was told the story of the man and his wife who had three wishes given to them, and how in a moment of forgetfulness he wished for black-puddings, and they suddenly appeared. And then she, in a rage, wished they would stick to his nose, and to their horror they did so, and they were obliged to use up their last wish to get them off again. No, the secret of a happy home is not to wish for yourself, but to give up self altogether and to make God the centre—to lay aside all choice and live for others. There are many ways in which we might apply this great principle of a happy home, but I will choose three examples, and with these I will conclude. Unselfish love must include, first, subduing our bad tempers; secondly, expecting an unquestioning obedience of our children; and thirdly, practising and demanding truthfulness. Forgive my saying one word about our temper. I have never been in a home where I had to live side by side with a bad temper (except my own), but I remember a man saying of his wife, that she was like one of the brushes which was hung up in the shop—"Warranted all bristles." That was a dreadful thing. It reminded me of the man who wisely said, "Everybody has their rough side, but all the best people take care to wear it inside." I think it would be a good thing for the home if all of us wore our rough side inside. We must not stand always upon our rights, or insist upon our superior judgment. You remember the old story of the married couple who had a quarrel about whether a piece of cloth was to be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors—"

### The BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH,

I have told that story.

### The BISHOP OF DOVER,

Did I not tell you that the Bishop of Peterborough was a bold man, and I was a badly treated man? Well, as the Bishop of Peterborough has told that story, I must tell you another instead. I will tell you a story about Sir Henry Lawrence. The natives of India used to say about him, that when he was in great difficulty he always knew what to do when he had looked twice up to heaven, once down to earth, and then stroked his beard. I should like you to do that when you feel the temper coming on. I think that if that secret were adopted in the home, if we always looked twice up to heaven in secret prayer, and then looked down to earth to take in the situation, and then stroked our beards—you know what I mean—in contemplation; or in other words, looked into the heart to see if Christ were there taking control, the words would die upon the tongue which might make great dissension and unhappiness instead of joy and peace. And then there is that other thing I should like to say to you, upon which I feel very strongly, viz., expecting an unquestioning obedience from our children. My own dear mother used to bring us up with one thing above all

others impressed upon our minds—that we had absolutely to obey her without knowing the reason why. I know that it is the fashion now to explain everything, and to let the children know the reason why. I do not believe in it. I believe it is the wrong way of bringing up children, and I believe that one of the foundations of a happy home must consist in the early training of our children in absolute unquestioning obedience. Then, thirdly, and lastly, there is that important question of practising and demanding truthfulness. If we are going to teach them to be always true, we must be always true ourselves. We must avoid exaggeration. Only a few weeks ago I saw at a railway station in the heart of Kent, in the dead of night, a group of hop-pickers just arrived from London. There was among them a little family circle—a mother and some children—having something to eat. Suddenly the mother's voice—which ought to have been so loving and so firm—rang out in shrill accents: "Come here, Johnny, or I'll break every bone in your body." She could not have meant that, for the next moment when the boy sauntered up, in no hurry to obey, she said: "Now, ducky darling, take your sandwich and begin." It is the greatest possible mistake to give way to exaggeration in the home. Don't threaten your children in language which they know is unreal and untrue. They will soon discount everything you say, and learn to disbelieve the parent who ought to be to them the fountain and pattern of absolute truth. I have tried to put before you, in a few homely words, two of the secrets which make a home happy. It is "choice" and "no-choice." Choice in the making, and no-choice in the living, and both in God. If you think this is too high an ideal for you to attain, you must remember that only by aiming at the highest of all can we hope to succeed in anything. When Plato was told that his republic was so perfect that it could not be attained on earth, he replied: "At all events there is a pattern of it laid up in heaven, and we shall do well to come as near it as we can."

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### CONGRESS HALL.

THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 6TH, 1892.

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The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

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### THE PERMANENT VALUE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TO THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

- (1) EDUCATIONAL.
- (2) EVIDENTIAL.
- (3) MORAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

### PAPERS.

The Rev. WILLIAM INCE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity,  
and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

It is impossible to begin a discussion upon the permanent value of the Old Testament in the Christian Church without remembering that we are indirectly touching on a burning question of the present day. Biblical criticism, which, for more than half a century, has been occupied with investigations into the date, authorship, authenticity, and mode of composition, of the books of the New Testament, has, during the last thirty, and more especially during recent, years, turned upon the like questions with regard to the books of the Old Testament, and has



startled the theological world by impugning most strongly the old traditional views, and proposing for acceptance a novel theory of the history of the people of Israel, and of the literature of the sacred books contained in the earlier volume of Scripture. Now we must have the courage and honesty to admit that in such a matter novelty is not itself a proof of falsehood. These critical questions must be settled, so far as questions about a literature boasting an antiquity of from two to three thousand years can be settled, by reason and argument, and by historical and linguistic researches, and not by hasty declarations of Church synods, official or unofficial, whose members are not necessarily scholars or patient investigators. Remembering the disastrous results of earlier attempts in the history of the Church to suppress new learning by appeals to authority or popular prejudice, we shall be wise to wait patiently while controversy is being carried on by the methods of learning and research. We shall suspect the theories of those who allow their conclusions to be swayed by some antecedent theological or philosophical prejudice, such as the impossibility of miracle or prophecy, and we may fairly hesitate to accept as certainties conclusions, the evidence for which does not rise above a low degree of probability. The infallibility which we refuse to attribute even to General Councils we shall not admit to be possessed by a consensus of a contemporary group of advanced Biblical critics. A discussion, conducted by legitimate methods, we shall confidently trust will correct, by sober thought, the wild extravagances of some of the earliest disputants, and will leave as its results some new views about the Old Testament, which will correct mistakes of ignorant tradition, and in no wise impair the foundations of faith, which are the heritage of the Christian Church. Doubtless, if it could be proved that the whole of the so-called Mosaic Law was the creation of a committee of Jewish Priests, in or after the exile, and that the historical books of the Old Testament are a re-writing of the true history of Israel accommodated to this literary fiction, the credibility and the inspiration of the greater part of the Old Testament could no longer be maintained, and its use for purposes of education, devotion, and moral guidance would be seriously impaired, if not entirely destroyed. But no Christian doctrine is set aside by the admission that many of the books of the Old Testament are of composite formation, embodying previous documents, receiving the form in which they have now come down to us at the hands of some later editor.

We are concerned, however, at present, not with the general question of the higher criticism of the Old Testament, but with the permanent educational, evidential, and spiritual value of these sacred books as they have been received in the Christian Church from its first beginning. The Church accepts as Canonical those same books which Israel, the chosen people of God, accepted at the time of Christ. It is beyond contradiction that Christ Himself stamped these sacred books as a whole with His authority as containing revelations of the will of God and records of His providential guidance of the history of His people. He constantly appealed to the ancient Scriptures. He declared explicitly that He came not to destroy, but to fulfil the Law and the Prophets. His Apostles, trained by Himself to be the propagators of His teaching, appealed to these same Scriptures in proof of their proclamation that their Master, Jesus, was the Messiah to whom all the hopes of the

Jewish nation were directed. In all the assemblies of the early Christian Churches for worship and instruction, in the period immediately following the Apostolic age, lessons from the Old Testament were read coordinately with selections from the Apostolic Epistles and from the Gospels. In the struggle against Gnosticism the Church successfully defended the right of the Old Testament to be considered as a record of a Divine Revelation, inspired by the only supreme God, and not, as heresy represented, a history and a theology emanating from some evil and inferior god. But from the very first moment that Christianity as a new religion offered itself for acceptance, and more especially after the composition and gradual canonisation of the books of the New Testament, there arose a necessity for determining the true relation of the Jewish and Christian systems, and the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. The problem to be solved was whether the later was only an addition to the earlier, or in some sense a supersession and development. In the Apostolic age the question was, Is circumcision and the consequent obligation to observe all Mosaic ordinances to be retained as of equal authority with new Christian institutions and doctrines? In the post-Apostolic age it was, Is legalism or spiritual freedom in the service of God to be characteristic of Christianity? The first Apostolic council broke the yoke of the old Mosaic ordinances; the first inspired Christian theologian, S. Paul, vindicated for all future time the doctrine that Christians are bound, not by the letter, but by the spirit of the old covenant; the Reformation of the sixteenth century re-affirmed the principle that "Christ's Gospel is not a ceremonial law, but is a religion to serve God, not in bondage of the figure or shadow, but in the freedom of the spirit."

Fidelity to the truth thus established compels us, therefore, to recognize that there was a temporary and transitory use of much that is contained in the Old Testament. As the civil precepts of Theocratic Israel obviously could only apply to one nation, with its local limitations, so the ritual and ceremonial provisions of the Mosaic Law, whether in their earlier form or in the later stages of development, have to be regarded as elementary rules for the religious discipline of the people of Israel. The prohibitions of the Law were designed to impress upon them the idea of their subjection to the direct government of God; and the ideas of holiness, and sin as a transgression of Divine Law, and atonement before restoration to Divine favour, were emphasized by the elaborate sacrificial system.

In estimating the permanent educational value of the books which, as handed down to the Christian Church, contain the records of the gradual growth of the sacred nation out of the sacred family, and of the long providential history of that nation from its first settlement in Canaan to the loss of its independence, and the writings of a long line of prophets, and the Psalms and spiritual songs, and sententious wisdom of its poets and wise men, we shall fall into dangerous errors and false conceptions, if we do not bear in mind that this sacred literature is not one book, written at one time, but a collection or library of many books, written and compiled by many different authors, at very wide intervals of time, at very different stages of the spiritual development of the people, and, therefore, we must expect to find in it a continuous but yet, at the same time, a progressive revelation of Divine Truth. Each

successive period of which we have the record will teach us its own lesson.

In reading the early patriarchal history, having its point of departure at the call of Abraham, we shall recognize the ennobling and purifying influence of the sublime Monotheism, which, triumphing over the sensualizing tendencies of an earlier polytheistic idolatry, led the first father of the holy nation to the conception of the One God, the guide of his life, but at the same time the righteous Judge of all the earth, who can do no wrong. The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, are not depicted as faultless models of virtue; they are exhibited as men of mixed character: but amid their failures and imperfections we can recognize in them types of an unflinching faith in God as the ruler of their lives, a faith which could look forward in full assurance to the fulfilment of the Divine Promise of some great blessing to be conferred on mankind in later ages, through the mediation of their descendants. We learn, also, amid the archaic simplicity of the patriarchal story, how from the beginning Almighty God has willed to exercise a sovereign election of those who are to be the instruments of His high far-reaching purposes. Isaac is chosen, not Ishmael; Jacob, not Esau; Joseph, not Reuben; so that is no new truth which is made known to us in the New Testament that the election of grace belongs not to Israel after the flesh, but to the spiritual Israel, the disciples of Christ, who are the true descendants of Abraham as being heirs of his faith.

When we proceed to the study of the books which record the history of Israel as a nation, its sojourn in Egypt, its reception of a fresh and fuller revelation of God as the Lord Jehovah, its deliverance from the yoke of Egyptian slavery, and its settlement in the land of Canaan, we trace the first steps of that providential course of history by which the Hebrew nation was ultimately to be trained to be the religious educator of mankind. Moreover, the incidents of that transitional period form a sort of parable, the significance of which it is not difficult to detect. We have the highest authority for the recognition of such a permanent value even in the very details of the history, when S. Paul, after a recapitulation of some of the leading incidents of the wanderings in the wilderness, explicitly declares that these things happened unto the ancient Israelites by way of example—*τυπικῶς* (typically) is the original apostolic phrase—and further, which is direct to our present point of view, “were written for our admonition (*πρὸς νουθεσίαν ἡμῶν*) upon whom the ends of the ages are come.” Most prominent in this portion of the Old Testament stands the Law, so prominent that the term law has been almost exclusively appropriated to the five books which have stood first in the canon of the Old Testament ever since the conception of a fixed canon was introduced, possibly in the time of Ezra. Of that law Moses was the mediator, even though the present form of the Pentateuch may embody some legal provisions of later date. The Law, over and beyond its purely civil enactments, contains two dominant elements, the moral and the ceremonial. The moral law lays down in few words the fundamental principles of the righteousness which regulates the conduct of man towards man, and these are of universal, not merely national, obligation, while at the same time it gives a prior place to the moral duties of man towards God, such as love, honour, and worship, which result as necessary consequences of the primary truth of religion revealed in fuller

clearness through Moses, the existence of the one Self-Existing Supreme God, who had taken the people of Israel into covenant. This morality assumes a prohibitory form, "Thou shalt not," as is requisite for the infancy of moral progress. The Christian Church will, for disciplinary purposes, hold fast this negative form, but it will rise up to the recognition of the spiritual principle involved in the original form, and realise that all duty is summed up under the two heads of love to God and love to man.

In studying the civil law, we shall judge it by its tendency, and not by the mere written letter. Taught by Christ, we shall perceive in many of its regulations a condescension to the imperfect civilisation and morality of the age in which the enactments are promulgated, as in the laws about marriage and blood revenge, and thus, disregarding the form of the precept, we shall retain its spirit and deeper meaning for our practical guidance, bearing in mind that our Master has declared, "It hath been said to them of old, but I say to you"; so we carry out His principle of not destroying, but fulfilling, the Law.

The ceremonial law, the ordinances of which are, on the very face of them, only provisional and temporary, as being local and national, implying one definite sanctuary, and a fixed hereditary priesthood, we shall regard as having especially a pedagogic use. The ritual minutiae will cease to have any value for us, except so far as we interpret them typically, seeing in them object lessons of the necessity of a purity—not physical, but spiritual—and enforcements of a sense of sin, and prophetic anticipations of the possibility of reconciliation of sinful man to God by the one sacrifice of Christ, in which all those earlier sacrifices of slain animals found at once their fulfilment and their abolition. The great Epistle to the Hebrews is, for the Church of the New Testament, the exposition of the permanent value of the ceremonial portion of the Mosaic Law, teaching us that those gifts and sacrifices could not, as touching the conscience, make the worshipper perfect, being only with meats and drinks, carnal ordinances imposed until a time of reformation, and that the whole Law had but a shadow of the good things to come, not the very image of the things.

The history of Israel contained in the Pentateuch is carried on in what we commonly call the Historical Books of the Old Testament. They narrate the fortunes of the nation after it had received the Law which was to educate it so that it might become "a kingdom of priests." With faithful accuracy these books pourtray the Israelites as never attaining to their ideal. We learn how they conformed to the practices of the neighbouring nations. Nevertheless their probation and education were continued. A succession of prophets from Samuel onwards was raised up to recall them to a sense of their high calling. They testify against kings and people alike by rebuke and exhortation. They appeal to their past history. They point to their national troubles as signs of God's displeasure against sin. Spite of defection and back-sliding, these prophets are sure that God will yet fulfil His promise. With increasing clearness they enforce the claims of spiritual religion, as nobler than any scrupulous legalism, and as the ultimate end of the Law. Even when their countrymen are carried captive to Babylon, they sustain them by a hope of restoration, and induce them on their return to their native country to set up the worship of God in the re-built temple, in strict obedience to the whole ritual of their ancient Law. The whole

history is the history of the discipline of a nation, a perpetual reminder of national as well as individual responsibility to God. The unity results from its being a tracing of a Divine purpose and administration throughout the period from the exodus to the return from the exile.

The Christian Church is mainly concerned with *the religious* use of the Old Testament. But it would be unjust to ignore that, even on the merely literary and historical aspect, the Old Testament has a perennial interest. No more striking testimony to this vitality can be given than in some recently re-published remarks of one who disclaims all belief in its supernatural element. Professor Huxley, recommending the use of the Bible as an instrument of popular education, employs language which specially applies to the Old Testament: "Consider the great historical fact that for three centuries this book has been woven into the life of all that is best and noblest in English history, that it has become the national epic of Britain, that it forbids the veriest hind who never left his village to be ignorant of the existence of other countries and other civilizations, and of a great past stretching back to the furthest limits of the oldest nations in the world. By the study of what other book could children be so much humanized and made to feel that each figure in that vast historical procession fills, like themselves, but a momentary space in the intervals between the eternities, and earns the blessings or curses of all time, according to its effort to do good and hate evil, even as they also are earning their payment for their work?"\*

The works of the writing prophets, which are found in the second part of the Canon of the Old Testament, contain two distinct elements—one, the predictive, which has sometimes been allowed to challenge exclusive attention; the other, the didactic. The predictive element presents itself in the intimations of the fortunes of the various nations with whom Israel was brought in contact, and still more in the hopes held out of some one Deliverer and Restorer to be manifested in the coming time, who was to be the crown and completion of all the previous history of the people. These intimations increase in volume and distinctness as time goes on, and find their culmination in Jesus Christ, Who claims that all these prophecies, alike in Law, or psalm, or prophecy in its narrower sense, centre in Himself. "The (Jewish) Scriptures testify of Me," He said. Guided by the illumination of this principle, we read these Scriptures as permanent records of a Divinely communicated foreknowledge, and find a confirmation of our faith as Christians in the correspondence between prediction and fulfilment. "The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."

The didactic element in the prophets is, by the nature of the case, of undying value. It presents a progressive revelation of the pure and spiritual nature of God, and of the nature of the service which He demands from man. It is an ever renewed protest against the tendency to substitute a punctilious compliance with ordained rite and ceremony, in place of the devotion of the heart to God, and the performance of the primary duties of justice and mercy towards man. Men like Isaiah and Ezekiel enforce an enlightened theology which affirms the noblest attributes of God, Omnipresence, Omnipotence, Rectitude, fatherly love for mankind, and not only for His chosen people. They explain the

character of acceptable repentance, adding severe denunciations of hypocrisy. Reproof and correction are blended with instruction in righteousness. A remarkable, and perhaps unlikely witness to this educational purpose of prophecy is borne by such an independent writer as J. S. Mill: "The religion of the Jews," he says, "gave existence to an inestimably precious, unorganized institution—the order of prophets. The remark of a distinguished Hebrew, M. Salvador, that the prophets were in Church and State the equivalent of the modern liberty of the press, gives a just but not an adequate conception of the part fulfilled in national and universal history by this great element of Jewish life, by means of which, the canon of inspiration never being complete, the persons most eminent in genius and moral feeling could not only denounce and repudiate, with the direct authority of the Almighty, whatever appeared to them deserving of such treatment, but could give forth better and higher interpretations of the national religion, which henceforth became part of the religion. Conditions more favourable to progress could not easily exist; accordingly the Jews, instead of being stationary, like other Asiatics, were, next to the Greeks, the most progressive people of antiquity, and jointly with them, have been the starting point and main propelling agency of modern cultivation."<sup>\*</sup>

I am precluded by the limits of time from dwelling upon the educational value of the Psalms and Sapiential Books; but doubtless this will be touched upon by those who follow, when they treat of the moral and devotional value of the Old Testament.

In a rapid survey of so wide a subject, one feels that it is impossible to do much more than give an outline, the details of which each must fill up for himself. But, in concluding, I desire to give emphatic expression to the conviction that no one is in a position to estimate the permanent value of the Old Testament, as an instrument of education, who does not approach the study of it in a *religious* spirit. A cold, unsympathetic critic, whose only motive is to dissect and analyse and refer to their respective dates and authors, real or imaginary, a series of books which have formed, in whole or in part, the sacred literature of the Jewish and the early Christian religion, will be so absorbed in his linguistic and historical and archæological researches, that he will miss or fail to appreciate the spirit which animates and gives meaning to the literature. A purely naturalistic point of view which denies the very possibility of Divine guidance of human affairs and Divine revelation of spiritual truth, will misinterpret Old Testament history, and attribute Old Testament theology to the external influences of other civilizations. He who holds the faith of Christ, while he recognizes the value of sober criticism, will have the obscuring veil taken away from his heart in the reading of the Old Testament, for he will confess that these Holy Scriptures have been "able to make him wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus."

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\* "Representative Government," ch. ii.

(2). EVIDENTIAL.

The Rev. A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, and Canon of Ely.

I.—ATTENTION has of late been concentrated mainly upon the literary problems of the Old Testament. Questions which but a few years ago were almost confined to the studies of theologians have become subjects of popular discussion. The attitude of reverent believers towards these questions differs almost incalculably from that which was general thirty years ago. It is generally recognized that what may be called the "traditional" view of the origin and character of the Old Testament at least needs to be "rectified." On the other hand, "critical" views have not yet won their way to general acceptance. It is not to be expected or desired that they should be hastily adopted. Complete agreement is not to be anticipated—perhaps it will never be attained. Many difficulties may, and probably must, remain unsolved. Consequently in many quarters the attitude of the moment is one of hesitation, of suspension of judgment, of waiting for further investigation and fresh light. Such an attitude is infinitely better than the arrogant dogmatism, on one side or the other, which is the enemy of progress and the parent of its own Nemesis. \* But it has its dangers, and one of those dangers is lest the sense of uncertainty in regard to the literary problems of the Old Testament should, sensibly or insensibly, result in the feeling that its positive use must for the time remain in abeyance.

It is essential, therefore, at the present moment—and it seems to be specially incumbent upon those who are most deeply interested in the problems of criticism—to endeavour to prevent this neglect of the positive study of the Old Testament. No doubt this study cannot be wholly independent of the answers given to critical questions. But if it is pursued in a broad and judicious spirit, it will be largely unaffected by them.

II.—One of the most important aspects of the Old Testament for the Christian Church is its evidential value. The Christian Church has always believed the Old Testament to be the divinely inspired and divinely preserved record of the special preparation for the Incarnation of the Son of God. That preparation, in all its manifold variety and complexity, cannot, we believe, be explained as a series of accidents or a merely natural development. It bears witness to a mind and wisdom guiding, controlling, over-ruling wayward forces to a definite and foreseen end. If Christianity can be seen to be the issue and consummation of a long and varied and wonderful preparation in history, its divine origin and destiny are, not indeed demonstrated beyond possibility of cavil, but confirmed for all who do not refuse to believe in a superintending Providence. This argument is not invalidated, though its form may be modified, by the results of criticism. "The history of Israel," writes one who accepts those results in their fullest extent, "when rightly studied, is the most real and vivid of all histories, and the proofs of God's working among His people of old may still be made, what they were in time past, one of the strongest evidences of Christianity. It was no blind chance, and no mere human wisdom, that shaped the growth of Israel's religion, and finally stamped it in those forms, now so strange to us, which preserved the living seed of the Divine Word till the fulness

of the time when He was manifested who transformed the religion of Israel into a religion for all mankind."\*

"The Old Testament," writes Bishop Westcott, "on any theory as to the origin of the writings which it contains . . . opens to us the prospect of one purpose variously reflected in writings spread over a thousand years; of one purpose moving onwards with a continuous growth among the barren despotisms of the East; of one purpose fulfilled in an unbroken national life which closed only when its goal was reached. . . . It is impossible for anyone to regard that history in its majestic and indisputable outlines without feeling that it was guided to some end. It is impossible to imagine any end able to reconcile all the aspirations which it raised, to solve all the enigmas which it brought into full light, than that which is given to us in the Birth, and Passion, and Resurrection of Christ. *The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.*"†

That Christianity stands in a wholly unique relation to Judaism is simple historical fact. It sprang out of the soil of Judaism. It absorbed into itself the principles which gave Judaism its vitality. The naturalistic school of critics seeks to explain this relation as one of simple development and historical progress. But this theory involves a bold assertion and a grave denial. It involves a bold assertion, for, as has been well pointed out, while "there was a tendency *towards* the central truth of Christianity, there was no tendency to *produce* it."‡

It involves a grave denial, for it denies that the Founder of Christianity rightly conceived His relation to the religion of Israel, and the relation of that religion to Himself. For He unquestionably claimed that He had come as its fulfilment; that it was for Him that its teaching was preparing; that it was to Him that its prophecies pointed.

In Him were united lines of prophecy and type which had foreshadowed the coming of a King, a Priest, a Prophet, a Servant of Jehovah, who by His sufferings would make atonement for many, a representative of Jehovah, nay, Jehovah Himself. In His own person He combined lines of type and prophecy which had before seemed distinct, fulfilling and transcending all partial and imperfect anticipations. In His teaching He gave to the permanent principles which underlay the Law and the Prophets a wider extension and a fresh sanction. By His death He explained and superseded the sacrificial system of the old order. Above all, by His Revelation of the Father, He placed the relation of man to God upon a new footing. The Apostles carried on and developed the argument. It was, they felt, essential to prove to the Jew from his own Scriptures that Jesus was the Messiah for whom they were waiting. The guise of His coming was, no doubt, far different from the idea which popular expectation had conceived, and it was the task of the first age to show that this was due to the oneness of an idea formed by excluding features which were unwelcome or hard to reconcile. Even for the Gentile, who possessed or might gain some acquaintance with the Jewish Scriptures, the argument was felt to be important. In the post-Apostolic age the Christian Church attached

\* Professor Robertson Smith, "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church," p. xi. (Ed. 2).

† "The Revelation of the Father," pp. 149, 158.

‡ Bishop Westcott, "Gospel of the Resurrection," p. 72.



still more weight to it. To Justin Martyr, to take but one example, the harmony between prophecy and fulfilment seemed to be the "greatest and truest demonstration of Christianity."

And so the argument came down to modern times. In the last century it was reckoned along with the argument from miracles as one of the most convincing proofs of Christianity.

III.—The appeal continued to be made in the main, as it was made at first, to the definite fulfilment of particular prophecies. Can the apologist for Christianity, it may be asked, do better than follow the lines laid down in the New Testament, and in the early ages of the Church? It might seem that he cannot. Yet when his arguments are challenged, and it is denied that such a clear correspondence exists between prophecy and fulfilment as was once maintained, he is forced to consider whether it is his case or his mode of presenting it that is in fault. The old view of the relation of the Old Testament to the New may still be true; it may still have an important evidential value; but the grounds which the present age feels to be the most convincing proofs of that relation may be different from those which brought conviction to an earlier age, and the relative importance of the argument may have altered. For modes of thought change; different arguments have a different relative force in different periods, and to minds at different stages of education. To the child and the child-like mind a simple correspondence is an argument. To those trained in Jewish modes of thought, analogies, coincidences of languages, allegories, were of the nature of evidence.\* Those who have been trained in Western habits of thought are disposed to depreciate such arguments as merely verbal, or even to discard them with something of contempt. But they can appreciate a complex argument, which would be unintelligible to a simple mind. Trained in the study of history, they are able to take a comprehensive view of the course of events; to trace the growth of ideas and the progress of thought; to estimate the effect of varied influences; to appreciate the cumulative evidence of design which is derived from the convergence of a multitude of institutions, events, ideas, influences, towards a particular end.

We need not, then, shrink from maintaining that, while the New Testament establishes for us the fact that the history of Israel was the divine preparation for Christianity, and points for proof mainly to specific fulfilment of prophecy, there are other lines of proof to which we may and ought to appeal. It was natural that in the first age appeal should be made to simple fulfilments of specific predictions.† They were obvious and intelligible, and presented no difficulty to the mind of that age. We shall not indeed deny the existence of such predictions, but we shall feel that our case can be rested more securely upon a broader basis. The New Testament view of the relation of Christianity to the Old Testament is instructive in regard to the fact, rather than final in regard to the method. The fact is unchanged. The

\* Compare the remarks in Bishop Lightfoot's "Galatians," p. 200.

† Some of the New Testament quotations may seem at first sight to be merely verbal; but deeper study will generally, if not always, disclose an underlying principle of real correspondence. See Olshausen's excellent tract, "*Ein Wort über tiefen Schieptsinn*," to which attention is called by Bishop Westcott in his "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels," p. 412.

evidence for the fact, and the light in which it is to be regarded, may vary. The interpretation of the Bible is not stationary, but progressive. In fact, the evidential value of the Old Testament for us does not consist so much in the specific predictions which it contains, as in the entire history and course of teaching of which it is the record. It has been well said that the Old Testament does not merely contain prophecies, but is from first to last a prophecy. Of that prophecy CHRIST is the fulfilment. If it can be shown that in manifold ways the discipline to which Israel was subjected, the teaching which Israel received, the hopes of which Israel was the depository, were all preparing for, and converging towards, the great central fact of the world's history, we gain a view of divine purpose working towards a divine end which is far more instructive and convincing than an external correspondence between a certain number of separate predictions and their accomplishment. This complex argument would be unsuited to a simple age, and to uneducated minds. Perhaps our own age, with its historical training, is the first that could have appreciated it; but most of us will feel that it is more convincing, if less obvious.\* The fulfilment of a particular prediction is a sign, attracting attention, inviting to further examination. It may serve to attest the inspiration of the prophet, to show that he was taught by an Omniscient Being; but in itself it may reveal but little of the character of that Being, whereas a long and varied system of preparation discloses something of the plan, the method, the resourcefulness of God, working out His purpose through long ages, by manifold methods, in spite of the wilfulness and obstinacy of man.

IV.—The main argument will be valid, whatever view is taken of the course of Israel's history, and the literary character of the Books of the Old Testament.

(1) The Law, whether it is regarded according to the traditional hypothesis, as substantially the work of Moses, or according to the critical hypothesis, as Mosaic in its germ and nucleus only, gradually developed through many centuries, and not completed and codified until the time of Ezra, can be seen to have served a definite purpose in the work of the preparation. Briefly, it was the fence which served to separate Israel from the surrounding nations, and to preserve it from being merged in them. It was the "external conscience" which served to arouse and to deepen the sense of sin and of the need of atonement, preparing men to welcome the satisfaction of that need. True, the guardians of the Law forged out of that which had been given the nation "for its good always" the fetters of a cramping legalism. Yet even their abuse contributed to the end in view, by making the Deliverer, who came to set men free from the yoke of the Law, more welcome.

(2) But it is still in the Prophets that the work of preparation may most fully be traced; only the work of the prophets must be treated as a whole; it must not be limited to the predictive element. As historians and as teachers not less than as predictors, in relation to the past and the present not less than to the future, they were preparing the way of the Lord; and their work, viewed in relation to that which followed after, bears upon it the marks of design. As historians, they

\* Compare Dr. Talbot on the Preparation in History for Christianity, in "*Lux Mundi*," p. 134, *ff*.

interpreted the course of God's dealings with His people, and bade them see in the vicissitudes of their history a divine Providence choosing, directing, chastising, preserving, for its fore-ordained end. By their view of the past they evoked and maintained the sense of divine vocation for a great purpose, which, perverted and distorted as it sometimes was, formed no unimportant part of Israel's religious consciousness.

As the teachers of the nation they were constantly employed in enforcing those fundamental truths of the unity of God, of the righteousness and holiness of God, of the capacity and destiny of man for fellowship with a righteous and holy God, which were the life of the religion of Israel. It was this teaching which laid the solid foundation for the superstructure of the Christian Church. It was this teaching which prepared the way for the fellowship between God and man which is realized in the Incarnation, and is gradually being wrought out in the dispensation of the Spirit. The centuries of waiting, in which the voice of prophecy was silent, in which God seemed to be withdrawing Himself further from men instead of drawing nearer to them, taught men to recognize their own impotence, and prepared them to receive what they could not create.

And while the prophets were constantly employed in educating the nation step by step into a fuller knowledge of God, they unhesitatingly foretold that Jehovah had great purposes in store for His people. Was the nation divided, and were the two kingdoms at deadly feud—it must be reunited under a Prince of the house of David. Was the representative of that house faithless, incapable, apostate—there rises before the prophet's eye the vision of a perfect ruler, who would inaugurate a reign of peace and righteousness, and, endowed with the fullness of the Spirit of God, as Jehovah's perfect representative. Was Israel being conquered by the superstitions of the heathen—boldly it is predicted that it will yet fulfil its destiny and evangelize the world. Was the old covenant apparently on the point of being broken—the promise of a new and spiritual covenant is made, which shall supersede and transcend the old. Was Israel in exile, apparently forsaken by its God, and for ever ruined—the prophetic message affirms that it must be restored to life and fulfil its mission as the servant of Jehovah, and it draws the portrait of One in whom would be realized all that Israel had failed to be and to do; nay, infinitely more.

Thus, from age to age hope and aspirations were kindled and kept alive. Throughout the prophetic literature there runs—to say no more—the strong sense of the incompleteness of the present; of a divine purpose, of persons, or a Person, to whom all was tending. The sceptic endeavours to minimize the force of these prophecies as merely "vague and mystic utterances," or "passionate aspirations for deliverance." Apologists have perhaps strained their interpretations in their anxiety to find literal fulfilments. But if prophecy is not "inverted history," but the germ out of which the fulfilment springs, as the plant with its flower and fruitage springs from the seed, it is difficult indeed not to see in the relation between them the evidence of Divine purpose, preparing long beforehand for a result which could be but dimly and imperfectly foreshadowed, because it was to transcend all human experience, and in marvellous ways bringing to its maturity that which had been intended from the first.

The argument may have to be modified in detail if traditional views as to the dates and the literary character of the prophecies are abandoned in favour of those of modern criticism, but its general drift and scope will not be invalidated. It is one aim of criticism to bring the prophecies into historical relation with the circumstances of the times at which they were delivered. If thereby we gain an increased conviction of their *naturalness*, we gain, I believe, at the same time an increasing sense of their *supernaturalness*. Adaptation not less than marvel is a characteristic of Divine working.

(3) The Psalms must be included in the argument; and not only those psalms which are commonly regarded as prophetic. The Psalter, in its entire compass, is the voice of God-taught souls thirsting for a closer communion with Him, yearning for the fulfilment of His purpose in the triumph of righteousness and the punishment of wickedness; waiting for His manifestation of Himself; almost—some would say altogether—breaking through the darkness which for the ancient Israelite brooded over the grave. The familiar use of the Psalms in worship and devotion was no trifling element in the preparation for Christ. The readiness with which they adapt themselves to Christian use is a proof how much they contain which was a striving forward and upward only to be realized in the revelation of Christ.

And here, again, the general drift of the argument would remain the same, if we should be compelled to regard the Psalter as entirely the product of the post-exile period. Our view of the time and the manner in which its religious ideas originated would be changed. We might have to admit that those ideas owed more to foreign influences, and were less the product of direct inspiration than we had supposed. Yet the fact of those ideas would remain; they would still be significant as at once a preparation and a presage.

V.—It is hard to draw a sharp line of demarcation between instruction and evidence. It has been said that miracles are in their inmost sense instruction rather than evidence. Perhaps the same is true of prophecy; but instruction is evidence. It is by studying the ways of God in history that we come to recognize His footprints. Miracles wrought before their eyes did not compel the Jews to believe. The fulfilment of prophecies, for whose accomplishment they were looking, did not disarm their opposition. And so it is now. The argument from prophecy will confirm, but it cannot compel, belief. But taken as a whole, and patiently studied, the Old Testament has a permanent evidential value for the Christian Church. And that value increases, in proportion as it is seen to consist not merely in the fulfilment of specific and circumstantial prophecies, but in the whole drift and tendency of a manifold and complex preparation, in history, in life, in thought, pointing to an end which it foreshadowed but could not describe, for which it prepared, but which it could not produce. If the argument is harder to master and to set forth in its completeness, it will be, for an age like ours, more convincing. The complexity of many particulars tending towards the one end, summed up in the one Person, explaining Him and explained by Him, will be an evidence of design, which will not only confirm our belief in Christ, but strengthen our faith in the final accomplishment of the work which He came to do for the world.

## (3) MORAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

The Rev. S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church.

THE subject on which I have been invited to read—viz., the moral and devotional value of the Old Testament to the Christian Church—is one, I need hardly say, which it is impossible to treat with any approach to completeness in the limited space of twenty minutes. All that I can do is to illustrate briefly some of its more salient aspects, conscious all the time that I am leaving much unsaid, and fortunate in the thought that those who follow me will have an opportunity of supplying my omissions. Without in any degree derogating from the absolute ideal of life and conduct presented in the New Testament, I shall endeavour to show, in the time at my disposal, that the Old Testament possesses distinctive characteristics of its own, which must ever secure for it a paramount position and influence in the Church.

In the first place, then, and generally, the Old Testament has a value peculiar to itself, from the fact that the truths which it inculcates are set forth with great variety of external form, and with superlative grace of imagery and diction. These features, though it is true they are but external ones, must not be under-rated in our estimate of the Old Testament as a whole. The preacher, not less than the poet or the orator, makes it his aim to impress, by a choice and appropriate literary style, those whom he addresses; and had the truths which the Bible enunciates been presented in an unformed, uncultured literary garb, without the melody of rhythm and diction which actually accompanies them, we may be sure that its influence upon mankind would have been very much less than it has been. The variety of form, and the literary excellence, displayed in the Old Testament are both surprising. There are history and biography, both penetrated more or less visibly by ethical and religious ideas; there is the oratory of Deuteronomy and the Prophets, the aim of which is to enforce more directly the same truths; there is poetry of varied types—lyrical, elegiac, and even, in a rudimentary form, dramatic—in which the emotions, fired by religious ardour, or suffused (*Song of Songs*) by a warm moral glow, find deep and pure expression. And each of these literary forms possesses, all but uniformly, that peculiar charm and grace of style which entitles it to be ranked as “classical.” History, oratory, poetry, each is of a type which, in its kind, cannot be surpassed. The bright and picturesque narrative of the historical books, the grand and impressive oratory of the prophets, the delicacy and lightness of the Hebrew lyric, vie alternately with one another in fascinating the reader and compelling his admiration and regard.

But it is time to turn from the form of the literature of the Old Testament to its substance. And here it must at the outset be observed that the provinces of morality and religion are in the Old Testament so closely associated that it is difficult to separate absolutely its moral and devotional aspects, and to treat them independently; moral duties are, for instance, often inculcated or exemplified in a manner which directly stimulates the devotional impulses; but as far as possible I will deal with the two aspects of my subject successively.

I.—(1) The Old Testament is of permanent value on account of the clearness and emphasis with which it insists on the primary moral

duties, obligatory upon man as man ; and not only on what may be termed the more private or individual virtues, but also on the great domestic and civic virtues, upon which the happiness of the family, and the welfare of the community, alike depend. Truthfulness, honesty, sincerity, justice, humanity, philanthropy, generosity, disinterestedness, neighbourly regard, sympathy with the unfortunate or the oppressed, the refusal to injure another by word or deed, cleanness of hands, purity of thought and action, elevation of motive, singleness of purpose, —these, and such as these, are the virtues which, as we know, have ever evoked the moral admiration of mankind, and they are the virtues which, again and again, in eloquent and burning words, are commended and inculcated in the pages of the Old Testament. And corresponding to this high appreciation of moral qualities there is its correlative, a hatred of wrong-doing, and a profound sense of sin, which is stamped, if possible, yet more conspicuously upon the literature of ancient Israel. I wish I had time to quote illustrations ; but after all they would be superfluous : for those who hear me will, I am sure, be conscious already of familiar echoes sounding in their ears, and substantiating what I have said. I will only observe that such teaching is to be found in all parts of the Old Testament. Indirectly, for example, the moral value of qualities such as I have named is frequently illustrated in the historical books. The prophets devote their finest and most impressive periods to asserting the claims of the moral law upon the obedience of mankind, and to the rebuke of vice and sin. In the poetical writings, the Book of Proverbs abounds in similar moral teaching ; while in the fifteenth chapter of the Book of Job, for instance, the agonies of a burdened conscience, and in the thirty-first chapter of the same book the portrait of a noble and elevated character, untainted even in secret by unworthy thoughts or evil desires, are drawn with surprising clearness and force of moral insight. Not only, however, are moral duties inculcated as such, the intimate connection of religion with morality is also strongly emphasized. The essential association of the religious character with the moral law is never lost from sight ; and the moral conditions of pleasing God are repeatedly and unambiguously insisted on. In one form or another there is constant danger of this truth being overlooked or forgotten ; but in the Old Testament its importance is fully recognized ; and the prophets, in passages glowing with warm and impassioned eloquence, set it forth with peculiar directness and force.

(2) The Old Testament affords examples of faith and conduct, of character and principle, in many varied circumstances of life, which we may in different ways adopt as our models and strive to emulate. It is not, of course, pretended that the characters of the Old Testament are devoid of flaws, or blameless. Some are limited by the moral and spiritual conditions of the age in which they lived, others exhibit personal shortcomings peculiar to themselves : but these faults are generally discoverable as such by the light of the principles laid down in the Old Testament itself, and none ought to be mistaken for virtues by members of the Christian Church, who alone, on the present occasion, come into consideration. In the historical books such virtues as kindness and fidelity, modesty and simplicity, courtliness of action and demeanour (implying self-discipline and repression), patriotic feeling, domestic affection and friendship, are abundantly

exemplified. In the narratives of events belonging to a distant past, from which precise historical reminiscences cannot reasonably be supposed to have been preserved, and in which therefore an ideal element may naturally be inferred to be present, the characters are so delineated as to be typically significant: the outlines supplied by tradition are so filled in by the inspired narrators with a living vesture of circumstance, expression, and character, that the heroic figures of antiquity become patterns to succeeding generations. The nobility, the dignity, the disinterestedness, the affection and love for his people, which mark the character of Moses, cannot but impress every reader. In the books of Samuel, in spite of faults, sometimes grave ones, we can trace in the character of David the softening and elevating influence of his religion; we can see that, both in his private and in his public capacity, he stood on a very different level from the heathen monarchs of antiquity. In a book like Ruth we can observe the religious spirit sanctifying and ennobling the ordinary duties of life: the fact that the scenes and conversations are, doubtless, to some extent idealized, and owe their form to the literary skill of the writer, does not detract from their didactic value; the picture, even if in particular features it reproduces the narrator's ideal rather than the actual and literal facts, is not less significant, not less instructive as an example of life and manners to ourselves. In the biographies of the prophets we see exemplified, partly in such details of their lives as have come down to us, partly, and more fully, in their discourses, sincerity of purpose, uncompromising opposition to vice and sin, devotion to principle, sympathy with suffering, national feeling, and generally a high and disinterested standard of moral action, maintained under many different circumstances, and in many varied situations of both public and private life, with a consistency and unflinching devotion which must command the admiration, and arouse the emulation, of all time.

(3) The Old Testament is of permanent value on account of the great ideals of human life and society which it holds out before the eyes of its readers. I allude in particular to those ideal pictures of a renovated human nature and transformed social state, which the prophets loved to delineate—the pictures of human nature, freed from the imperfections and corruptions which actually beset it, inspired by an innate devotion to God and right, and ruled, not by law as a command dictated from without, but by moral impulses, springing up instinctively within the breast; the pictures of human society, no longer harassed by the strife of opposing interests and parties, or honey-combed by oppressions and abuses, but held together by the bonds of love and friendship, each eager to advance his neighbour's welfare, and the nations of the earth united in a federation of peace, under the suzerainty of the God of Israel. These ideals have, alas! not yet been realized so completely as the prophets anticipated. The passions and wilfulness of human nature have proved in too many cases unamenable even to the influences of Christianity; but progress, we may trust, has been made: and meanwhile these ideals remain, the wonder and delight of the ages—to kindle our aspirations, to brace our efforts, to point out to us the goal which human endeavour should exert itself to realize, and which human society may one day hope to attain.

(4) The Old Testament must always share with the New Testamen,

the position of forming a standard of pure and spiritual religion, in contradistinction to all formalism or abstract systems. The parts of the Old Testament which might lend themselves, and in the later periods of Jewish history did lend themselves, to exaggeration or perversion, in the direction of outward ceremonialism, are just those which were abrogated by the coming of Christ; and for those who do not live under the Levitical dispensation the danger from this source has consequently passed away. The more directly moral and spiritual parts of the Old Testament display still the freshness and the power which they possessed when they were first written. The pure moral perceptions of the prophets, the unadulterated spiritual intuitions of the Psalmists, must ever form a standard of faith and action, recalling men, when in peril of being led astray to trust in the external rites of religion, or to forget the true nature of spiritual service, to a sense of the real demands which God makes of His worshippers, and of the character and conduct in which He truly delights.

II.—I turn to consider the value of the Old Testament for devotional purposes. And here our thoughts move naturally, in the first instance, towards the Book of Psalms, in which the ripest fruits of Israel's spiritual experience are gathered together, and the religious affections find their richest and completest expression. It is difficult within the compass of a few words to characterize the Psalter with any adequacy. In the Psalter the religious affections manifest themselves without restraint, and the soul is displayed in converse with God, disclosing to Him, in sweet and melodious accents, its manifold emotions, its hopes and its fears, its desires and its aspirations. In the Psalms we hear the voice of penitence and contrition, of resignation and trust, of confidence and faith, of yearning for God's presence and the spiritual privilege of communion with Him, of reverential joy and jubilation, of thanksgiving and exultation, of confession and supplication, of adoration and praise; we hear meditations on the great attributes of the Creator, on His hand as seen in nature or in history, on the problems of human life, and on the pathos of human existence; and we hear all these varied notes uttered with a depth, an intensity, and a purity, which stand unparalleled in religious literature, and which the poets and hymn-writers of subsequent ages have been content to look up to as to an unapproachable model. Love, and trust, and faith, and such-like sacred affections, are set before us in the Book of Psalms, not as commanded, or enjoined as a duty from without, but as exercised, as the practical response offered by the believing soul to the claims laid upon it by its Maker, as the spontaneous outcome of the heart stirred by god-like emotions. The historical critic may question, and question justly, whether the Psalms are so largely as is commonly supposed a product of the earlier period of Israel's history: he will not question the justice of Dean Church's judgment when, in his well-known essay on the Psalms, he claims that they lift us into an atmosphere of religious thought and feeling which is the highest that man has ever reached, and that for their faith in the unseen, their perception of the character of God, and the manifold forms in which their affections expand and unfold themselves towards Him, their authors stand above the religious poets of every other age or clime, and enjoy a pre-eminence from which they can never be dethroned. As a devotional manual, as a manual displaying the soul in



closest and yet freest and most manifold converse with God, the Book of Psalms must retain permanently in the Church the unique, unapproachable position which it has ever held.

The devotional spirit is, however, by no means confined to the Psalter. As I remarked before, there are many parts of the Old Testament—for instance, the descriptions by the prophets of the marvellous attributes of the Deity, His glory, and majesty, and mighty acts—which, though not directly designed for devotional purposes, nevertheless arouse the emotions of adoration and wonder, and stir the devotional instincts. Thus the Book of Job, especially if read with the aid of a sympathetic commentary, such as that of Professor A. B. Davidson (in the “Cambridge Bible for Schools”), will be found to contain, side by side with outbursts of defiant boldness, passages of supreme poetic delicacy, and instinct with devotional feeling, the sense of God’s omnipresence and vastness, the moral significance of suffering, the pathetic yearning of the patriarch’s soul to hear the voice of the Creator calling him again to His fellowship after the long period of seeming estrangement. The exilic chapters of the Book of Isaiah also contain frequent passages of the highest devotional suggestiveness and beauty. There are, besides, numerous ideas, corresponding to different aspects of the devotional temper, which are presented with unique clearness and emphasis in the Old Testament. Consider, for instance, the warmth with which in Deuteronomy the love of God is insisted on as the primary motive of human action; how, in the same book (nine times) and in writings influenced by it, the devotion of the whole being to God is expressed by the significant phrase, to search after, to serve, or to love Him, “with *all* the heart and with *all* the soul;” how, also in the same book, the injunction is reiterated, to “rejoice before God” (viz., at a sacrificial meal) with a grateful and generous heart; how, in other books—for time compels me to speak generally—the fear of God, the observance of the ways, the commandments, the precepts of God, the resolution to obey Him and hearken to His voice, the desire to seek and to find Him, the determination to do His pleasure and to know Him, the privilege of the righteous to have access to God and to call upon Him at all times (Job xiii. 16; xxvii. 10; Psalm v. 7 [“can” or “do,” not “will”]), the blessedness of rejoicing, and even of delighting, in Him (Isaiah lxii. 10, etc.; Isaiah lviii. 14; Job xxii. 26; xxvii. 10; Psalm xxxvii. 4), the joyousness of His service, the grateful sense of His protection or of His regard, are again and again expressed, and dwelt upon with an ardour which is never satisfied, with an enthusiasm which is unrestrained, with a devotion which knows no bounds. And it is, too, the high merit of the devotion of the Old Testament that it is always a manly devotion: in contrast to the tone of some modern writers, who have sought unwisely to surpass their models, the sentiment is never effeminate, the pathos never exaggerated or morbid. It is no small achievement, it may be observed in passing, to have framed what may almost be termed a complete devotional nomenclature, which formulates tersely and forcibly the great duties and offices of a spiritual religion, and which, moreover, with surprising elasticity, lends itself readily to adoption by another language. This, however, is what the religious teachers of ancient Israel have achieved. The illustrations which I have taken are but a few of the many devotional ideas with

which the pages of the Old Testament abound, and which, from the freshness, the force, and the reality, with which they are there set forth, must ensure for it undying vitality, and ever prevent it from becoming obsolete or devoid of worth.

If, then, in conclusion, I were to sum up briefly the grounds on which the moral and devotional value of the Old Testament seems to me to be permanently assured, I should say that these were partly its fine literary form, partly the great variety of mode and occasion by which the creed and practice of its best men are exemplified, partly the intensity of spirit by which its teaching is penetrated and sustained. As a purely literary work, the Old Testament combines the rare merits of including passages of high moral and spiritual worth, at once attractive and intelligible to the simplest capacities, and of being written in a style which must ever command the respect and appreciation of the most cultured. Then, secondly, the truths which it contains are not presented in an abstract garb, as a collection of moral or religious maxims, to be apprehended merely by the intellect; they are presented under every variety of circumstance and form, as part of the actual life, and practice, and belief, of men representing a nation through the entire course of its chequered history. And they are presented, lastly, with a spirituality of motive, an intensity of conviction, a warmth and inwardness of feeling, and a singleness of aim, which cannot but impress deeply every reader, and evoke corresponding impulses in his own breast. Upon these grounds it seems to me that so long as human nature continues, endowed intellectually as it now is, the Old Testament must remain an ever-fresh fountain-head of living truth, able to invigorate and restore, to purify and refine, to ennoble and enrich, the moral and spiritual being of man.

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## ADDRESSES.

The Very Rev. R. PAYNE-SMITH, D.D., Dean of Canterbury

THE permanent value of the Old Testament for the Christian Church is so vast a subject that it is difficult to speak upon it briefly, but as I am not limited to any one of the three lines of thought suggested to the other readers and speakers, perhaps I shall do best by making my remarks few in number, and of a general character. And I would first say that evidently the controversy that will most occupy men's minds at the close of this century, and in the beginning of the next, is that which will have for its subject the composition and authenticity and date of the various books of the Old Testament. And it is a great improvement upon the manner of most controversies that this is being carried on in a calm and respectful spirit, and with an evident desire to arrive at truth. Many of the statements made may indeed seem very alarming, and the minds of numerous good and excellent people are filled with unquiet. But I do not know that any of these statements are more alarming than Galileo's assertion—that the earth was not the centre of creation, and that it did not stand still—seemed to the people of his time. In our own days, people have supposed that the truth of the Bible depended upon its agreement with what was taught in the last geologic manual, or upon the creative days being exactly twenty-four hours, neither more nor less. Really it is a low, poor view of Holy Scripture which makes

men look upon it as intended to teach us that secular knowledge which God purposed that we should acquire for ourselves. But those whose minds are troubled should remember that it is one thing to start a theory, and another thing to prove it. Knowledge moves on, but it is over a battle-field strewn with the corpses of theories which have had their little day and then perished. And these theories probably all did good in calling the attention of men to important matters, and raising an interest in them. Many of them were hotly discussed and argued for and against, and perhaps they ended in adding some small trifle to the aggregate of truth, some grain of sand, as it were, to the mighty mountain. In all ages, wherever the minds of men are free, there has been and will be a hot battle round the Bible. Far better this than indifference. But we may hold our faith in patience. The nineteenth century is no more likely to upset the Bible than the centuries which have gone before. But every controversy does correct errors—not in the Bible, but in our popular notions. For moral and religious purposes, the Bible speaks clearly to the simplest soul. It has from first to last lessons which he who runs may read; and yet, in another point of view, it is a book full of hard problems. It is of the most wonderful antiquity. Why, Isaiah lived before the founding of Rome. It has gone through the most extraordinary perils. It was written on manuscripts when writing and the preparation of writing materials was a mysterious art known to but few. It was written without any vowels or any division of the consonants into words. It was written in a language singularly indefinite, which constantly raises a grand idea but gives it no clear outlines. We know little of the manner in which scribes worked when copying manuscripts, nor whether they felt themselves free or not to make additions which seemed to them necessary for the truth; yet we expect that this wonderful collection of the literature of a highly poetical and gifted race, and, as many of us believe, of a chosen people, whose great business was to give to us and preserve for us these Divine oracles, should be written in a cut-and-dry manner, as if their writers had spent long years under the ferule, not of one, but of many a nineteenth-century Tyrannus. We have to attain to truer and more noble conceptions of this grand library of books which we call the Old Testament; and when we come to criticism and are told what wonderful theories are being aired, let us be glad that critics are busy, and feel quite sure that some truth will be reached, even if it be less than the critic expects. But do not let us be frightened. The Bible in some respects is immensely difficult. The conditions under which it was written—I mean the external conditions—were entirely unlike those under which any book is written now. It was written in ages of dense ignorance according to our ideas. Yet what a wonderful product it is! Just think of the Psalms. Do not trouble about the date of each Psalm. The problem is just as extraordinary if they were written by those fighting Maccabees as if they were written in the days of Hezekiah, which was the Augustan age of Hebrew literature. Well, we nineteenth century people who are so well educated, so acute in finding fault, possessed of such good and immaculate taste, etc., etc., can use these Psalms in our daily service, can go over them again and again, and find them still quickening our devotion and maintaining and deepening our spiritual life. I wish to add one thing more. I have said that the controversies of the next half-century will be waged round the Old Testament. Now, my friends of the clergy, and especially you, my younger friends, how are you prepared to meet them? How many of you know the letters even of the Hebrew alphabet? In the piecemeal examination of the books of the Old Testament, the question of style must enter. There are few of you who could not distinguish between a line of Virgil and a line of Horace, but you suppose that all Hebrew is just alike, just as of course all English is alike, whether written by Chaucer or by Robert Browning. Well, the difference is not so great, but there is a difference, and only students of Hebrew can judge of it.

And next, who troubles about the text of the Old Testament? Doubtless the text of the Massorites is a very good text, and unfortunately manuscripts of the Old Testament are all very modern. But we have in the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Syriac, and the Gothic, very ancient versions which need to be studied for the light which they would throw upon the Hebrew Scriptures. But these remarkable versions are but little studied. Oxford and the Bishop of Salisbury have been giving us instalments of the Vulgate, that splendid translation which cost Jerome all the best years of his life, and made him the best abused man in Europe. Perhaps that manuscript of a part of the Septuagint lately discovered in Egypt may turn the attention of scholars to that version, which is used in the New Testament so generally as a fair representation of the word of God. Of the Peshitta Syriac version at least the New Testament is now being edited for the Oxford University Press as carefully as the Greek New Testament has long been edited, with a large apparatus of readings from ancient manuscripts; and I may add that if the controversies of the coming century will be fought over the Old Testament, so will the studies of scholars be largely in connection with it. When the "Speaker's Commentary" was in preparation, a number of gentlemen formed a very large guarantee fund, because no one it was thought would buy a commentary on such an old-fashioned book. Now every publisher has his commentary, and makes a fortune by it. And this interest will, I feel sure, deepen and extend, and men will not stop at the English Version, but will go on and study the Bible in the original tongue, and will then advance to the cognate tongues and the ancient versions. The scholars of Germany already are doing this, and I would earnestly press upon the younger clergy not to be content to be one-armed men in the fray, but to study Hebrew. Then, with both arms ready, holding in the one their Greek Testaments, and in the other their Hebrew Bible, they will be able to take an intelligent part in the controversies, and, what is infinitely better, in the studies of the coming time.

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### The Rev. JOHN WATSON, Vicar of Sculcoates, Hull.

THERE can be no question whatever about the serious character of the issues that are involved in the controversy now raging upon the origin and composition of the Old Testament. There can be no doubt that a vague feeling of disquietude has been aroused in the minds of many by the course of recent investigations, and the confident air with which certain supposed results have been announced. I am aware that it has been said that the battle must be fought out by the learned. Non-experts have been warned off the premises. But after all, the Bible is not the peculiar preserve of the critic; it is the possession of the whole world; it is the special heritage of the Christian; and the real issues involved in these discussions concern, not only every Christian teacher, but concern deeply every Christian soul.

May I say, then, that this being the case, I feel that there is the less need for an apology for my position here this morning in the company of so many distinguished scholars. It may be well that the voices of those should be heard who view the matter from the outside, for we are deeply and closely interested. As one in the ranks of the ordinary parochial clergy, whose duty it is, in school, in class, and in the pulpit, to instruct the people in the things of God, I do think I may be pardoned for trying to lay before this Congress a few considerations which press themselves on my own mind—remembering, as I do, that the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth. It has been already admirably pointed out what great demands are really made upon us by some of the theories propounded and how

serious may be the modifications in our teaching, which are involved in the acceptance of them. But the more I think round the whole matter, the more convinced I am that what is required of us at the present juncture is, patience and caution. To be hasty would be to be rash. Now let me mention some of the considerations which lead me to think that my safest attitude at the present time is that of a man with a suspended judgment and an open mind.

(1) Scholars are by no means agreed among themselves. Indeed, they are seriously at variance with one another; there is war even in the critical camp itself. It behoves us, therefore, not to rush prematurely to final conclusions.

(2) Then, again, we cannot forget the parentage of some of these disquieting theories. We cannot forget that the prominent German scholars, whose conclusions have been, too readily, perhaps, accepted by others, have not been in warm sympathy with supernatural Christianity. If a critic to begin with disbelieves in a supernatural revelation, I do not think we need be astonished at his re-shaping the Old Testament to his taste; and then there will arise a suspicion, that instead of fact testing and correcting theory, theory has been allowed to set aside fact.

(3) Then may we not learn a lesson of caution from the history of the New Testament criticism in our own time? Fifteen or twenty years ago there was a display of scholarship. There was a manifestation of an apparently candid and calm spirit of enquiry. The supernatural elements of the Christian Faith were dissected, and were supposed to be destroyed. Supernatural religion was supposed to be dead, and Mr. John Morley was prepared to write its epitaph in the *Fortnightly Review*. But Cambridge sent forth a champion, whose keen sword won a complete victory, in the ripe scholar and noble bishop whose loss has been so deeply felt by this Congress, and by the whole Church. There are, alas, many too ready to welcome whatever seems damaging to our holy religion.

(4) But this is not the first time a paean has been sung which has not been warranted by victory. Bishop Butler heard it in his time, and, as I have said, we have heard it too in our day. The last word has not been said in this controversy. As many difficulties have been made as have been solved. New light will reveal new facts and solve old problems. And just as the physicists have compelled the geologists to modify their confident statements, so the theories of the nineteenth century in the twentieth may be discarded.

(5) Then there is that grave question of our Blessed Lord's use of the Old Testament Scriptures. Am I to understand that He, Who was the Truth as well as the Life and the Way, spoke inaccurately about the ancient Scriptures, shared the errors of the Rabbis, or accommodated Himself to the mistakes and delusions of the day? Without touching the Kenosis controversy, this makes, I may say, startling demands upon my faith. Here, then, are some of the difficulties which confront a plain man. Here are some of the considerations which lead me to urge religious teachers to wait a while, to suspend judgment, rather than say hastily what it may speedily be necessary to unsay. But we must in all fairness admit the reverent tone that distinguishes our English scholars, compared with that flippancy and reckless irreverence which often gives us pain in other quarters. And it would be well to remember that these eminent English critics express their deeply rooted belief in spiritual religion, that they do not profess to have a new gospel to propound, and that they decline to follow Mrs. Humphrey Ward in throwing aside the theological symbols of the past. Nor must we forget how earnestly they press upon us that their investigations concern, after all, not the *fact* of revelation, but its *form*, its mode, and the stages through which it passed; that the doctrinal and moral truths which the Bible enshrines are not affected by the results at which they claim to have arrived, and that upon Christian faith and practice

they have no bearing whatever. I confess I do not feel quite easy in my mind upon this latter point. Yet I for one am not alarmed at the course things are taking. We must be ready to welcome truth from whatever quarter it may come. And truth is God's, it has nothing to fear from honest investigation.

I firmly believe that the net result of the controversy through which we are passing will be to increase our spiritual, as well as our historical, insight into the Word of God—to strengthen belief in the Supernatural revelation of which the Old Testament is the record, and thus to increase our reverence for Holy Writ, of which, let us never forget, the Church is the witness and the keeper. As has been over and over again pointed out, the Church has nowhere defined what inspiration is. Nor is there any definition of inspiration in the New Testament. Modifications of theories of inspiration once largely held have long since become necessary. But though this is so, there can be no question of the permanent value of the Old Testament to the Christian Church. Our Lord Himself and His Apostles have put the Old Testament into our hands. They have commended it to our diligent study. The Christian teacher need not be too perplexed. On this authority he knows that it is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. But are we sure that our teaching of the Old Testament, especially in our Sunday schools, has not been too often defective in method or wrong in principle. Has not too much attention been paid sometimes to stories torn from their historical setting, and time been spent on details of Biblical narratives which would have been better spent in teaching the children the general bearings of the history, and leading them to see the hand of God in the education of His chosen people, and through them of the great world beyond. I believe that one happy result of the present controversy will be to bring out clearly in our teaching some great truths which have not been perhaps sufficiently prominent hitherto.

(1) That the Old Testament and the New really form one grand Revelation of Almighty God to man. The Bible is a book which is unique. Amid all the variety of its component parts, there is a unity of life, and spirit, and purpose, which stamps it as the oracles of God.

(2) That the Old Testament is a record of a Revelation which was gradual, progressive, and manifold—made to men as they could bear it—a long, patient preparation for a final, higher manifestation of Himself to mankind.

(3) That the Incarnation was the culminating point of His Revelation and purpose. All the lines of the Old Testament converge to this point. The Incarnation was no isolated event, but a great purpose gradually wrought out. It has its roots in God's previous treatment of mankind. The Old Testament is fulfilled in Christ. As one of the speakers of this morning has said in one of his books, "The Old Testament leads up to Christ, and Christ takes it and puts it back into our hands. . . . He bids us study it as fulfilled in Him."

Whatever modifications may be necessary in our method of teaching the Old Testament, we may still believe that the heart and pith of it is historically trustworthy. We shall still hear the voice of the Living God in Law and history, in prophet and in psalm. Nations will find therein solemn warnings, and national lessons of practical value; and man will learn what sin is, and what remedy God in His love has provided. In our teaching we must let it clearly be seen, that the Law leads up to the Gospel—indeed that the Law is a sketch of which the Gospel is the picture; the Law is a shadow of which the Gospel is the substance; the Law is a skeleton, the Gospel the living, breathing body. I believe that the general principle which underlies the whole argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews is true. I believe that in the ancient Law we may see foreshadowed the Sacramental life and worship of the Catholic Church.

The Bible has withstood many grievous assaults ; it has weathered many storms. It will weather many more. It is still to us the Word of the living God. And each Christian soul may make the words of the ancient Psalmist his own—"Thy Word is tried to the uttermost, and Thy servant loveth it."

## (2) EVIDENTIAL.

The Rev. J. M. FULLER, Professor of Ecclesiastical History,  
King's College, London ; Vicar of Bexley, Kent.

A FEW weeks ago, I was preparing something which I might be permitted to speak to you to-day, when I was met with this remark :—"I see that you are going to speak at the Congress on the evidential value of the Old Testament. But, now-a-days, can you seriously assert that it has evidential value at all?" I knew the mind and the tone of my correspondent, but I think you will agree with me that such a question might have been the most pathetic, the most impassioned of confessions of an enquiring spirit. It indicated this (did it not?) that, side by side with a holy, resolute, believing faith in the evidential value of the Old Testament, there had sprung up a something which had paralyzed the minds of others, that which shot across them doubts which hurt them, and for which they could see no solution.

Well, I am a parish clergyman, accustomed, when men have got troubles and doubts, and come and ask me to help them, to try—God helping me—to advise what is best. What should I do with this doubt? I do not need to tell you what is the evidential value of the Old Testament. The Bible itself tells you. For the Christian, the evidential value of the Old Testament is affirmed by Christ Himself, when He bids you search the Scriptures (*i.e.*, the Old Testament), which bore witness of Him. After the Resurrection He opened the minds of His disciples to understand those Scriptures which spoke of Him, and the Scriptures He set before them were the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalmists. You cannot take up a book from the first epistle of Clement of Rome to the last volume of the "Bible Expositor" without seeing that the writers have a keen apprehension of the evidential value of the Old Testament. I do not want to emphasize that any further. What I would ask is, how is it that there should be any question in the minds of men upon the point? I wrote to the man who put the question to me, and I got an answer which does not contain so much the theories of our best English critics, as the theories and ideas which had come to him from his studies of translations of foreign books. And, practically, this is what he said :—"I open those books, and I am told that the bulk of the Hebrew literature was the result of a free school of thought in the fourth century before Christ. I find that the events recorded in the Old Testament are considered to be pious caricatures, or the projection of later ideas upon earlier ages. Or, I take up the characters which are described to me in the Old Testament, and I find that I must no longer think of Abraham as a creature of God, but as 'a creation of unconscious art,' whatever that means. I must not believe that David was anything more than a mere composer of tunes. I must not think of the Patriarchs, Prophets, or Psalmists as I have been accustomed. They are simply 'vaporous phantasms,' such as those against which Carlyle protested in years gone when men wanted to deny to the people of ancient England historical existence." His letter told me plainly that he was pained and startled by what he had read. Now, I should like to help you if one of your parishioners came

t; you and told you that these were his troubles, that he had doubts about this or that, and that he asked you as his clergyman, or as his lay friend, for advice. Therefore may I suggest, with submission and with respect, a course of study and some books which will help you and your people. I am on this platform to-day only for the purpose of seeing what, under God, I can do for you.

First, then, I would say—Study the Old Testament as if you had never studied it before. Take it up again as if it were a perfectly new bit of literature to you. If you can study it in the Hebrew, do so by all means, and I endorse all that has been said on that point by our good Dean of Canterbury. But if you cannot, what I advise is this. Study the Old Testament in the Revised Version, or in that edition of the Authorized Version called the Variorum Bible, which has been issued by Eyre and Spottiswoode, and which contains at the bottom of each page various readings and renderings. Mind you, I want you to study. Your work in this matter must be no “armchair study.” One of the critics of the present day calls those who do not reach his conclusions “indolent theologians.” I do not want that to be thought or said of you. Yours must be a deliberate study, with pencil and notebook, in which you will note as you go on everything which points out to you the evidential value of the Old Testament. Then, after that, I would say, Do not go so much to exegetical commentaries as to books which will present to you both sides of questions at present disputed. It is not I, nor any other man, who is to tell you what is the right or the wrong in these things. It is you yourselves. And you have got to learn it by studying both sides of these questions. God will give you grace to know that which is best for you. Well, then, on the one side I would say to you, Study Bishop Ellicott’s “*Christus Comprobator*,” published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; Canon Girdlestone’s “Foundations of the Bible,” published by Eyre and Spottiswoode; and—above all—Professor Robertson’s (of Glasgow) “Early Religion of Israel”—the Baird Lectures of last year. On the other side, and as putting before you, in their most cautious and reverent form, some of the conclusions to which they have been led, I would recommend to you Canon Driver’s “Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament,” already in its fourth edition; and Professor Robertson Smith’s second edition of his “Old Testament in the Jewish Church.” If you study these books, and study them impartially, you will acquire a certain mastery of the main points before the critical world at the present time. But I would just like to give you two cautions. I would rather not qualify any of those books by any remark of my own. I am not giving them as the best, but as the latest, written by men who have had the advantage of seeing the work of their predecessors. My first warning is this: Take care to verify the references and the context. And the second is this: If you find critic A not meeting but abusing critic B, you may make up your mind that critic B is a capital good fellow who will teach you a good deal.

Lastly, and in addition to this study of the Old Testament in the Revised or Authorized Version, and of such books as those which I have mentioned, I would advise you to keep abreast of Biblical Archæology. The science is still in its infancy, but it has already done a vast deal of good in clearing away cobwebs and removing mistakes, and it is destined to do a great deal more. Let me give you an example. During the last eighteen months one of the great points of difference between the two schools whose works I have suggested has been settled for ever. It used to be asserted that there were few or no written documents before the eighth century B.C. Some have even said that



writing itself was not known. The recent discoveries at Tell-el-Amarna, in Egypt, and at Lachish, in the Holy Land, have proved this, that a century before the exodus there was a correspondence of an elaborate kind on every sort of thing between Egypt, Phœnicia, and Babylonia, in which Canaan must have borne a part. That goes far to support Lenormant's view that, when Abraham came from Ur of the Chaldees, he was well acquainted with writing and reading, so far as these were practised in his own time.

Well, then, if you study the Old Testament in the manner I have suggested, and these books, and Bible Archæology, it will put you in the position of being both judges and juries for yourselves in the whole matter. And, in conclusion, what will be the result? My friend who suggested these remarks, and to whom I gave something of the same advice which I have taken the liberty to give to you to-day, said to me, "I am very much obliged to you; but what is your own opinion upon these matters. Do you mind telling me?" Well, no man should be afraid of his own convictions. I answered him by a story. May I tell it you? Two men were walking across the moors when they came to a rapidly rushing stream. One of them, the younger and the more "advanced," rushed forward, and improvising some stepping-stones as he passed, reached the other side dryshod: but—as he crossed he sank the stepping-stones. His friend came to the brink, looked, and then passed up higher to the old-established crossing.

### (3) MORAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

The Rev. R. B. GIRDLESTONE, Incumbent of S. John's, Hampstead; Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

I AM thankful that the subject before us has to do with the contents of the Old Testament rather than with its authorship. Nothing is more distracting to a devotional mind than to be harassed with questions of higher criticism; and nothing gives a greater shock to one's moral sense than to be haunted with the idea that the books which tell us to love and do truth are themselves pious frauds. I refuse, to-day, to be drawn into critical discussions, and will only refer with gratitude to the little book on "Higher Criticism," just brought out by that veteran critic and Biblical student the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and published by the S.P.C.K. I am also thankful that the moral and the devotional elements of the Old Testament are being discussed together. Each needs the other. The divorce of the one from the other has been fraught with evil consequences to the Church at all times. What is the secret of the religious strength of Israel? What has caused its sacred books to be the literary foundation of our Faith? The answer is, that Israel had been taught as no other nation ever was, the nearness of God to man; and the Old Testament is the record of the ways in which God taught it. We may roughly divide the contents of the Old Testament into history, legislation, hymns, and prophecy; and these are so written as to set forth the close relationship existing between the Divine and the human. God in history, God in the conscience, God in nature, God in providence. Israel was a sample people. God's attributes were exhibited in His dealings with them. His settled counsel to bless the human race was carried out amidst them and through them. Christ sprang from them, spoke their tongue, breathed their air, shared their food, ascended from their hills, chose His disciples from their people. Selecting one out of the many topics suggested, I ask what is the permanent value of the Mosaic Law in its bearing on our moral and devotional life? The secret of law is the carrying out of purpose. Man was always intended to be God-like. His

conscience, reason, and highest instincts, point in this direction; and the voice of God, uttered through His accredited servant Moses, confirms and elaborates what human nature suggests. The ground of all morality is declared to be as faith in God, and love to God as the Redeemer, and as fulfilling in redemption the promises made to the patriarchs; and the aim of all obedience was to make the Israelite the child of God in reality (as he was already by profession). He was to be holy, for God was holy. In order to enforce these root principles, the people were reminded again and again that they owed to God's free, undeserved grace, their deliverance from Egypt, their sustenance, guidance, and protection in the wilderness, and their subsequent inheritance in Canaan. They were going from a land of idols into a land of gross impurity, and needed strong principles, constant exhortations, frequent ceremonial, and stern discipline, in order that they might be kept a separate people. Moreover, their human nature was the same as ours. There were covetous men in those days, and they had to be taught that the land was God's. There were selfish oppressors who were to learn to take care of their neighbour, to defend the fatherless and widow, to respect the poor, to ameliorate the condition of the slave; no room was to be left for fraud, injustice, scandal, niggardliness. All were to be brave, pure, and happy, having the Lord for their God. Their history stamped itself on their laws. They were to respect strangers, to give rest to their servants, because they had borne the yoke in Egypt. Take a practical chapter like Leviticus xix., and compare it with S. Paul's utterances and with our Lord's teaching. They are all substantially the same. We have in them the germs of the Kingdom of Heaven—a patriotic, united, peaceable, industrious, brotherly people, liberal unionists if not decided conservatives, with excellent land-laws—much better than ours—and with marriage-laws to which we, in the main, conform. Study their rules of compensation. See how they provide that a man should be able to earn in six days what could keep him and his family for a week. Note how all secular offices were held "under God," the judges being boldly called gods. Observe that the penalties, though severe, implied swift justice from God-fearing judges. Consider that there were no prisons, no tortures, no work-houses, no idlers, very little taxation, but plenty of provision for the poor and for education.

If their civil laws were not so high as ours on questions of divorce, slavery, and retaliation, yet in this very fact you will see wisdom. The people who had the law had also the patriarchal and pre-patriarchal history, and this sometimes gave them a higher ideal than their own law set forth. We sometimes criticize where we had better imitate, *e.g.*, in respect to sanitary laws, food restrictions, and regulations concerning labour and usury.

All this has a practical bearing on the social and commercial questions which are perplexing our souls. It is true we cannot all begin *de novo* on Mosaic principles, but we can study and teach them in the light of Christ. If the Church is the interpreter of Scripture, let the parson teach the plain meaning of these precious books. We preach, but do we interpret? Let us put more of the sincere milk of the word into our "milk and water" discourses. Let us handle those precious books of the Old Testament as Christ and His Apostles did, with the same reverence and with the same acumen. Teach men of God as of One who still shelters, heals, proves, feeds, smites, hears the cry of the oppressed, goes before us, manifests Himself to us. There is a tendency to look too much at second causes, and to put the living God in the back-ground; to speak of religion as so much function and so many duties, instead of being a life in God and for God through His Blessed Son.

If there are things mentioned in those books that it is a shame to speak of, are there not things of the same character done in our country? If we are astonished at Israel's inconsistency, what of our own? I thank God that He who was so long-suffering with Israel has borne patiently with us; but we need to turn His dealings in the past into pleas and prayers, as Daniel and Nehemiah did, that we individually and nationally may grow in the practice of those eternal principles of love and justice which are the fruits of the Spirit, and which lie on every page of the Old Testament.

## DISCUSSION.

The Rev. Dr. SAMUEL KINNS, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Minories, E., Author of "Graven in the Rock," etc., etc.

DURING the few minutes it will be my privilege to address you, I should like to say a few words upon the marvellous confirmation the Old Testament narratives are receiving from the monuments of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia. The tombs, temples, palaces, papyrus rolls, and terra-cotta tablets of these ancient nations have been preserved in a most remarkable manner for thousands of years, and give us the circumstances recorded in the Biblical narratives from their point of view. We have, for instance, a high official living at Eilcithia (or Elcab) during the reign of Apepi, the last of the Nyksos kings, telling us upon the walls, of his tomb of his collecting the corn at harvest time, and distributing it during many years' famine. Then we have Sennacherib upon a cylinder relating the siege of Jerusalem, and, when stating the tribute paid by Hezekiah, gives exactly the same amount of gold, viz., thirty talents, mentioned in 2 Kings xviii. Also, on the walls of our British Museum, we have slabs representing Sennacherib besieging Lachish; on another he is sitting at the gates of that city receiving the prisoners and spoils; whilst on a third we have a representation of his camp. Layard, when speaking of these slabs, says:—"Had these bas-reliefs been the only remains dug up from the ruins of Nineveh, the labour of the explorer would have been amply rewarded, and the sum expended by the nation on the excavations more than justified." Of the events recorded in the Book of Daniel there is an abundance of monumental evidence, for we have inscriptions upon tablets relating, in Nebuchadnezzar's own words, his building the walls, the temples, and the palaces of Babylon; and, in confirmation of his statements and those of our Bible, we find that nine out of every ten of the bricks in those extensive ruins have his name impressed upon them. Professor Fuller, in his excellent paper, referred to cursive handwriting existing before the time of Moses. I have had in my hands a will, written with pens and ink upon paper in a cursive handwriting, which was drawn up, signed, and witnessed as we should do now, and yet this will could be shown to have been written a thousand years before Moses was born; therefore, the argument often brought forward, that cursive handwriting was not known till after the time of Moses, must now for ever be abandoned. During the two years that I spent some six or seven hours daily in the British Museum studying the sculptures and monuments, I continually experienced much delight on the discovery of some fresh confirmation of the Biblical narratives, but never, during that time, did I come across a single monument that cast any doubt upon their historical accuracy. Hence we may rejoice to-day that these discoveries prove beyond all question that God's Word is true!

The Rev. T. FIELD, Head Master of King's School, Canterbury.

IT is, perhaps, hard for one who believes that the educational value of the Bible consists in its moral value, to distinguish in the course of a speech the educational part from the other, or to take any narrower or lower ground from that which in his heart he thinks he ought to take. At the same time, in arranging this subject I

I presume the Committee did mean the point should be discussed on which a man would speak if he were pleading from the purely intellectual side for the inclusion in a commercial curriculum of, we will say, one hour per week of instruction in the Old Testament. The first advantage is, that it is a protest against a utilitarian view of education; the second, that it is an antidote to the monotony of modern life; thirdly, we have in the Bible the root conditions from which all society, from which all religion, have been derived. It is a fact that our history has been penetrated by the Bible, and we cannot read history as a record of facts unless we understand something of the motives which were behind these facts. Take the history of our Parliaments; take Frederick the Great. Parliaments were opened with a sermon usually on a text from the Old Testament; Frederick had an hour of instruction every day. Then, again, one passes from the literary to the moral side of the question. M. Arnold has said that "Poetry is man's noblest expression, and is the application, in a noble and profound form, of ideas to life." One takes the Bible as the foundation of all one's literary teaching, and thus it is connected with the moral teaching too. One thing which is of permanent value in morals is, that the Bible is the story of the fall; to human wisdom, foolishness, and to human pride a stumbling-block. Together with the story of the fall there is the story of the Atonement, and you cannot have the one without the other. The fact of the fall is in the Bible, and the fact of the fall means the fact of the Atonement.

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The Hon. and Rev. W. H. FREMANTLE, Canon of Canterbury.

I SHOULD like to say a few words on what may fairly come under the moral side of this subject of the permanent value of the Old Testament, that is, on its bearing on the social and political questions of our times. If we look at the evidential side, we cannot but feel that the best evidence of the excellence of any agency or instrument which is placed in our hands lies in showing the use we can make of it, and the assistance it gives us in the work we have got to do. We can certainly do this in regard to the Old Testament if we dwell on that part of the moral law to which I wish to draw attention. The political and social life of the people of Israel was hardly touched upon in my early days. But it seems to me to be a point which is most important to dwell upon, in tracing the influence of the Old Testament upon modern life, and the use we can make of it in the future. Let me touch for a moment on the political life. Sometimes it is said that the Jewish nation had little or no political life. That is only very partially true. If you compare it with other nations, it has a great pre-eminence in certain political aspects. In the first place, its life was a national life, as contrasted with the mere city life which you have in Greece and Rome. In the Jewish system you have not the inhabitants of a city merely, but a whole nation bound together. Next, you see that there is a sense of God's presence in the nation, lifting it up, and working through it, and animating all its functions. The law is God's law, because of the Divine principle which is impressed upon it, and that Divine principle is most evident when you come to look upon its social bearing. The king who administers the law, and who is the great political officer for that purpose, reigns in God's name. You have the judges spoken of as God's representatives upon earth; the king is the Lord's anointed, and the people are the people of God. That has a most distinct bearing upon our present politics, because what we want in the present day is to take away from politics their sordid associations. We require that those who administer any public function should look upon it as a trust imposed on them by God Himself, and that the people should cease from mere partisanship, and should look upon political action as the furtherance of the kingdom of God. You see, further, the intense public spirit impressed upon the people. In Psalm cxiii., for instance, Jerusalem is the centre of national life. All that large view of life which goes beyond the individual, and cares for national concerns, the laws, the courts, the ruler, the capital, the great brotherhood of the nation, is there brought before us in the most striking manner. But the most particular point in reference to the political state of the Jews is its social bearing. You see this everywhere—as has been pointed out by Canon Girdlestone—how the social laws of the Old Testament are applicable to the present day. Look at the twenty-second chapter of Jeremiah, where the wicked king is rebuked. The blame imputed to him lies in this, that he did not use his political power to do justice to the poor. "Thy father," he is told, "judged the cause of the fatherless and the needy; then it was well with him. Was

not this to know me? saith the Lord." This caring for the poor is a most characteristic feature of the whole Law of Moses; and, if you look through the Old Testament, you will see how that is the thing on which almost everything depends. Look at the Psalmists. Why are they so much attached to the Law? It is because it cares for the poor. "The Lord careth for the stranger; He delivereth the fatherless and the widow." You may look at the Prophets, and you find the same objects constantly before them. Now turn to the needs of the present day. We are all engaged on the social question. When you look at politics, you find that it is the social question which is before all the most serious politicians. What we want in public life is precisely that righteousness of which the public life of the Old Testament is full. What is that righteousness? It has always in it the element of unselfishness, of self-sacrifice. It was, as I may say, a missionary righteousness. The Greek idea, the Stoic idea, of justice was, "Give each man his due;" the Hebrew idea was, "Go out from yourself, and care for those who are unable to take care of themselves." This explains how, in the later Judaism, righteousness was identified with almsgiving. If we take this as the key-note of Old Testament ethics: "Look out beyond yourself, and do good to those who need your help"—surely the Old Testament will be a book of enormous value in the whole of the social work which lies before our Church and nation. If we can bring out the teaching of the Old Testament as that which establishes true relations between men and classes, and especially as that which reiterates the duty of self-denying efforts to raise the lowest classes of the people, we can hardly over-estimate its power to guide and to elevate the democratic societies of the future.

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The Rev. GEORGE ENSOR, Vicar of Rendham,  
Saxmundham.

It is through no fault of mine if, speaking at the close of this session of the Congress, I may seem to launch a Parthian shaft at the school of the higher criticism. In the brief moment that is mine, I desire to frame my indictment against it. First of all, I would, in the not inapplicable language of Bishop Lightfoot, charge it with "reversing all the established rules of historical criticism in deserting the solid standing of contemporary history for artificial combinations and shadowy hypotheses." I would charge it with unconsciously investing these vague and nebulous hypotheses with the value and with the veracity of scientific demonstration. I would charge it with mingling in the tangle of a hopeless confusion a maximum of possibilities, probabilities, plausibilities, along with a minimum of exact investigation, to the great perplexity and the grievous distress of many simple Christian minds. For my second count, I charge the higher criticism with reducing revelation to a chaos of fables and contradictions, and bringing it thereby into conflict with the necessary and fundamental demands of reason respecting revelation. I am aware that my learned and distinguished friend, Professor Kirkpatrick, in his book, which I have read with the deepest interest, has cited Bishop Butler in restriction of the *a priori* conceptions of reason with regard to revelation. But Bishop Butler, in the same passage, is careful to safeguard the honour of reason, and reserves for reason, as within its province, the right to reject a revelation within whose contents are contradictions or immoralities. I charge it, for my third count, with striking from the hand of the Church the only instrument with which she may prove the miraculous character of her past. Is it not an insult to the reason of the sceptic to demand his credence of a miracle on the authority of a doubtful testimony? How is it possible, with the weapon of a record inwoven with legend, fiction, and romance, to encounter the contention of Hume, that "It is contrary to experience that miracles should be true, but not contrary to experience that testimony should be false." I can well foresee that, under the strain of so great a pressure, feeble faiths will fall to the fold of Rome, robust reasons range themselves under the banners of unbelief. I charge it, finally, with inviting the Church on insufficient ground to desert her ancient anchorage of certainty for the dark and dangerous sea of a rash and irresponsible speculation. I stood the other day in the library of a great scholar and a great critic. I said to him, "Will you not speak to us at such a time as this?" Dr. Salmon is a critic of extreme caution, and caution seems to be with critics an archaic virtue. He pointed, in reply to my question, to the shattered ruins of the criticism of the New Testament. I understood him.

## The Rev. Dr. SPRINGETT.

THE permanent value of the Old Testament to the Christian Church has surely been stated and summed up centuries ago by the highest possible authority. Its educational value, its moral value, its devotional value, and its evidential value, have all been summed up for us. First of all, we look at its educational value, and we find the Apostle telling us expressly that these books "were written for our learning." Then we look at its moral value, and we find the same Apostle telling us how these books were "God-breathed," and how they are written "for our instruction in righteousness." We look at the words of another Apostle who sums up their spiritual and devotional value, and who tells they were written by men, who were "holy," and who were "borne along"—*pheromenoi*—by the Holy Spirit. And for their evidential value, we have the words of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, when He says, "These are they which testify of Me." While on the one hand we members of the Christian Church will most certainly welcome the very fullest criticism which is that of men like those who have spoken to us this morning, whose one aim and object is to discover the truth; yet at the same time we receive it with a certain amount of caution from those who may have come to the study of this great question with a prejudice against those words being in any sense the Word of God. And further, we receive those criticisms with the fullest conviction on our own part, that nothing the critic can say will alter in any essential point whatever, our belief in what has been said by the very highest authorities. Therefore, I cannot agree with those members of the Christian Church who, so far from recognizing the permanent value of the Old Testament, would seem to be sometimes tempted almost to cast it aside, and sacrifice it in order that we might retain the New. But that cannot be done, it is absolutely impossible. The New Testament is so permeated by, so thoroughly saturated with, the Old Testament, that I venture to say the one cannot be understood without the other, or rather, the one can hardly exist without the other. It has been well said in a recent pamphlet, that it is no use attempting to throw the Old Testament overboard in order to save the New. If the Old Testament is sacrificed to the ravenous wolves of a merely destructive criticism, it will have to be followed by the New Testament, and it in turn will have to be followed by the Church, and we shall find ourselves left without hope and without God in this world. I know that there were many members of this Congress who left a previous meeting with a vague, general impression, hardly to be put into words, that somehow or other, we do not believe as much in the Bible as we used to do. Thank God for the tone of this meeting this morning; thank God that everyone who has been at this meeting, must leave it with a very different kind of impression; and that we shall go back to our homes re-assured by the words of some of the best men amongst us, and as fully convinced as ever, that our Bible is the truest book, the most precious book, and the most inspired book in the world.

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The Rev. C. LLOYD ENGSTRÖM, M.A., Secretary of the Christian Evidence Society, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.  
(Boyle Lecturer, 1887-8-9.)

I CRAVE permission to deal with the subject of the Old Testament in a somewhat novel manner—its distinctly *scientific* aspect. I am not now thinking, though I am far from disparaging such inquiries, of attempts to harmonize Genesis with geology and the like. Rather do I wish to insist on the immense importance of treating the Old Testament, as, of course, also the New in the true spirit of the best scientific research. To make my meaning clear, I venture to quote from a tract I have lately had printed, entitled "Christianity and Modern Science," part of my definition of science—"the main point to be observed being the dominance assigned by *modern* science to the facts themselves, rather than to the opinions of their observers." That is the Magna Charta of scientific progress; and it is not invalidated, though sadly transgressed, by much so-called science in the region of biology. I only insist on the grand and fruitful conception of Francis Bacon, which permeated and made immortal the philosophy of Butler, whose very motto might have been his own words, "Things are as they are," and which found expression in Newton's great saying, "Hypotheses *non* fingo." By that we are not surely to understand that the discoverer of the law of gravitation despised the use of hypotheses, but that he always subordinated

hypotheses to facts. The question, therefore, now before us is : Shall we consent to apply this method to the Holy Scriptures? Old-fashioned believers may, at first sight, think such a method irreverent and inappropriate. But, let them be reassured. *They* have nothing to fear from it. Probably they have never observed how intensely scientific—in the best sense—their old-fashioned creed is. For what is it but a statement of facts, and of inferences from facts, gradually formulated by the Christian consciousness and conscience during the first few centuries, and verified ever since by countless lives of spiritual men and women, who found these inferences “work”? Who, then, may well fear the application of the true scientific method? Well, I think some of the so-called higher critics. It is too much taken for granted that criticism must be scientific. True, there is a science of criticism, and there are some critics who adhere to its methods; but none can do so who do not ever bear in mind the warning of that saying of perennial significance, “Hypotheses *non* fingo.” Is it too much to say that many critics of the Old Testament of no little fame might well have taken for their motto and their guiding (or rather wandering) star, “Hypotheses fingo”? Is it not sadly true that in much of the “higher criticism” there is but “one halfpenny worth of” the “bread” of fact “to this intolerable deal of” hypothetical “sack”? In saying this I exclude from my thoughts any particular critic. It is the principle I am contending against. If the cap fits, I am truly sorry any should have to own to it. For, from the bottom of my heart, I reverence the learning, the candour, and the piety of all, or almost all, our English Old Testament critics. To illustrate my meaning, let us suppose an unscientific critic at work. He approaches some one book of the Old Testament, and, after examining it, conceives and formulates some theory as to its authorship, its date, its immediate purpose. That is his hypothesis. But it needs verification. To justify its acceptance, much that agrees with traditional views, and seems to receive support from the book itself, must be explained, and bent, as it were, to suit the new theory. But, when this is satisfactorily accomplished to the critic’s liking, what follows? Already too disdainful of some of the facts before him, while honestly relying on others, he proceeds to apply his “*Novum Organum*” to this and that other book of the Old Testament. In almost every one he finds, not so much confirmations as obstacles to the establishment of his view. Well, then, these too must be explained and bent to the new theory, till at last the whole volume has its centre of gravity shifted. I believe that in saying this I am keeping close to what many critics really do. Certainly this method of critical work appears to me, and to many others that by which much of what is called “results” is reached. But, whatever else it is, it is not “scientific.” Where is the patient collection of facts, whether favourable or not to the conception dimly taking form in the mind? Where is the hesitancy to formulate an hypothesis? Where is the readiness to throw it aside till verified all round? Yet it was all these which made the method of Newton a *κρίμα εἰς ἄν.* “Verified!” Why, verification of the hypotheses of the higher critics *cannot* be found *in, but outside* their critical faculty. It may be—I sometimes dare to hope it will be—in our own time that manuscripts, whether of parchment or of papyrus, or inscriptions, or coins, or mummy cloths will be found, which will for ever determine the truth or untruth of these “results.” I, for one, believe (but my opinion is of little moment) that each such discovery, each such “find” of the laborious explorer will as surely prove the accuracy—in the main—of the traditional view of the Old Testament as it has already that of the New. And that last word should remind us that there are “critics” and “critics.” Not all criticism takes for its motto, “Hypotheses fingo.” There is the criticism of a Lightfoot, a Westcott, a Salmon, a Sanday, absolutely frank, absolutely fearless, which honours itself by recognizing to the full the equal claims of tradition and of archæology, and the far greater claims of the Christian consciousness, not to speak of the testimony of the Master. Is not such a criticism—truly “scientific”—verified by the ever-increasing testimony of external confirmation? I would add one word on a subject far surpassing in importance that which I have ventured to discuss. I mean the great question—Is the Old Testament reconcilable with the New? Is the morality of the earlier covenant tolerable to the Christian conscience? Is the Deity called “Jehovah” the same as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, or what some have dared to call Him? I know of but one answer, but that is conclusive to all who accept the mind of Christ as the highest revelation of absolute Truth, Duty, and Love. On any theory of inspiration, on any view of the “Kenosis,” whatever else is doubtful, this is sure, viz., that the Lord Jesus Christ *lived on the words of the Old Testament, fought with the weapon of the Old Testament, died for the truth of the Old Testament.*

(That in so doing He gave birth to the New Testament only makes the argument more unassailable.) That is the first and the last word on the permanent value of the Old Testament for the Christian Church, whether for education, or for evidence, or for morality and devotion.

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### EXHIBITION THEATRE.

THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 6TH, 1892.

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The Right Hon. the EARL STANHOPE in the Chair.

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## THRIFT AND THE POOR LAW : VOLUNTARY AND LEGAL PROVISIONS FOR SICKNESS AND OLD AGE.

### PAPERS.

W. LAYTON LOWNDES, Esq., 27, Marine Road, Dover.

DOES the Poor Law discourage thrift? and if so, how may this evil be minimised?

Notwithstanding subsequent legislation on the subject, the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 remains unaltered in principle. It is based upon the experience gained since the Act of 43rd Elizabeth. This latter Act had worked fairly well until towards the close of the last century, when a wave of Socialism, which passed over Europe, brought in a vast extension of out-door relief—an extension which nearly brought ruin upon our country—the evil consequences of which are now almost forgotten, at any rate by those who do not profit by the Report of His Majesty's Commissioners for enquiring into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws, published in 1834, and recently issued as a Parliamentary Paper. These Commissioners having by their investigations laid bare the frightful evils resulting from the then existing poor law administration, gathered together examples of better management, where such existed, by which the evils complained of were either mitigated or entirely removed; and, as the result of their investigations in various parts of the country, framed our present poor law.

They laid down that the express or implied ground of the claim to relief is that the applicant is in danger of perishing from want, and that relief is to be accorded on such terms as the common welfare requires; and it must be borne in mind that only actual or immediately impending destitution, and not that indefinite state of things called poverty, legally justifies the claim to relief; which should be neither insufficient nor profuse—conditions which can only be secured with due regard to economy in a workhouse where sufficient food, clothing, and sanitary lodging are provided; while in cases of severe sickness regular medical attendance and nursing are found in the infirmary of the workhouse,



where the sick patient himself receives the full benefit of those medical extras so necessary in order to restore health or to mitigate the severity of disease.

There can be little doubt that the probability that an application to the Board of Guardians may gain a modicum of relief in the way most pleasant to the applicant, exercises a direct and disastrous influence on habits of thrift. For how can a young man in full enjoyment of health be expected to deny himself in order to provide for sickness or old age, when he regards it as more than probable that he will receive from the rates such an addition to his earnings as will enable him to continue his usual mode of living?

A strict administration of relief is, I am convinced by my own experience as chairman of a Board of Guardians for twenty years, not only a very potent inducement to thrift on the part of the man himself, but also calls forth dutiful and earnest efforts by children, grandchildren, and relations generally, to assist him in his need. In those unions—and they are, I think, an increasing number—where in-relief is the rule and out-relief the exception, it will be found that the number of paupers decreases, self-reliance increases (as shown by the deposits in savings banks), and, above all, those who are not bound by the strict letter of the law, however much they may be by consanguinity, are brought to a clearer sense of their responsibility.

It may be said, "Would you, then, advocate that all out-relief should be abolished?" I answer, "No, that may not be practicable; but the stricter the administration the more you encourage thrift—nay, to some extent you compel it."

The Poor Law Commissioners and their successors, the Local Government Board, have always advocated a strict administration as an encouragement to thrift, and have made general orders having the force of law, to restrict laxity. But from the nature of the case these orders are subject to exceptions, and on this point the Commissioners remark, "The bane of all pauper legislation has been the legislating for extreme cases. Every exception, every violation of the general rule to meet a case of unusual hardship, lets in a whole class of fraudulent cases, by which the rule must in time be destroyed. When cases of real hardship occur, the remedy must be applied by individual charity, a virtue for which no system of compulsory relief can or ought to be a substitute."

In-door relief, or, using the unpopular expression, "The workhouse test," is the keystone of our present system. Let us see how it is working.

On looking over the returns issued by the Local Government Board, we find that in proportion as this principle is departed from, so do the numbers of those receiving help from the ratepayers increase. I do not wish to weary you with figures, but I may be allowed to bring to your notice a Parliamentary Return which gives the number of paupers in receipt of relief on the first day of January in this year. This Return B is compiled by the Local Government Board from figures supplied by the clerks to the several unions in England and Wales, and therefore we may consider it reliable.

I shall not mention individual unions, but, for the sake of comparison, I will call your attention to the statistics of two counties—Norfolk and Shropshire—both chiefly agricultural. In the return there is a table

showing in each county the numbers of each class of paupers and the ratio per thousand of the population.

The most pauperised county is placed at the head of the table, and the better-conditioned localities at the bottom. Norfolk has the unenviable position of being at the top of the list. The West Riding of Yorkshire has the smallest amount of pauperism, Lancaster comes next, and Shropshire the third. The West Riding and Lancashire are thickly populated and manufacturing counties; therefore, I pass them by for purposes of comparison with Norfolk, and take Shropshire, which is chiefly agricultural.

Norfolk has to support or assist out of its rates about forty-six and a half inefficients in every thousand of the population, of whom about seven and a quarter receive in-door, and thirty-nine and a quarter out-door, relief.

Shropshire has less than twenty in every thousand of its population dependent upon the rates, of whom six and a half are accommodated in the workhouse, while thirteen and a quarter are helped in their own homes. Comparing with these figures those given for Norfolk under the several heads, it appears that the latter county has three times as many out-door paupers in proportion to its population, and at the same time a larger number of indoor paupers.

I am not aware of any special reason why Norfolk should be in such an unhealthy condition; but in the absence of something abnormal, we are driven to the conclusion that paupers are manufactured by an administration of the law not contemplated by its framers. In the one county, four and a half in every hundred of the people are supported compulsorily by their more thrifty neighbours; in the other, less than two are in this dependent condition.

Twenty years ago Mr. Longley said that the mere existence of a poor law is unquestionably a discouragement *ipso facto* to the formation by the poor of provident habits. Had he said instead of "mere existence" its "mal-administration," no one who has considered such returns as those I have cited from Norfolk would disagree with him; but the aim of the English poor law, and its result when properly administered, is to combine the maximum of efficiency in the relief of destitute applicants with the minimum of incentive to improvidence; and not only is this the abstract principle of the poor law, but it is that which has guided the administrative control over local authorities which has now for half a century been exercised by the central authority.

Out-relief is inferior to in-door relief as a test of destitution, and laxity in granting it is unjust to the ratepayer, and unfair to the independent and self-denying workman who has secured for himself help in sickness and old age by handing into his club that share of his wages which too often finds its way to the public-house.

The workhouse system was adopted on account of its successful results, and has since proved equally successful where adopted.

These views are generally assented to, and are being gradually adopted, as is indicated by the Return B which I have already quoted, wherein is tabulated the number of paupers on the first day of January in each year from 1858.

This return shows that the proportion which the paupers relieved on the first day of January in this year, 1892, bore to the population was,

notwithstanding the growth of the population from nineteen and a quarter millions to twenty-nine millions, smaller than it had been on the same day in any preceding year, and that the actual number of those relieved on that day was smaller than the number relieved on the same day in thirty-one out of thirty-four preceding years ; moreover, this Return B satisfactorily shows that better administration—by which I mean greater care and discretion in withholding or allowing out-relief—is gaining ground, for of late years the number of out-door paupers has formed a far smaller proportion to the total number relieved than formerly ; so that there was not only a smaller number, but a considerably smaller proportion of paupers of this class relatively to the population of the country on the first of January last than on the same day in any of the other years comprised in the table.

Does not this indicate that it is safer to continue on the old lines than to inaugurate a new departure, which, to my mind, would embody and perpetuate some of the evils from which the amended law was intended to free us ?

One of the objections to a more rigid application of the workhouse test is that there is not better classification of the inmates, so that those of good character should not be mixed with others of doubtful antecedents ; that children should be saved from the workhouse taint, and so forth. These very reasonable objections, and others of a similar character, might be met were all the buildings placed under the general control of the County Council ; so that it would be possible to allot the houses to the various classes of paupers, making, for instance, the old and infirm more comfortable by a relaxation in their favour of the strict discipline which is required under existing circumstances, without infringing upon the discipline which it is necessary to maintain when various classes are under the same management, while a more deterrent treatment could be enforced upon the lazy and able-bodied. This is not the time to discuss the details of such a scheme ; I only mention it as a method of meeting the difficulties of those benevolent people who deplore the uneasiness which the just expenditure of rates inflicts in some cases. Perhaps they do not bear in mind that guardians should consider the general well-being of the community, and are trustees of funds of which a not inconsiderable share is contributed by small shopkeepers and others who with difficulty are maintaining themselves without recourse to public relief. This is an important consideration, but I cannot enlarge upon it without travelling too far afield.

But there would still remain a few—and, I believe when properly investigated, a very few—cases where it would be matter of regret to insist at all upon the workhouse test. Surely, as suggested by the Commissioners, such cases are properly dealt with by private charity. In country unions funds would easily be raised for this purpose, and for towns there is the too little-known example given us by the Tower Hamlets Pension Committee for the Provident Poor of East London. Cases recommended by the clergy, district visitors, or relieving officers are investigated by the local committee of the Charity Organization Society, while the conditions on which pensions are granted are, firstly, age ; secondly, evidence of thrift ; thirdly, incapacity for work ; fourthly, the help of relations and friends who are able to give it ; and lastly, the possession of a home worth preserving. I will here quote the words

of the report for last year of this admirable society: "The almoners are generally ladies, who learn to look upon their pensioners with affection, and whose friendly visits and care are welcome pleasures in lives that are dull and lonely at best." The cases are carefully considered by the committee, and are revised every six months, when, if needful, an alteration is made according to circumstances. I may add that in no instance does the pension accorded exceed four shillings weekly.

This is the true way of meeting any real hardship, and there should be no difficulty in providing the requisite funds when it is remembered how the rates are relieved by the diminution of out-door relief. If the larger ratepayers would but contribute to the pension fund a small part of the money thus saved, there would be ample means for helping the very few really hard cases.

Experience shows that the framers of the present law were right in the principles they laid down—that a strict administration of the law affords the strongest inducement to thrift; indeed, an almost compulsory incentive—provided always that there be no uncertainty left in the minds of possible applicants as to the result, when real necessity compels them to appear before the Board of Guardians.

But what about the voluntary aids to thrift and the success attending them?

In reference to the connection of the substitution of in-door for out-door relief with that excellent form of thrift which insures help in sickness and old age by membership of provident clubs, bear with me if I once more call your attention to the numbers on the pauper roll on the first of January given in the Return B already quoted; from which we learn that since January 1st, 1886, the number of inmates in workhouses has decreased by 1,896, and those in receipt of out-door relief by 58,336. Surely, when we bear in mind the increase of population in the five years, this fact indicates a remarkable growth of a praiseworthy spirit of independence among the poor resulting from an increase of thrift in the various branches of self-help; especially when we find that the number of subscribers to friendly societies grows larger; that trades unions, which are generally also provident unions, are flourishing (notwithstanding the depletion in the funds caused by strikes), and that the deposits in savings banks are annually increasing.

In the face of these facts, where is the necessity for such a scheme as that of Old Age Pensions for the People? I do not know what may be the details of this scheme—whether the intention be that *all* at the age of sixty-five, or only a selected portion, should become State annuitants; but as I view it at present, it seems a gigantic scheme of out-door relief which would weaken all inducement to self-help, and throw the support of the unthrifty on their neighbours in a worse form than is the case even where those who administer the poor law disregard their duties as trustees of legal funds.

There is yet another scheme of which the details are not sufficiently elaborated to enable us to judge how it would work, and that is by adding a sum raised by taxation to the money saved by the proposed self-helper; in other words, thrift promoted by bribery.

It has, I believe, been proposed that those who shall have secured an annuity of five shillings weekly on attaining the age of sixty-five, should, if they obtain relief from the guardians before that age, have an

indefeasible right to it in the form of out-relief; thus making thrift itself a machine for manufacturing pauperism under the worst conditions.

Before the formation of County Councils, the Government made subventions from the Consolidated Fund (that is, the general taxation of the country) for various purposes in relief of local rates. The aid thus given involved a corresponding right on the part of the Government to see that the money was properly spent, and this inquisitorial power excited a certain amount of friction. If it be proposed that any part of the subvention in aid of thrift be paid through the friendly societies, their trustees and managers must not forget that inspection follows on the heels of subvention.

After all, there is no royal road to thrift, or to the removal of poverty and pauperism from our midst. Safer is it to work on the old lines with the old machinery, properly handled and improved where experience teaches us how to handle and improve it; better to do this than to attempt heroic remedies.

In any improvement we must depend largely upon the attitude of the clergy, informed by constant personal intercourse with their parishioners, and aided by a well-organized staff of lay workers, who should one and all be well instructed by a study of the principles of the amended poor law, and the best literature on the subject, in order to exercise a beneficial influence in their treatment of poverty as distinguished from pauperism.

If I have seemed to dilate too much at length in this paper on the question of according voluntary relief, apart from the poor law, to exceptional cases of destitution, I would justify the digression by pleading the importance of showing that the sometimes conflicting duties of the strict administration of the poor rate, which presses heavily on the struggling tradesman and small householder, with the higher duties of Christian charity, can and should be conciliated by the willing help of those who conscientiously act, not as owners, but as stewards only, of the goods entrusted to them.

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The Rev. W. L. BLACKLEY, Vicar of S. James the Less,  
Westminster; Hon. Canon of Winchester.

WE are about to consider the important subject of National Old Age Pensions, as a means of correcting, preventing, and possibly extinguishing, our national pauperism, which, however its extent may be disputed, is, without any dispute, admitted on all hands to be disgraceful to our national honour, and agonizing to our Christian humanity.

I will beg my hearers at once, in considering measures proposed for this purpose, to leave entirely out of view the pauperism of present old age as gravely complicating the subject of future measures; and this, not that I am less anxious than any man that present pauperism should be remedied, but because I am satisfied that once any measure passed securing the mass of our unpauperised citizens from old-age pauperism, means would certainly and readily be found to alleviate the passing wretchedness of those already pauperised, whose number is necessarily limited, and must in the course of a few years altogether disappear. When we consider that more than half of the population which reaches

twenty-one years survives the age of sixty-five, and that the vast majority of these always depend on their earnings for existence, which earnings cease with failure of bodily strength, the crying general need of old age provision is sufficiently demonstrated.

Three points are essential to the production of any such provision. (1) Will to make it (implying timely wisdom and systematic self-denial); (2) power to make it out of the surplus of earnings over necessary expenditure; and (3) absolute security of eventual receipt.

These are essential conditions for any pension provision whatever. If we settle, as we should, that this provision should be a national one, another essential emerges, which is universality; everyone must be provided, since otherwise a man rich to-day may be poor and destitute and a pauper in old age.

As a general fact, it may be said roundly that no such provision is made to-day. The great Society of Oddfellows, numbering, I believe, 700,000 men, all presumably of the thrifty class, founded a pension scheme for its members, of which only four individuals ever took advantage.

Are we to suppose all these men, provident as regards sick-pay during working-life, to be absolutely reckless as regards pauperism in old age? Certainly not. And leaving out those who never join any friendly society, can we find a reason for the neglect on the part of these thrifty, self-denying men? Yes. Because the essentials I have named are absent. The will to make provision only comes with a knowledge of its wisdom, and that knowledge comes too late! It should be fully taught in schools. No youth of twenty believes he will live till sixty-five; because at that early age he thinks, and wrongly, that he would like to die before then, he assumes that he must die before then, and will never need it. But at sixty-five he has changed his mind: he wants to live even longer still—and left unmade, even to early middle age, the provision he would then rejoice in has become impossible to him.

The second essential—power to make provision out of earnings—is also wanting for those who have not the will and wisdom to do so in early life. The young bachelor has a surplus of earnings over necessities, but once married, and with a family to support, it is quite out of his power.

The third essential—perfect security—does not exist, and can only be created by a Government guarantee, which can only be given on Government receipt of the necessary amount. This Government guarantee would pledge national credit, and be as secure as England itself. Existing societies and insurance offices might undertake contracts, but what security to a poor man, short of a national one, could any existing society, however sound and honest, offer to a young contributor that the society would be sound forty years hence?

The fourth essential, if the national credit be pledged, is, as I have said, that the membership should be universal; firstly, as forming the only sound basis for calculations, and affording a means of always adapting the amount to be contributed by new members to whatever changes fluctuations in interest may render necessary; and, secondly, in the sense that each individual shall personally contribute to the fund; since, in my mind, to give State pensions to persons unwilling to do anything for themselves, out of the pockets of those willing, is

pauperization pure and simple, and tends to magnify and perpetuate the wrong practice which we all desire to abolish.

In addition to this, a fifth essential to the acceptance of any scheme is, that it should aim at finality, so as to settle the great question once for all on a sound basis.

I proceed to apply these rules to the different schemes now before the public, of which, in the order of their proposal, I will first treat my own scheme (so far as regards pensions and not sick-pay) published fourteen years ago ; Mr. Chamberlain's, proposed about two years ago ; and Mr. Charles Booth's, set forth in the present year.

My proposal was that every young person should be required between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one to make a cheap pension provision for himself in a State-guaranteed fund, the money to be collected by deduction from wages by employers in the case of wage-earners, and by ordinary tax collection in the case of persons not depending on earnings.

The proposal has been constantly misinterpreted to mean that all persons at all ages, not minors only, should be required to contribute—a matter I have never advocated or imagined to be possible.

Such a scheme has all the essential elements I have named.

(1) The want of individual will and wisdom to exercise it would be supplied by the collective will and wisdom of the State, in the same way as the will and wisdom of the State, for the good of its members, resolved to make the education of minors a social duty ; a step which no class regrets.

(2) The power of making the contributions will also be supplied. It was made an objection to my proposal that the required cost would be too great. I do not believe it ; but the argument would lose all its force if the State contributed (at least for those who were willing to accept such aid) a moiety of that cost.

I did not propose State aid fourteen years ago. Had I done so it would have wrecked my suggestion ; but we have gone so far in this direction since then that I see no reason why, if the nation be willing, so much help should not be given to the poorest at least, in order to put their power of provision beyond all reasonable question. Thus the power of providing would be secured.

(3) The money would be paid for a State contract, giving infallible security for the due receipt of the pension.

(4) The provision would be universal, and every individual would personally be a contributor.

(5) The measure would be final, since once the existing pauperism had died out, no one above sixty-five years of age could be destitute, or qualified by destitution for pauper relief.

But the indispensable condition of this scheme is compulsion, without which no universal measure is possible ; and the same indispensable condition attaches to Mr. Booth's, and every comprehensive scheme proposed.

And why not ? Every law is a compulsion. The poor law is, and an unjust one, compelling the thrifty to provide for the wasteful. And to compel all men to do their part, if not their whole share, is less unjust than our present compulsion.

Of course, the rejoinder is that this compulsion of the young will not

be endured by the nation—a thing easily said, but only by prophets without inspiration. It is after all only an opinion, however widely held, which a little thought may tend to shake. The same thing was said of compulsory vaccination, compulsory sanitation, compulsory education. Was it true? Certainly not. The nation “stood” then all these things, and still stands in them, proud and thankful. By God’s blessing on national wisdom, freedom from smallpox, typhoid, cholera, and ignorance has dissipated this prejudice in these cases, as freedom from pauperism hereafter will make us proud, and thankful, too, when that great, wise, but indispensable compulsion is applied.

But lest this be called assertion of opinion only, I will give you the answer to the assumed impossibility of compulsion in this matter, drawn, not from conjecture, but from experience. In the fourteen long years since I proposed a compulsory measure, I have fought that theoretical objection before four hundred public meetings of all ranks and classes in this country, and in every single instance but one, where no vote was taken, carried a resolution in favour of a compulsory scheme by triumphant majorities.

Hence I have an honest right to say that public opinion, as far as ascertained, not assumed, in this country is not against compulsion. In proportion as the matter is studied, the conviction in favour of compulsion must grow stronger; and the certainty that no universal scheme can ever be carried out without it will make the expression of that conviction powerful enough to warrant statesmen at last in introducing such a measure. This proposal alone fulfils all the five conditions—will, power, security, universality, and finality.

Meanwhile a palliative, if not a remedy, is proposed by Mr. Chamberlain, which, briefly said, aims at doubling by State taxation the pension amount up to five shillings a week, voluntarily secured by any citizen.

In this case the wisdom and will are supplied by the individual; the power, half by the individual and half by the State; and the security by the State alone, which alone can give it. I uphold this proposal heartily. It is one step in the right direction, and can do at least no harm. As it is obvious, however, that it will be chiefly availed of by the classes least likely to want it, and will not redeem from pauperism the poorest and largest class of our people, it is wanting in the two essential elements of universality and finality. Yet I am satisfied that, so far as it succeeds, it will be useful, and, so far as it fails, its failure will strengthen public opinion in favour of the compulsory principle as the essential basis of any comprehensive reform.

I come to the third proposal, that of old age endowment, strongly advocated by Mr. Charles Booth, distinguished as a conscientious and experienced student of poor law statistics, to the effect that the question would be best solved by the State undertaking to provide out of taxation a pension of five shillings a week, or £13 a year, for every unit of the population reaching the age of sixty-five.

The main and obvious objection to this proposal, apart from its enormous extra cost, lies in the consideration that this would be a form of universal compulsory pauperization, doubling the present objectionable poor law provision of out-relief, and extending it to the whole population instead of to the destitute only, and that it could therefore in no wise



tend towards the object at which all other pension schemes have been aimed, namely, the reduction, the minimising, and possibly the eventual extinction of, that special pauperism which forms so sad and so exceptional a blot upon English character and civilization.

Mr. Booth answers this practically by a *reductio ad absurdum*, but only on the assumption that "receiving advantages under private or public endowment" (that is, we will say, from one's father or from a charity), is pauperization. He says the objection rests on the definition of pauperism, but "receiving advantage under private or public endowment" is no such definition. The definition of pauperism is absolutely clear and distinct. "A pauper is a destitute man who claims relief under the poor law by a rate or tax levied for that purpose." A pauper is claimant of a tax; an heir or an almsman is recipient of a gift.

And Mr. Booth introduces in his definition the term "public endowment" in an absolutely different sense from that in which *his* proposal would be a "public endowment."

Existing public endowments, such as almshouses, schools, aye, even the endowments of our own Church, are public, but only so far as made *for* the public, not as made *by* the public. They are voluntary gifts, the administration of which public law controls, but the funds of which public taxation does not supply; while such old age endowments as Mr. Booth advocates are to be made by part of the public for another part of the public, and are compulsory mulcts—not given of choice—for the deserving, but exacted by compulsion, and too often for the undeserving.

Mr. Booth's answer to the objection that his proposal would tax the rich for the poor, and the hard-working for the idle, is two-fold; firstly, that the rich would have to pay in any case for the poor—a matter in which I agree with him, provided the poor be paid for in a way to better and not to demoralize them; and secondly, that the hard-working would not be taxed by the idle, *unless they paid more for pension taxation than the cost of their own pensions*. This, he says, would only happen to persons above the highest level of artisan life, let us say to one-fifth of the population. All the rest, then, of the thrifty class would only be paying pensions for themselves—but under compulsion—by taxation. That is, so far as thrifty wage-earners, nothing more or less than "compulsory old age insurance," which I have advocated for so many years, and of the assumed impossibility of which so many wiseacres have had so much to say.

And here the great inherent vice of an universal old age endowment becomes manifest. Its obvious effect is to impose compulsory pension insurance on the whole lower class of thrifty men only, and to impose pension provision for the worthless on all above that class. That is, that the thrifty workers are to be forced—which they have not hitherto been—to provide for themselves, while the worthless and wasteful are not to be forced, but are to be just as fully provided for by others, at no cost whatever to themselves. Under a sound national insurance system the deserving workers would be more easily provided for, and the wasteful ones compelled, like every other citizen, to contribute in good time a part, if not their full share, of self-provision.

We are told indeed that a system of universal old age endowment is logical; that everyone pays taxes, and therefore everyone should receive taxes. Now, to say nothing of the monstrous disproportion between

the contributions and the receipts, it is well to ask, Is this true? Does everyone pay taxes? Yes, we are told, they all pay taxes in their rent. Many a lodger pays to a compounding landlord by way of added rent much more than his fair share of rates would be, but he does not pay rates. The baker must charge his customers enough to cover his own rates, but it is absurd to say that when they pay for their roll they pay for his rates. We might as reasonably say they pay his doctor's bill, and by parity of reasoning, that doctor's rates at the same time, and those of the tradesmen that doctor deals with!

Apart from this general consideration, does everyone pay rates? What rates, for instance, does a gipsy or a tramp pay? Or a soldier in barracks, or a sailor in the fleet? If I be told that these are limited classes, I will ask to be shown what rates and taxes the vast class of domestic servants, which supplies a large amount of eventual pauperism, are ever called upon to pay under any form, except perhaps on tobacco, which some of the men, and as yet comparatively few, I believe, of the maids, consume?

I cannot but believe that such a measure, as it would be in principle unjust, and in cost overwhelming, so would tend to further demoralize multitudes whom our existing system has too far demoralized already; that it would discourage independence and reward waste; that it would establish for ever a claim injurious to the recipient and unfair to the contributor; and that, however it might relieve the misery of the present pauper—which a sound scheme for the future would leave us opportunity for relieving on more hopeful principles—would perpetuate present injustice without in any sense preventing or extinguishing English pauperism.

This scheme would have the elements of will, power, and security all provided by compulsory law, but it fails altogether in universality; and as to the last condition, that of finality, the want of which Mr. Booth seems to think an advantage, I can only say that its finality, if ever achieved, would be worse than its failure.

## ADDRESSES.

The Right Hon. EARL STANHOPE, F.S.A., Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Kent.

AFTER the very able and interesting papers which we have just heard read, it is with some diffidence that I rise to speak on such a wide and difficult subject.

But as a guardian of the poor, and as one who has long taken an interest in poor law questions, I am very glad this is one of the subjects of the Church Congress, more especially as the clergy of the Church of England are in close touch and sympathy with the poor, and have more actual experience in relieving distress than most of us.

As compared with other countries, the Poor Laws of England are liberal in their nature; unlike France, which gives no legal right to the poor for relief, except in the case of idiots and foundling children, our laws give a definite legal right.

Since, however, the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act in 1834, and of the Union Chargeabilities Act in 1865, certain flaws and certain hardships connected with its administration have been recognized, and would seem to require amendment.

Among these there is a difficulty which will naturally occur to all our minds, and that is the hardship to the industrious and deserving poor of the prospect of spending their old age imprisoned in the workhouse; and, in the case of an old couple, being separated, to say nothing of their home and small comforts being broken up. It is all very well to say that the aged poor are well cared for in the workhouse, but this resource is looked upon with dread, and viewed altogether as a disgrace.

Though I do not wish, nor have I time, to refer to the various systems which prevail on the Continent, yet I was struck last month with a difference in this respect when I visited the Poor House, or *Hospice des Pauvres*, at Clermont in the Auvergne.

Though, as you are aware, these Hospices do not receive a shilling from the State, but are supported by voluntary efforts, I found the poor inmates, over 400 in number, very comfortably lodged and looked after, and as I gathered they did not look at their stay in the workhouse with any dread or abhorrence. At Clermont they had four meals a day, and were allowed rather more liberty than in our workhouses. The admission to a French *Hospice* is generally obtained through a commission of five members, who consider carefully all the circumstances of the applicant before granting admission.

Another difficulty in our English system is that in granting relief we positively give no encouragement to thrift or saving. A man who has laid by a little saving, or belongs to a Friendly Society or Benefit Club, receives no more assistance than is given to an idle, dissolute drinking man. For instance, if a man has put by £20, and another man has nothing, the first man will obtain no assistance so long as he has any money, the second might receive 2s. 6d. as out relief. Destitution alone is our test of poverty, and is alone, according to our system, entitled to relief.

Now if, on the contrary, a system could be devised by which a man who belongs to a Provident Club, or has made some effort to support his family, should receive more consideration than a thriftless, careless fellow, it would be most desirable. I am bound to say, however, that in the Clermont Hospice, to which I have already referred, this difficulty has not been met, as no preference is made to a man who has put aside some savings, but those savings go in part support of him while in the workhouse.

A third difficulty also may be here mentioned, which is the great diversity of treatment in various union districts. In some, out-door relief is given very widely, in others it is curtailed within narrow boundaries.

In Unions in which close and constant personal attention has been given, it has been possible to reduce the amount of out-relief given; as for instance, at Bradfield in Berks, and at Brixworth, where the poor relief is under 1·8 per cent.; whereas for the whole of England and Wales the average is 2·8 per cent. The Brixworth Union has really been due to the able superintendence and time given to it by its chairman, Mr. Albert Pell, whom presently we shall have the pleasure of hearing. But the real truth is that, as is shown at Elberfeld, near Cologne, where great individual attention is given to poor relief, very good administration is the result.

In Elberfeld, distress of those capable of work is looked upon as a very exceptional condition, and relief is only given for a short time. Then in a population of 27,000 or 28,000 inhabitants, there are 252 volunteer visitors, so that each visitor has only about four families to look after.

There is also diversity of treatment in the various workhouses in the United Kingdom as regards uniformity of diet, labour, and discipline. Some workhouses are very strict, and some are very lax. In this county, in places where hop pickers come, there is a great increase of pauperism during certain seasons of the year; and

yet with all this want of conformity, in no other country, except England, has the administration of the poor law been centralized to the extent of enabling a department of the Government to issue orders and exercise inspection.

Now I should wish to say a few words as to certain reforms in our poor laws which are pressing themselves forward for solution, especially the scheme of pensions in old age. There is a general feeling that if a wise scheme could be brought forward, it would both remove the stigma of relief given, by offering the house to old people, and might be the means of entirely or almost entirely putting an end to out-door relief. The only country that has adopted compulsory provision for old age is Germany. There, by law, the employer is obliged to deduct something from wages, the person employed pays something, and the State makes a grant. But owing to the short time this has been established, there has not been sufficient time to judge yet of the result.

The pension in old age in the German empire does not accrue till the age of seventy, which seems a very late age, and is so small as hardly to be adequate to support aged labourers. One of the first men to draw attention to this subject in England is Canon Blackley, who for the last thirteen or fourteen years has warmly advocated a system of compulsory insurance. His proposals have been discussed both in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons, but the chief difficulty is, that insurance to be sufficient must be universal, and to be universal it must be compulsory—for compulsion, at the present, public opinion is hardly ripe. Then there is another suggestion made by Mr. Charles Booth (whose interesting work, published this year, you have no doubt many of you read). After weighing all the difficulties as to expense, and numerous objections which can be urged against it, he recommends a plan of universal and compulsory insurance; and by this means he would tax everyone in order to provide pensions of five shillings a week after the age of sixty-five. The cost of this, Mr. Booth computes, would come to seventeen millions a year, but if out-relief could be reduced to a minimum, a saving of four million would be made, and it would cost thirteen million. Rich and poor alike would be entitled to a pension of five shillings a week. But is it likely that the British taxpayer would willingly be rated to provide these small pensions to men of great wealth, such as the Duke of Devonshire or Lord Rothschild? It is most satisfactory that the question is, however, now obtaining practical recognition, and last year a large voluntary Committee in the House of Commons considered and heard evidence on this question of old age pensions. I have been unable to obtain a copy of any printed report, or of evidence, as it is not published, but this large committee of sixty or seventy Members of Parliament came to a conclusion as to certain points:—

- (1) That the age when pensions should commence should be sixty-five.
- (2) That it should be on a voluntary, and not a compulsory system.
- (3) That the co-operation of the larger friendly societies is essential.

As regards the first point, it is sometimes urged that the industrial class do not generally reach the age of sixty-five, but according to the actuarial tables of Dr. Ogle, 43·9 do reach that age, and in the Oddfellows' tables it is 49·19 per cent.

The great difficulty in arranging any system of pension is to induce young persons to lay aside their savings between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. This is the great difficulty—young men spend their money freely, and young women must dress in smart clothes and hats, because it is the fashion. Mr. Chamberlain, while he favours a voluntary system, has proposed a very ingenious plan as an inducement to a young man to lay by £5 before he is twenty-five. He proposes that the State should offer a bonus of £15 to be added to his deposit in the savings bank. This would form a substantial nest egg, to be kept alive by a yearly subscription of £1 a year,

and would provide at this rate five shillings a week for life after the age of sixty-five, which is practically the age when manual labour cannot be counted on.

In the case of women who could save £2 before reaching the age of twenty-five, he would offer a premium of £8, and a yearly subscription of 8s. 8d., which would give three shillings a week. Though both five shillings and three shillings seems small enough weekly sums, it would undoubtedly have the effect of keeping poor people out of the workhouse. How many relations and friends would be ready and willing to receive them, if they were able to afford something towards their maintenance.

Mr. Chamberlain fully recognizes the necessity of laying any scheme before the friendly societies, so as to receive their support, without which it would be futile to propose any legislation, and this it is proposed to do some time before the meeting of Parliament. If the Post Office Savings Bank machinery could be utilized, it would be a great saving of cost as compared with the expensive officialism of the German insurance.

I am sanguine enough to hope that the present Parliament will not expire before some useful measures of old age insurance have been placed on the Statute Book, and I am sure that poor law reformers of every party will cordially co-operate in doing all in their power to bring about so important, and, as I deem it, desirable an end.

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The Rev. PAUL W. WYATT, Austin Canons, Bedford.

It would seem to be almost inevitable that in the discussion of a question like the present one, some of us should traverse the same ground; but the breaking up of the subject into the legal and voluntary working allows each speaker to occupy something of a special standpoint. The legal provisions of our English system have been already summarised and criticized.

The brief contribution which I desire to make will be mainly from the inside point of view of the Friendly Societies themselves. As has been recognized, these collectively constitute the largest thrift agency now in our midst; and their organization, despite some positive faults and a certain amount of distrust, is yet looked upon as affording the best existing basis for any even more extended as well as compulsory system.

For the sake of example, take one scale of charges, that of the Manchester Unity, which will show you how possible it is for the town mechanic or the agricultural labourer equally to suit himself. If a man joins at the earliest age—sixteen—he can pay a minimum of 1s. 0½d. a month, up to a maximum of 1s. 8d. a month. If he defers joining till he is forty-four, he must pay 2s. 2d. per month (lowest range), up to 3s. 9d. per month (highest subscription), and of course proportionately at any intermediate age; in any of these cases securing at the lowest contribution 7s. a week in sickness, and at the highest 12s. for fifty-two weeks' duration, then 3s. 6d. up to 6s. for the next fifty-two, and then £12 on death of himself for funeral, etc., and £5 on death of wife.

These figures are practically the same as the other great societies—the Foresters, Free Gardeners, etc. The Hearts of Oak is rather more expensive; and therefore fitly provides for a workman in receipt of rather higher wages. Just to form an idea of what the aggregate numbers of the members of all the societies are, and what their capital amounts to, the members on the books of the one specimen society which I have taken were last year 725,000. Its annual receipts were £1,361,000, and its payments to sick members averaged £3,000 per diem, while the capital of this one

single order amounted, at the close of 1890, to the astounding sum of £7,630,228. Remember that this sum is the monthly savings of the little middle class and working people, and then multiply those figures several times to give you the total of the benefit societies' capital and the numerical importance of the members, and you will see a little what sort of agency we are reckoning with, and how it ought to be estimated in any future calculation of nationalizing thrift.

Now in the matter of provision for sickness, there is no question about the efficacy of the Friendly Societies' method. The scales of charges have proved themselves acceptable; the working is simple, and the fact that during the last three years we have gone through the greatest amount of sickness and temporary disablement, on account of the three epidemics of influenza, and have come out financially sound, shows that the system is the right one, and all we need is the gradual growth of these societies till they practically are co-extensive with all our working and lower middle class population.

When, however, we come to old age, there is a great change. Although, as I believe, in every large Friendly Society there is provision offered for securing an old age pension, the response is of the slightest. The tables are there, the officers are ready, but the contributions are not proffered; and with the exception of the small payment made to chronic sick and aged members of 3s. a week (as it is in most lodges and districts), which is *really* a drawn-out sick pay, the aged member of the society usually has no pension or accumulated fund of any sort to look to. Now what does this show? Why, that as yet our English habits do not lead even good and deserving workers to look forward to sixty or sixty-five. They are content to provide for the contingency of sickness which may come at any moment of the current year and stop their wage-earning, but they shut their eyes to the remote contingency of the total failure of their muscle and strength, and the corresponding power to earn wage at all.

Now that is a fact which has to be reckoned with as one of the two greatest difficulties in any old age pension scheme. If a Government decides to force such provision on a people, obviously the result would be achieved; but if the matter be left to their own will, not even with the greatest inducements by the way will there be any extended response on the part of our young workmen. At the same time, we must not forget that such workmen as are self-respecting enough to belong to the Friendly Societies are, in all probability, the same men who make further saving in the Post Office, or Banks, or in Building Societies.

Perhaps we ought to note this singular fact, which somewhat justifies their lack of action. Sir William Harcourt (I think at the time when he was initiated an Odd Fellow) pointed out that a very small percentage of the members actually reached sixty-five in the year 1887; and if the age of seventy were taken as giving five years' enjoyment of the proposed pension, as in all recent suggestions, only 13,000 out of the total of 550,000 reached that limit during the same year. This, we need not say, distinctly points to the need of a carefully considered *repayment clause*.

Now suffer me to touch on the other point of possible State intervention in the working of these Friendly Societies. And here I venture to lay down this contention. All that ought to be done has been done already. The State inspection and actuarial valuation, together with the registration system, is sufficient. Of that, as a working member of these societies, I am personally convinced. Anything like the scheme to which Mr. Chamberlain lent his name a few months ago, as some of us think somewhat unfortunately, will be resolutely and obstinately opposed by us Friendly Societies men. First of all, it is certain that no Government plan can be worked so economically to the individual as can one adopted universally by the societies, who have their

machinery ready to hand. And secondly, any attempt to curtail the liberty now enjoyed by the societies, which must ensue if State aid in the matter of pensions be offered, would cut at the vital principle of these societies—self-help and self-management. At the summer meeting of the Odd Fellows at Derby this year, the Grand Master of the Unity said: "Any Friendly Society accepting such aid would, no doubt, be very soon subject to State control; in fact, having expended public money, the Government would only be doing its duty by claiming complete supervision of the affairs of any society so aided. This strikes at the very root and foundations of Friendly Societies, and would eventually endanger, if not destroy, all such institutions."

What we plead is this—leave us free and unfettered. We are increasing in the most satisfactory manner in the large towns, and one is not prepared to say that the villages are not steadily following. Help us by active co-operation. Help us by bringing to light unsound and mismanaged clubs, and do all you can to prevent new ones of the same risky character being formed. Let employers of labour specially set the example by joining a Friendly Society themselves. So gradually and surely the ground will be covered.

Foster and encourage the benefit societies of England, which are one of our proudest national voluntary growths. Let us convince working-men of their superiority of safeness compared with the little clubs. Let men of social position and of higher intelligence help the working members of these societies by active sympathy and co-operation. Advisedly, one says, active co-operation. It is not really enough to join as an honorary member. You want to become a subscribing member, entitled to all the privileges of a lodge and order. Otherwise you get little or no insight into the working, and are, accordingly, of less use to the members. Many of the clergy, we know, are good enough to act as treasurers or trustees in the villages. Very excellent. I don't know how we should do without them. But will not they, in the face of the great need of increased habits of thrift among our people, go further, and look upon the lodge meeting in their parish in the same high light as they do the schools question or the temperance organization, and spend the evening with their men?

Let increased stimulus be given to other forms of thrift by strict investigation into unsound Building Societies and Banks, for one failure does more harm to the cause of thrift than any corresponding good in the same locality. Let us never hear again the sad complaint, "I belonged to a club for ten or twelve years, and then it broke." Such a record is simply disastrous. Let the clergy preach thrift as a Christian obligation, and let them set the example of just payment of their own debts and personal expenditure kept well within their own incomes. Then, as regards the administration of the poor law, distinguish between those who are unhappily in want at the close of life—distinguish between accident and the just penalty of vice and indolence—and though I desire to be a strict economist, let us be content to err on the side of humanity by a wisely restricted and judicious employment of out-door relief. I know well that such a statement lays itself open to a double attack, from the most philanthropic economist, who looks upon it as putting a premium on pauperism, and whose whole effort is to counteract such a condition; from the hard economist equally, who would make State pauperism such an unenviable lot, that its deterrent force would drive all but the most wretched and spiritless off the rates. Now is this the great end and object of a Christian State? We recognize that society now is such, and the struggle for existence is such, that much of the success and failure of life is of the nature of chance; that, given ability and industry, sometimes lack of opportunity, and the economic conditions by which he is surrounded, are sufficiently strong to crush the fighter for the daily wage. Then why, one is forced to ask, should we, the people, contentedly tax ourselves at large for our successes, and decline to tax ourselves for

our failures? We submit out of the rates to pay for the successful general, or lawyer, or diplomatist. Good. But when it comes to keeping the poor shipwrecks of life out of these same rates, we grumble that it is against our system, and contrary to political economy. I venture to think that the State of the not distant future, that State which shall worthily grow to the measure of the new democracy, will have to show itself more ready to accept the responsibility of its human failures, and to undertake the burden of its pauper residuum in a spirit which will not shrink from its opponents stigmatizing it as sentimental legislation.

### ALBERT PELL, ESQ., Hazlebeach, Northants.

I FEEL at some disadvantage in following those able men who have been put under more easy circumstances than myself, by being allowed to read from manuscript, but as I have not got to enter upon theories, and that which for the most part I have to say comes from the experience of life, as well as from the study of books, I shall perhaps be able to impart to the meeting what I wish to say orally, with some slight reference to notes. The subject we have to deal with is the Poor Law and Thrift, and voluntary and legal provisions for sickness and old age. I will say a word or two first of all upon the poor law. The poor laws are a very old code in England, and we may divide that code into two portions—the old poor law, and what is called the amended poor law. The old poor law was a code cruel in the extreme. Although they were supposed to be humane, they were cruel because they were a code of laws, not so much intended for the relief of destitution as to cramp and confine the industrious in the places in which they were born. Those who study this old poor law will find that it was a gross offence for an Englishman, able to work, and ready and desirous to work in any district, to leave the over-crowded district where he was born. That code gave place to another, which we call the amended poor law, in 1834, and since then other statutes have been enacted, which have dealt with the law of settlement. I took part in that legislation myself. I removed, as far as I was able, when I was in the House of Commons, the severe and mischievous settlement restrictions, and if I were back again in the house, and younger than I am, I would endeavour to get rid of the law of settlement altogether. Where the tree fell, there it should lie, and I would trust to good local administration to secure that the tree should not fall too often in the district where I lived. I would not draw that cruel distinction which is made between the casual poor and the resident poor. I think it is a distinction that would be better obliterated.

But let us come to the amended poor law, and first of all let us free our minds of cant. The first, and one of the gravest pieces of cant is that the administration of the poor law has anything whatever to do with charity; it is a matter of police, and not of charity. We have some of us heard that the Good Samaritan was a relieving officer. If he had been, I do not think our Saviour would have illustrated the duty we owe to our neighbour by a reference to the case of Lazarus and Dives. But, however, having reduced it to the point that it is a matter of police, we come to the sad confession, that in this Christian country—I lay stress upon the word Christian—it appears that the relief of our fellow-creatures can only be secured through systems and by deputies. I wish it were not so, and I pray God the day will come when that system will disappear for something holier, and accompanied by greater proofs of individual self-sacrifice, and a sense of the duty of what we owe to each other.

The next thing I should like to impress upon you is, that the poor law fund which is



raised out of the rates is intended to be appropriated, generally speaking, for the relief of destitution only. It is not meant to better the circumstances of poverty. It is intended to relieve destitution, and those who apply that fund in order to make the circumstances and conditions of poverty easier, act unjustly, dishonestly, and improperly towards their neighbours.

Now I have to lay down what is the most important axiom in the English poor law and in the English Constitution—that no poor man, even if he be destitute, has a right to relief. That appears to startle some of my hearers; but what I am stating is true. France has gone further. France, in the Code Napoleon, enacts that no man or woman shall have a right to public relief; and if you come to consider the case of England, you will see that you can hardly expect there should be a right without the means of enforcing it. If there be a right to the relief of destitution in England, there is no means for a man to enforce that right in his own interest, because it is absolutely in the discretion of the guardians to say whether they withhold, or whether they give.

In the administration of the poor law, as in other laws, it is of the utmost importance that we should act upon fixed principles, and upon rigid rules. We may deviate from fixed principles if we like, to our own mischief. We may give play to our own impulses and emotions when we are dealing with private means and cases which concern our own relations and friends, but we have no right as administrators of an enormous fund, nearly equivalent to the cost of the navy, to act in any other way than upon fixed principles and well understood rules, so that those who come within the scope and compass of our poor law may understand what they have to meet before they come before us.

In the parish of S. George, in the East End, in the union of Brixworth, where I have been a guardian for many years, we established fixed principles and well understood rules. The result is, that the people understand our methods and ways, and are more contented, and I believe their circumstances are really improved. We have a proof of it in this very meeting, that the tendency of the present age is, by meddling, gradually to break down the old and wholesome laws of England; specially to break down the wholesome law which we call the amended poor law.

Those who act as I do, under a strict sense of duty, feel that they are put in a very difficult position, a position different from one who comes to advocate what are called the interests of the poor and humanity. Directly a man gets upon a platform and proceeds to advocate the case of the poor and the dependent, he appeals to emotions and to impulses, and that which he says passes current and is taken as true, owing to the influence of those emotions and influences, without the consideration which the head should give to the subject. The divine part of my marvellous system, and that which I find my glory in, is not my heart, it is my head. No, the heart has very little to do with the poor law, and I should be very sorry indeed if I allowed that organ to influence me much in this connection. What is more, let me say that I have found the action of the heart brought into play in the administration of out-door relief by those who had a selfish interest in its administration. The warm heart often is the heart of the publican who has helped to ruin the poor man; the heart of the employer of labour, who for every penny he pays in out-door relief gets twopence back in the shape of employment of men at reduced wages; and the heart of the house-owner whose rent is due to him, whose heart would be chilled if he could not recover it, and who knows that the only way to recover it is to get it out of the rates. So much for the heart. Who are the people who are whittling down the amended poor laws by new fangled schemes? Are they the guardians and representatives of the best administrated unions? Are they the political economists? Are they the

leading men in law, or in the Church? No, this will be found to be the pastime of politicians, philanthropists, patrons, and the populace.

I have one other word to say generally. I do not want to go into the details of these various schemes. I do not want to condemn Canon Blackley's or Mr. Chamberlain's, or Mr. Charles Booth's proposals—Mr. Charles Booth is a personal friend of mine, and has done me the honour of writing me, and talking over these matters with me, and Canon Blackley is a very old acquaintance—but what I want to say is, that all these direct attempts for the improvement of what is called the lower orders are not likely to succeed, inasmuch as they are direct attempts to improve.

The improvements are secondary results. The great improvements that have come upon the condition, and life, and circumstances of the people, have not been the results of primary and direct efforts of improvement. They are secondary results. The intention, for instance, of free trade, was to enable the manufacturers of Manchester to produce their goods at a lower price. It was not seen that the great and marvellous result of that change in the law, over which I rejoice most heartily, though I suffer most severely over it as a farmer—it was not seen that the great secondary result would be cheap food for the people.

Much as we have heard of these schemes for improving the people, if you put them all together, and total their results all up, even then you will not have achieved what the introduction of the compound engine into the modern machinery of the great ships that cross the Atlantic has done. Those mechanical improvements which have resulted in the reduction of the freight across the Atlantic have been more beneficial to the poor than anything we are discussing here to-day, because they have also resulted in the cheapening and improving of the transportation of the steerage passenger from his own over-crowded England to the great continent of America, which is ready and willing to receive him.

I should like you to consider for one moment some further aspects of the poor law. There is an enormous sum of money to be disposed of, and it is handed over to men who have no special training. I speak of them with all respect, but they have never studied the question. They have read no books upon it, and they do not think with the head as much as I do, but a little more with the heart. They come wholly unprepared into the board room to administer this very large sum. Were these men to go into the army, even as drummers, they would be trained. An ignorant man, and a benevolent man—what the Americans call a large-hearted man—with the public purse at his disposal, is the most mischievous creature that walks the face of the earth.

Time does not permit me to say much more, but I cannot altogether leave out the subject of the pensions. The first of the pension schemes in the field undoubtedly was that of Canon Blackley. He was the originator of the plan under which everyone is to be compelled to make provision for old age. That has been succeeded by the scheme for which Mr. Chamberlain is mainly responsible, under which everyone is to be encouraged in the duty of taking care of himself by the use of public money. Then you come to the scheme of my friend, Mr. Charles Booth, which, after all, is the only logical one, but fortunately it is so monstrous in its financial conception, that I do not think it will ever become law. Let me just state what the capital sum would be that would be required to carry out Mr. Charles Booth's proposal. I have attended a meeting in London of men most competent to discuss it—the Economic Club—and it was stated there, after a quiet, deliberate discussion, that the capital sum required for Mr. Booth's scheme, would far exceed £1,000,000 in addition to the National Debt. That, I think, is enough to settle Mr. Booth's scheme. Canon Blackley has made his own remarks here, and I will not controvert or discuss them; but I will say

this of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, that it is based upon statistics which he ought never to have taken, the statistics of pauperism in different unions. There has been to my mind a jumbling up of paupers in-doors and paupers out-doors, and the whole thing is based upon entirely hypothetical facts ; and if the facts are hypothetical, what is the reasoning worth ? It is unfair and unjust, as Mr. Chamberlain proposes, to tax the whole community for the benefit of those who will only be virtuous under a bribe ; and I believe that the present generation will decline to add £5,000,000 or £6,000,000 to present taxation for the sake of a generation yet to come.

All these schemes for old age pensions commence at the wrong end. They leave the people exposed to all the evils of pauperism, caused by the profuse granting of out-door relief, and even encourage them to become paupers during nearly the whole of their lives, in order to prevent a modicum of the poorest becoming paupers just as their lives are coming to an end. They attack the great river of pauperism just as it reaches the ocean, instead of attacking it, as they ought to do, at its primary source.

## DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. the Hon. AUGUSTUS LEGGE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Lichfield.

I HAVE observed that when a grievance is in the course of being removed, you will find a large number of persons very willing to denounce that grievance who did not seem to have perceived that it existed before ; and when an abuse is in the course of being abolished, you will find that there are many philanthropic persons who will suddenly spring up and denounce that abuse who never denounced it before. Now, there have been abuses no doubt in connection with the administration of the poor law, and there have been grievances too, but I believe that both the grievances are being removed and the abuses are being abolished. Mr. Pell, in the remarks he made just now, referred to the want of qualification on the part of those who were appointed as administrators of the poor law. To a certain extent no doubt that is true, but there are many who have been working quietly and earnestly for many years past, trying to carry out those great principles of poor law administration which were brought to light in the report of the Royal Commission in 1834, and so admirably placed before the public in the report of Sir Henry Longley to the Local Government Board in 1874 on the working of the poor law—a report which everyone interested in the working of the poor law should study, and study carefully—and they have been gradually improving the administration of the poor law, and getting rid of the abuses, and removing the grievances connected with it. Yet, now, all of a sudden, we hear the cry raised that the administration of the poor law in this country is harsh. What I want to enquire is, in what points is the administration of the poor law at this time harsh ? Is allusion made to the reduction or abolition of out-relief, or is reference made to the necessary discipline, and to a certain extent to the discomforts that exist within the workhouse walls ? As regards the question of out-relief and its administration, it has been pointed out so clearly and distinctly this morning, that I hope every one of us is convinced, if he was not convinced before, of the truth of the matter, that the administration of the poor law is not in any sense a question of charity. It has nothing to do, as Mr. Pell has said so strongly, yet so truly, with the heart. It has to do with the head. With regard to the reduction or abolition of out-door relief, is it maintained that it has been harshly done in any case ? Will it be maintained that a man like my friend, Mr. Samuel Barnett, of Whitechapel, is harsh ? Will it be maintained that such an able and enlightened man as Mr. Valance, the clerk of the Whitechapel Union, is harsh ? I do not know two more tender-hearted men than they are, and yet they have worked together with others for the almost total abolition of out-door relief in one of the largest unions in London, the Whitechapel Union. And what has been the result of that ? Has it been that the poor have been made poorer ? Has it been that the people have been made less independent than they were before ? On the contrary, it has raised the level of their character, and it has also given scope to the freer administration of charity ; and God

forbid that we should ever do anything in the way in which we administer the poor law to seal up the sources of true charity. In the union with which I was for many years connected, we reduced the out-door relief that was being given by something like £2,000 in one year, and by a similar amount in the following year. Was the result harmful to the poor in that union? On the contrary, I believe that they themselves perceived the wisdom of the course that was being pursued, and that they felt that there was more justice about the way in which relief was administered when it was so largely reduced than there had been before. For my own part, I go perhaps in this respect further than any of those who have spoken, unless it be Mr. Albert Pell. I should be glad to see out-relief abolished altogether, and I will tell you why. You cannot administer out-door relief without introducing an element of uncertainty which is exceedingly harmful to the character of those who come and seek relief. They come before the guardians in the hope at least that they may obtain out-relief, and, having that hope—there being the possibility of it—they are careful to keep back, as far as they can, any sources of income which they may have, and to conceal what relations there may be who are living, and who ought to be doing something towards their support. You encourage hypocrisy, you encourage deceit on their part. Those who have been members of Boards of Guardians must have in their mind the way in which persons have come before them—some woman, perhaps, whose face tells you that she knows the inside of the public-house only too well. She fawns upon the chairman for a time in the hope that she may receive out-relief; when it is refused, she turns round and abuses him. It is this element of uncertainty about giving out-relief which makes me feel that it would be far better that it should be abolished altogether. Mark you, the guardians are for the most part unable to discriminate between those who are called deserving, and those who are undeserving, poor people. Neither is it their duty to do so. Then there is another element in connection with the distribution of out-relief which creates difficulty. You, my lord, have referred to the fact that there is a want of uniformity about the action of guardians in this respect, and so there must be as long as no orders come from head-quarters to cut off out-relief altogether. This absence of uniformity is a very great evil, and induces the poor people at the present time to use this argument for themselves in favour of out-relief. They say, "We have contributed to the rates for so many years ourselves, and now it is our turn to have something out of the rates." They look upon it as if they had been contributing towards an old age pension scheme; and there is a certain element of truth in this argument. They have contributed to the rates, and, as the law stands at present, they have a right to claim relief out of the rates if they are destitute. But they overlook the fact that they have not a right to dictate to the guardians of the poor, who are the stewards of the poor law relief funds, in what form they shall receive that relief. They only feel that under existing regulations there is a possibility of their obtaining help in the form of out-relief, and so they press it on the guardians. But I am speaking to Churchmen and Churchwomen. However, the bell sounds, and I cannot say half of what I would wish to say on this subject, so full of importance to every member of the Church. Surely if that certainty in the administration of the poor law were established which would be established by the abolition of out-relief, we should find in every union in the country that there would be the same willingness to come forward that there has been in some of the poorest unions in the Metropolis, and in some of the large country unions in which out-relief has been abolished—the same willingness on the part of Christian men and women to come forward and to contribute towards the maintenance of those who are really deserving, and whom they have the means of discovering to be deserving—to contribute towards their support in their infirmity and their old age, so preserving their independence, and keeping them off the rates.

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#### Mrs. HICKS.

IT is at such meetings as this, practically, that legislation on special points is formulated, and for that reason I have asked the favour of being allowed to speak for a few minutes as the representative of an otherwise unrepresented class—I mean the women of the working-class. I hope that those legislators who certainly are taking up this matter of the aged pensions for the workers, will take into consideration the condition of the working-women. It has been said it is no hardship for young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one or twenty-two to pay a weekly contribution to aid this pension for old age. But I will ask our legislators to consider how they are

going to get this compulsory payment from women of the class with which I am most closely associated—I mean the women who are the workers in the factories and workshops of the East of London, where the wages when in full work in the busy time average nine shillings a week? In a slack time, the wages will not average more than four or five shillings. Many hundreds, aye, thousands of these women, have to depend on their own labour for their maintenance, and they have often others—sick, helpless, infirm relatives—whom they help to maintain. It is within my own knowledge in connection with the trades union of the women of which I have the honour—and it is an honour—to be secretary, that there are many and many of those women who not only maintain themselves, but maintain the orphan child of a sister, an infirm sister, a cripple, or a helpless brother. There has only just come to my knowledge—within the last fortnight—the case of one of the oldest women in our union, a woman of seventy years of age, who has for years, I believe it is nine years, maintained a blind and helpless husband out of her wages, which did not average, taking the year round, more than 7s. 9d. per week. In busy times, with full work, she could earn 9s., but taking the year through, she could not earn more than 7s. 9d. per week. And then she was privileged on account of the burden—though it was not a burden to her—that she had to bear. Recently the husband died, within the last two or three weeks, and I saw her pale, despairing face the other day, when she told me of the loss she had had, and said it was one source of comfort to her that out of her poverty she had been able to keep him from knowing what the sting of hunger was. I hope things like that will be taken into consideration, the difficulties that these women have, the impossibility it will be for them to make contributions out of their small earnings towards an old age pension fund. Any compulsory contribution it will be utterly impossible to obtain from them. But they must be provided for too. Are they going to be left without pensions, while men should be granted pensions? They become helpless in consideration of their physical afflictions in advancing age through overwork. They have to work their whole lives through. They will need their pensions earlier than sixty-five if they are to be of any use to them at all. What is going to be done for them? I hope the legislators will take that into consideration. There was another point which one or two of the speakers made about the administration of the poor law—out-door relief. Will you grant me a few moments in which to give a case within my own personal knowledge? This case I can vouch for as being positively, exactly true, and it occurred at the time of the great unemployed distress, when the Mansion House fund was formed, some five or six years ago. A woman who was a well-to-do worker, a dressmaker of the West End, was thrown out of employment by the great depression of trade everywhere. The woman had maintained herself. She had a little room furnished with her own furniture. She had no one to look to, but was living alone, and she maintained herself in comfort when she was in work. When the time of distress came, month after month passed, and she was not able to earn more than a few pence a week sometimes, and sometimes nothing at all, and she went on living upon the money produced by the pledging and the sale of her clothes which she had accumulated in better times, by the sale, piecemeal, of her furniture—all that she could get money on. Then, when that was gone, and there were two or three weeks' rent owing, the landlord came to her and said, "I must have two weeks' rent to-night, or you don't enter this house again." Half-a-crown a week was the rent she paid. She was in despair. All friends who had been able to help her had done it, and she was ashamed to go and ask for more; in fact she did not know where to go to and ask for more. She went to the Mansion House and asked for five shillings to pay her two weeks' rent. Food she did not mind, she could starve a little longer. She was refused the five shillings because she was an unmarried woman. Then she went to St. Pancras Workhouse—in that parish is my own residence—and asked for help. They told her they could not give her out-relief, and she must come into the house. She felt if she went into that house that all hope of her life would be gone with the stigma of pauperism upon her. She turned to her landlord and appealed to him to admit her that night, but he was stern, and said he was determined she should not come in. So she sat down on the doorstep and thought of what she should do. There were four things before her. There was starvation in the streets; there was pauperism for life; there was a life on the streets; and there was the river. As she sat there she decided in favour of the river. She went down to Westminster Bridge and walked up and down that bridge for a long time. Her courage failed. As she told me, the water looked so cold and dark that she could not do it, and she turned to the streets. She was an inmate of a house at

King's Cross, that place where the great army of our streets meet, where they get their shelter in the day, and pour out from at night. I went there to see how this great unemployed distress affected women, and this was one of the cases I found there. She had a skeleton of a baby in her arms which was born in the workhouse. She had come out of the house, and these women took her in. When I saw the condition she was in, I did what I could to help her for a time, and subsequently she went to the hospital in Gray's Inn Road, and there I found she had died of bronchitis through being in the streets again.

### S. BOURNE, Esq., Wellington, Surrey.

THE subject before us this morning is so wide, and the time allotted is so short, that I shall not attempt to deal with it in all its bearings. I wish to speak just as an economist. Without altogether endorsing Mr. Pell's view with regard to the heart and the head, I think we have first to look upon this question purely as a matter of economy. With regard to out-door relief, no doubt the workhouse test is economical, inasmuch as it repels from coming on the funds of the country those who can manage to support themselves outside the house. But there is the other side of the question, that it is extravagant for the country, because in one respect well-directed out-door relief supplements a vast amount of private effort which is made by the relatives of the old and infirm to support them at home, and oftentimes a half-crown spent in out-door relief will save the country 7s. 6d. or 10s. in providing inside the workhouse for those who receive it. Hence, I hold that in those conditions out-door relief is economical. Then, coming to the various propositions we have before us, it is many years since I met Canon Blackley in discussion of his scheme, and I am happy to think that some of the blots which seemed to me to appertain to it then have now been removed. The repugnance which was evinced at the outset of the scheme to Government inspection is lost, and therefore I think the remark which Mr. Blackley applies to Mr. Chamberlain's scheme is very well applicable to his own. I believe, however, that compulsion will fail. There are certain cases in which compulsion will not succeed. A large portion of our community will not be compelled in their earlier days to contribute anything, and therefore the only resource will be to make them criminals, because if you make compulsion necessary, and they refuse to fall in with it, you subject them to criminal punishment. I believe in that way you will demoralize the community to a large extent, and saddle the country with a large expense in dealing with them. Then, again, compulsion is not feasible in many cases. It exacts a sum of money which, though it seems small from the individual, becomes large in many cases, and it is placed in the hands of the Government, producing a small amount of interest, whereas that sum of money judiciously invested in teaching a trade, or in supplementing efforts to earn more money, will be more profitable, because it will yield a larger return. Many a man under Mr. Blackley's scheme will be compelled to find the sum requisite for the members of his family, and thereby would be left without the means of providing tools with which they may labour, and of giving them the house in which they are to reside until they were able to earn money themselves. But there is a stronger objection to compulsion in my mind. It is that it puts a bar to emigration. It will act to a certain extent in fixing men to this quarter of the globe, for you cannot follow them to the ends of the earth, where in these days a large number of our people will be compelled to find their maintenance. The more we extend the resources of our country, the more wealth do you obtain. Therefore I take it that, though compulsion may be tried, and may succeed to a certain extent, yet the failures will be so great that it will have to be abandoned. Mrs. Hicks has pleaded for the working-women of England. I plead for the younger children, or those who are passing from childhood to manhood. I feel that in either case it will work hardly. I know, in connection with various philanthropic enterprises, of the temptations to which our young women are exposed in our large towns, and I feel that to compel payment from the young of the class to which Mrs. Hicks has alluded, would tend to their demoralization. Many of them would only obtain it by yielding to temptations, the means which unworthy men hold out to them. For these reasons I hope compulsion will not be adopted. Though we may try it, the effect will be to demonstrate its failure, and so to throw us on better resources. After all, the true encouragement for thrift is not compelling persons to put money aside so much as it is the removal of the temptations to wasteful expenditure.

Speaking as an economist, I would say that three times as much is spent in this country on intoxicating liquor as in rent, and I maintain the true effort towards thrift is to put temptations out of the way, and to lessen the encouragement which is given to the waste of money in drink and many other ways. Let us lay this question to heart. Let us take care to see that we protect the innocent and strengthen the ignorant, by removing all the inducements to spend money, and encouraging them by all lawful means to thrift. With regard to the computations of the number of persons who would be entitled to come under an old age pension arrangement, I will not enter into Mr. Booth's scheme. We have had a contest upon it already, and probably may have some more. But the explanation is that so many of those who contribute to friendly societies, or charitable funds, or clubs, drop out before they arrive at the age at which they are entitled to receive their relief. Many a man who has contributed through the prime of his life finds his wages falling, and his contribution failing, and he is obliged to go to the wall.

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The Rev. E. A. SALMON, Rector of Weston-super-Mare ;  
Prebendary of Wells.

I AGREE with Canon Blackley as to Mr. Charles Booth's scheme. I need scarcely say to such an audience as this, that he must not be confounded in any way with "General" Booth. I agree with Canon Blackley as to what he has said of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme. It provides only a very partial remedy for a very great necessity. I prefer Canon Blackley's scheme to either of the two former schemes, but I am quite sure of this, that we have to work out that word "compulsion," and it will take a great many more years to work it out thoroughly. We see that often in the case of the vaccination laws, and in the case of school attendance, there is a considerable friction in carrying out that word "compulsion," and it will be a great many more years before we have educated the people up to stand the compulsory powers which Canon Blackley would ask. The question then for us is this, "What are we to do at present?" All that has been said about out-door relief, I most thoroughly endorse. I have had to do with the administration of four unions, two of them very large ones. I claim to have a heart, and I hope and trust I shall always maintain the deepest sympathy with the struggling poor, but I maintain that those who are the truest friends of the poor, ought to do their very utmost to gradually abolish as much as possible out-door relief, for it is the greatest possible enemy to thrift of every kind. I think that the classification of the inmates of workhouses is a subject which may well claim the attention of kind and sympathetic people, and if we abolish gradually, carefully, thoughtfully, out-door relief, we must have a different classification for the inmates of workhouses. Another point which I think we ought to direct our attention to is this, that through the Charity Organization Society—I do not claim for that society anything like perfection—or any other similar scheme, we ought to try to direct the gifts of the benevolent into the right and proper channel. I live in a seaside town which is full of benevolent people, and all I can say is this, that after thirty-five years' experience in poor agricultural parishes, the poor agricultural people are very much more thrifty than the people in that town. What, then, are we to do? I think the first thing is to carry on more than ever the system of the Post Office Savings Bank. We owe a great deal to Mr. Fawcett and to Mr. Raikes for what they have done. I think if we were to try to throw most thoroughly our weight and influence into the upholding of the Post Office system, we should do a very good thing. And we want to convince our people that everything connected with the Post Office is carried on with the very greatest possible secrecy. A poor man does not like it to be thought he is saving; he does not like his neighbours to know he is saving. I can tell what can be done in an agricultural parish, a poor agricultural parish, by early teaching of habits of thrift. After working in a large agricultural parish for nearly thirty years, when I left it I could say that there was scarcely a man or a woman who did not belong to a good club, and scarcely a boy or a girl that had not some deposit in the savings bank. I think a great deal more may be done in carrying out that system, which begins from the earliest days, to inculcate habits of thrift. I would not despise the penny bank. I value very much the school bank which has been started, and I think if we could convince our people that through the Post Office Savings Bank they could do a great deal more, we should be doing one of the best possible things we could do for them. A great deal has been said about the

progress of friendly societies, and I am thankful to say this, that some of these friendly societies, which have not been solvent in the past, have done their best to retrieve their position. We ought to encourage them as much as possible. There is one thing I would press on the Legislature of the country, and that is to have a proper audit for every society. The audit usually employed is not generally a sufficient audit. It requires sound, actuarial knowledge properly to audit a deposit society; and I think the Government might well step in and say that a certain number of auditors should be registered, and should be employed for the Quinquennial valuation. To sum up, I advocate no heroic measures, but the carrying out of that system which has done much to increase thrift in the last few years, and which may be used to still further develop that thrift far and wide throughout the country. And I would say to my brethren of the clergy, "Do make it a subject, give up your time and attention to it, so that from the youngest child in your community, they may be all brought up in the first principles of social and domestic economy, and, I would say also, the first principles of political economy." We must educate them to meet all the temptations with which the working-man is wont to be bamboozled, and at the same time to point out to them that the best and truest way of conducing to the happiness and well-being of the country, is by the truest and soundest thrift.

### The Rev. J. P. WRIGHT, Rector of Oldbury, Bridgworth.

I HOPE that, as Christian men and women, we shall all take to heart that sad story which was told us by Mrs. Hicks this morning, but I hope we shall also take to heart this comment upon that story, that the miserable and disgraceful wages that are paid to working-women in London are due partly to out-relief, which enables those in receipt of it to compete with those who are not in receipt of out-relief, and to cut down wages below starvation point; and partly, also, let me say, to those who buy always their goods in the cheapest market, without making any particular inquiries as to the wages earned by the people who make these goods. I am one of those ignorant people into whose hands the administration of the poor law is placed by the law of this country. My ignorance, I do not think, is entirely my own fault, for I studied the poor law for seven years before I was a poor law guardian, and I have been one for fifteen years; but I will say this, that only within the last three or four years there came to my knowledge one part of the subject which has not been alluded to this morning, and which often escapes the notice of poor law guardians and poor law reformers, that is the way in which our casual ward system manufactures professional paupers out of honest and self-respecting working-men. I have said I studied the poor law for seven years before I became a guardian. I studied the last book on vagrancy, and from that I learned that the occupants of casual wards were, in the days in which that Blue Book was published, chiefly professional vagrants. They are not so now. They are chiefly, in the first instance, respectable working-men who are going from one part of the country to another in search of work, and they are manufactured into vagrants by the defects of our vagrant ward system. The system adopted in nearly all country unions is this:—When a man applies at a casual ward, he is given a supper consisting of eight ounces of bread, and a little tea or thin gruel. He has to go into a bath, which is very necessary in many cases; he passes the night in the casual ward; and next morning is kept four hours breaking stones.

### The Right Hon. the CHAIRMAN.

NOT now; that is repeated.

### Rev. J. P. WRIGHT.

No, that is the point I was coming to. Poor law guardians may, if they please, dispense with the stone-breaking, but the Local Government Board has not power, or has not exercised the power, to compel them to do so. Any Board of Guardians that wishes to reduce the amount of vagrancy, as they call it, in their own neighbourhood, does not take advantage of the power given them to dispense with the four hours' labour. In the unions in my county, at any rate—the county of Shropshire—the four hours' labour is exacted from the tramp. He pays for his night's lodging with his



labour. So, if he is a respectable working-man, how can he possibly get work at eleven o'clock in the morning?

Mr. ALBERT PELL.

THAT is not the law.

The Rev. J. P. WRIGHT.

IT is the way the law is administered.

Mr. ALBERT PELL.

I DON'T know about that. It is not the law.

The Rev. J. P. WRIGHT.

WELL, he goes on to the next workhouse, and he has to live on a miserable pittance of sixteen ounces of bread a day, whereas we give the prisoner who is doing hard labour fifty-one and a half ounces, and forty-one and a half ounces to the prisoner doing light labour. What we want with regard to the casual ward system is, that it should be taken entirely out of the hands of Boards of Guardians, and put into the hands of the County Councils, and that there should be exacted from every person who occupies a casual ward enough work to pay for the accommodation he receives; and, at his option, he ought to be allowed to do the work on the evening on which he makes his application, and thus be able to leave the workhouse as early as possible. I am perfectly aware that Boards of Guardians have the power to do this now, but they do not use the power. What we want is a uniform administration of the poor law, especially with regard to the casual wards all over the country. The tramp is no longer a pauper. The labour which was imposed as a task has been increased until it is more than adequate for the treatment he receives, and therefore he should no longer be treated as a pauper.

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The Rev. HERBERT WILLIAMS, S. Matthias', Earl's Court.

I WOULD begin by saying that it appears to me that compulsion will not at all be able to be brought about, for there are a great number of young men now-a-days in the parish in which I work who are under that order of compulsion to maintain their parents in the workhouse, and the result is that no sooner is the order put out that they should pay so much towards the maintenance of their parents, than they leave their work in the parish and go off. So I think a great number of the young men who are now working would be driven about from place to place if they were compelled to pay so much every year. Another thing it seems to me is that we should try to help those who help themselves. There is at present a large machinery at work that could produce much greater results, if men and women would co-operate with it and bring it out to greater perfection. By that I mean to say I would call on my brother clergy and men generally to join friendly societies in their neighbourhood, and to work thoroughly with them, taking part in their meetings every fortnight. In that way I think in time they would improve the working of the society lodges themselves. When I was working in the North I used to encourage young men to join the friendly societies, because I saw from pastoral visitation that where a man belonged to a friendly society he was, if sick, enabled to avoid applying for out-door relief; that the 10s. or 12s. a week kept him respectable and brought him through his sickness. But in London, where I am now working, I can no longer encourage young men to join these societies, owing to the fact that the majority of the lodges are held in low public-houses, and that the class of men, who go there from week to week go there to drink in the great number of cases, and to sing songs, which, if not immoral, are not helpful to them in their manliness. If we could have some nice room in a parish, and all the gentlemen of the place could be members—they should not be honorary members—I say to the clergy they should not be honorary members, but must join as members—because these men will not otherwise regard you as brothers—and having this room you would be able to bring in young men of sixteen,

and the room might also be worked as a parish club. And the parish club would be not only the means of encouraging the people to become thrifty, but it would elevate and lift them up if well-educated men came to the meetings and imparted the benefit of their education. With regard to women, it might be difficult to have such lodges, but I really think that women can help themselves. In one parish where I worked in the North the women put by every week some money that enabled them in the hour of need to get the necessary help; but these societies depend, not only upon the working-classes, but also upon those who will not require this help. One word to ladies. Pay your debts to small tradesmen and dressmakers promptly. Many a Churchwoman, I fear, puts off doing so for a time, and in this way forces these poor people to run into debt for rent and food.

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The Rev. WILLIAM SYMONDS, Rector of Stockport, Hon. Canon of Chester.

I HAVE only a few moments; and yet it is a very important point that I wish to bring forward. I represent at present the very large town of Stockport, where large manufactures are carried on. The great point with us is to take away the cause of poverty, and to encourage thrift under two plans. One is that there are very good wages paid to the people; and the other is that we have one savings bank, of which I have been for the last seventeen years a director, and which has nearly £400,000 of the savings of the people. We have also in our Sunday school a sum of £1,300, by means of which young people who are in the school when sick have 6s. a week for the first six months, and 4s. a week afterwards. This also acts as a provision for old age. This subject of thrift is one which, if properly attended to, will make the exercise of the poor law a very mild affair indeed. Allusion has been made to the very important discussion that has taken place upon the labour question. There was one fault in the discussion that no notice was taken of a very important feature, which is that a certain number of our labouring men have come from the ranks of labour and occupy some of the handsomest houses in our neighbourhood. A late High Sheriff for our county in his younger days worked in what we call a blue-dye shop, and now is one of the wealthiest and most generous men we have. Another man, who drives his carriage, relates that when a boy he would eat a crust of bread he picked up in the street. Encouragement should be given to free labour, and not confined to mere sympathy with the unions. We see what the unions are, and, without wishing to disparage the effect of them, labour should have its free opportunity, and men should be protected in the exercise of their labour. A number of the women who teach in our Sunday schools come from the working-people, and their wages are of such a character that they come to school looking quite as respectable and well dressed as the other teachers. The best part of the influence in the large town in which I live is directed to encourage thrift in so helpful a manner that men put their wages, or such savings as they have, into our savings banks, and draw them out in the purchase of houses. Allusion has been made by the noble lord to his visits to France, and to the opportunity he has had of seeing the hospitals there, and the way in which the poor law is administered. I also have visited several of the hospitals in France, particularly the *Maison Dieu*, in Paris. In a recent visit to Normandy, a gentleman took me into a house where a girl, who was brought up as an orphan by him, was just about to marry, and now, at the age of twenty-five, she was able to show a cupboard full of linen which she had prepared for marriage. This linen was valued at 1,000 francs, and is a good instance of the thrifty ways of French workpeople.

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The Rev. W. A. SPOONER, Fellow and Dean of New College, Oxford.

I HAVE a very short time at my disposal, and it is a very small part of the subject which I propose to enter upon. It is one which has not been touched upon hitherto, and one on which I can speak with some personal experience. The point I wish to address you upon is, whether we utilize to the fullest extent the existing resources we

have for providing for old age? That there exists a great need to make better use than we do of those resources is clear, I think, from this, that we are told that nearly a third, or more than a third, of all the people of England who attain the age of sixty-five come upon the poor law relief after they have attained to that age. I am afraid I may be accused of being one of the prophets who speak without inspiration, but I do not believe that, at any rate for a good many years to come, we are likely to see the adoption of any compulsory system of old age pensions. It seems to me, from statistics we have heard to-day, proved that the people who have need to save, do not feel, themselves, the necessity which is laid upon them. If only four members of the Society of Oddfellows care to make provision through that society for their old age, it is quite clear that either they do not feel the pinch, or that they think their money can be employed better than in providing, directly, for their old age. There is another proof which we had of this not long since, one which seemed to me conclusive. The London and North Western Railway Co. had a system by which they compelled their employes to make provision for their old age, and that system they had to abandon because the employes themselves said they would rather receive the money than be forced to put it by. So that, looking at these two facts—the extremely small number who do avail themselves of the opportunities offered by the friendly societies, and this which took place in connection with the North Western Railway Works at Crewe—it seems to me quite certain that for a good many years to come we shall not have any compulsory system of provision for old age. That being so, the question comes to be this:—Do we at present make use of our existing resources? We have in England an enormous amount, taking the country over, of endowed charities, and also an enormous amount of voluntary charity. I do not think at present (and this I would press home on people as much as I can) that we make adequate use, or the use which we might, of these two sources to call out, on the part of the people themselves, an effort to make provision for their old age. If we said that we would meet them with a sum which would really make provision for their old age, but only provided they put by something for themselves, then, I think, you might do an immense amount to call out a spirit of self-help in those who ultimately will need it. There is one other point which I should like to make. I do not know whether any of you have tried, but I do not feel as if the clergy, by themselves, could possibly embark upon the undertaking of providing people with pensions for old age. We do not know what we are taking on ourselves in doing it; or how long people will need our help; and therefore we do not like to commit ourselves to what seems an exceedingly indefinite prospect. What cannot be done by individuals may be done, I think, by committees, and I would urge on the clergy to consider—for I speak here with sufficient experience—whether, by gathering around them a Parish Committee, they could not embark upon this larger enterprise, which by their own unaided resources it is utterly impossible they can undertake.

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ALBERT PELL, Esq.

I THINK we shall hardly do what we ought to do if we separate without an acknowledgment of the services of our noble chairman. I move a vote of thanks to Earl Stanhope for the admirable way in which he has presided over us, and in recognition of the importance of men in his position taking the part he has taken.

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The Rev. PAUL WYATT.

I HAVE much pleasure in seconding the motion.

Put and carried unanimously.

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## CONGRESS HALL.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 6TH, 1892.

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The Most Rev. The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

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DO THE INTERESTS OF MANKIND REQUIRE  
EXPERIMENTS ON LIVING ANIMALS, AND  
IF SO, UP TO WHAT POINT ARE  
THEY JUSTIFIABLE?

The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT.

THE Secretary has received a telegram from Sir Andrew Clark, in which he expresses regret at his enforced absence on account of official engagements which cannot be set aside, but states that his distinguished colleague, Dr. Wilks, will take his place.

Dr. WILKS.

BEFORE I commence my paper, I have a question which I wish to ask the Bishop of Dover. It is this: There is a gentleman who takes great interest in this question, and who, we expected, would be here this afternoon. Inasmuch as his name may be mentioned, I should like to know from the Bishop why he is not here this afternoon?

The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT.

THE gentleman's name, please?

Dr. WILKS.

It is Dr. Lawson Tait.

The Right Rev. G. R. EDEN, D.D., Bishop Suffragan of  
Dover; Archdeacon and Canon of Canterbury.

As there appears to have been some misunderstanding about Dr. Lawson Tait, and as there has been some correspondence in the public press, I am glad to have an opportunity of placing, in a few words, the true facts of the case before the Church Congress. Dr. Lawson Tait was asked to take a part in this debate on vivisection. The Committee of the Church Congress had to consider the question whether he was a Churchman, the rule of the Church Congress being that none but *bona fide* Churchmen are allowed to address the Congress. One of the Secretaries wrote to Dr. Lawson Tait, whose reply still left some uncertainty upon the question in the minds of the Committee. As Vice-Chairman of that Committee, I was requested to explain to Dr. Lawson Tait that there was no wish to exclude him from the debate, but that his appearance on this platform would amount to a declaration on his part that he was a *bona fide* Churchman. I will now read to you Dr. Lawson Tait's final reply, and ask you whether or not we are justified in taking it to be a withdrawal:—

“7, The Crescent, Birmingham, June 25th, 1892.

“DEAR SIR,—As I am very well known to a large number of the clergy of the Church of England, from the Archbishop of Canterbury downwards, it would be quite open

to any opponent to challenge my position, and, although I think it could be easily defended, yet the personal explanation requisite would be tedious, probably unsatisfactory, and to me extremely disagreeable. I would, therefore, rather be excused from placing myself in a position requiring it.

"Yours very truly,

"LAWSON TAIT."

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## PAPERS.

SAMUEL WILKS, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Consulting Physician to  
Guy's Hospital.

IN approaching this subject we find there are words and expressions used of very doubtful significance, such as cruelty, the utility of experiments, and even the word vivisection itself. This word has very largely prejudiced the question, for it immediately calls up before the mind the cutting into a living creature and the revolting picture of an animal writhing in its gore; whereas in the large majority of experiments it means no more than pricking the skin with a needle, and very often merely the administration of a particular food or drug in order to watch its effects on the system. The term does not appear in the Act of Parliament which is entitled "The Cruelty to Animals Act." I think, therefore, it would be better to handle the question in such a manner that the meaning of these words will come out in a clearer light. This will probably be best done by first considering what is the relation between man and animals. Now much has been said and written on the rights of animals, but I am at a perfect loss to know in what these rights consist. I can make out no more than that we ought to be kind, and not cruel to animals—a dictum containing a platitude which we all accept. The rights spoken of certainly do not mean what is intended by the term when applied to the relations between man and man; there is no such understanding implied as in the Christian doctrine of doing to animals as you would be done by. It would be easier to define the rights of a slave in relation to his arbitrary master than the rights of the lower animals. We shall see, indeed, that right means might.

I think it will not be foreign to the subject to look first at animal life irrespective of man, because it is sometimes forgotten that under these circumstances suffering exists. Let us regard for a moment this world and the universe around: the great and underlying fact, probably the greatest that man has ever discovered, is that everything is moving and changing; undergoing degradation and development. As far as our telescopes can reach, movement is going on; as far as our microscopes can penetrate, the same fact is apparent. Vegetation springs up in the early year and then decays; nothing fresh is added to our globe, but an incessant change is going on of life and death. In the animal world the same facts are apparent. Some creatures take one revolution around the sun and their course is run. Others a few more revolutions to bring them to the same end. The life of these creatures depends, in part, upon the vegetables which they assimilate to themselves, but also

to a great degree on their living upon one another. They are so constructed as to seize and devour those creatures which are more helpless than themselves, and their internal organization is formed to digest them. The victims have also their special attributes contrived to escape the enemy, and so a perpetual warfare goes on. As these are sensitive creatures, it does not want much imagination to picture to one's self the amount of suffering which must always be prevailing amongst these tortured creatures in every forest in the world, and moreover, knowing that the lower animals are subject to a large number of diseases, as in the human being, we are sure that they must end their days without food, or a drop of water to slake their thirst in their agony. The poet and painter may picture in glowing colours the beauties of the opening spring and the equally gorgeous beauties of the departing autumn, but when we come to the animal world, this living and dying so dependent on one another, and part of the same scheme, the picture is a different one, and from the point of view which I have taken is not pleasant to look upon; so that one would fain exclaim with the Apostle, that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together until now. Now, having contemplated animal life alone, we place man on the scene; he is an animal, constructed like other animals, with all their appetites and instincts. He is essentially a carnivorous animal. He pursues other creatures to kill and to eat them; he also rejoices in the pursuit; so much so that when not requiring them for food he still hunts and shoots them for pure enjoyment. If there be no animals to hunt, he keeps a stag for the purpose; taking him out into the field in a cart, and then pursuing him with his dogs, being careful, however, not to let the dogs rend him, as, being an expensive animal, he may be hunted over and over again. If man wants food but does not care to procure it himself, he employs another man to fell the ox, or cut the throat of the sheep; or should he prefer game, he employs someone to shoot it or entrap it by every means of deceit and treachery, which he would never use towards his fellow-man. Not only this, but he kills other animals for the sake of their skins to put upon his own back, and makes use, indeed, of all parts of the animal for various purposes useful to himself. In my early childhood, I remember my spelling-book describing the ox and how its various parts were made use of by man, the impression left on my mind being that the creature was so constructed for our benefit. There certainly was not a word said about its wonderful structure which enabled it to move about, or how all its complex machinery was formed out of the grass of the field. Modern teaching not only does the same, but maintains the correctness of it. An account of the slaughtering of the seals for the sake of their skins appeared lately in one of the periodicals; the picture of hundreds of these warm-blooded animals being harpooned and writhing in their gore, mothers and young in heaps together, was not pleasant to contemplate. But should a rich lady, not caring to dress like ordinary persons, wish for a finer raiment, she deposes someone to go to the furthest Arctic regions where she knows the animals live, and there acquire the warmest and finest skins, and says, "Strip it of its skin, and I will handsomely repay you." I have never yet heard a hint given as to an animal having a right to its own skin, or even any compunction of conscience on the part of the lady who has deprived him of it. If we want oil for our lamps we

kill the whales for their blubber, so that these creatures are as near their extermination as the buffalo in the prairies. We snare thousands of larks for our table, and although we do not actually catch the warbler, which, singing, up to heaven's gate ascends, we pay someone else to entrap it for us. Sometimes, indeed, we eat our victims alive, previously putting a little pepper and vinegar on the writhing oyster before we swallow him. Then, for the sake of modesty, we usually let pass the gigantic amount of mutilation going on in the unsexing of animals so as to render them mere masses of fat beef and mutton for our eating. We make our horses go round and round in mills, which, from a human point of view, I should think is not a pleasant occupation, and again, the finest horses we can procure we compel to join in our battles, where they are shot down and mutilated by hundreds and thousands. I fancy if horses could speak they would not pretend to a nationality, but rather to a universal brotherhood. All these things we approve, or certainly do not condemn, and, therefore, I suppose, they are strictly correct, but if so it is nothing less than ridiculous to speak of the rights of animals.

I can imagine it to be said, What has this to do with vivisection?—the subject in hand—or that two blacks do not make a white; but in answer to this I say herein lies the very gist of my argument, to show that there does not exist any national conscience as regards cruelty, and therefore the cry against experiments on animals has another basis and motive.

Until a few years ago no legislative measures whatever had been taken in reference to the subject of our treatment of animals, when the Society for the Suppression of Cruelty to Animals was founded. Those who have read the letters of Peter Plymley, by the Rev. Sydney Smith, may remember his objections to all societies of this kind, saying that they led to tyranny, certain persons wishing to make use of the arm of the law to put down what they themselves did not approve of; there would always be, he said, a difficulty in defining such terms as vice or cruelty. Now, although it must be admitted that the societies of which he spoke have been useful, his objections have much weight in them, for in the case of the Society for the Suppression of Cruelty of Animals, the larger and grosser cases of cruelty of which everyone approves are left untouched, whereas those only are offences which affect particular individuals and not the community at large. For example, I am a witness in Bond Street of a gentleman taking cognizance of an overworked horse in a coal wagon; he could easily show his indignation, as he was not a coal merchant, and had no interest in the trade, but behind him was a fishmonger with a basket of lobsters standing at the door, in which these poor creatures had been writhing about for two or three days in their death agony from absence of water and dried up gills. In the next shop window was a cage of fat quails, which had just arrived from the Continent; the birds without water and crowded together in a mass. Both the lobsters and quails this gentleman wanted for his dinner, but in a suffering horse he had no interest. This is the weak side of the society, that it touches only a few individual cases of ill-treatment of animals in which the prosecutors have no concern. It seems to be that whatever the majority approve of is allowable, whether it be the slaughtering of seals, boiling lobsters alive, docking horses, the use of bearing reins, or cutting off dogs' tails. This doctrine

is endorsed by the highest legal authorities, who declare that the word cruelty has no relation to the suffering of the animal, but to the question of utility; this word again applying not to the animal, but to the owner. Thus, not long ago, a case came before the judges of a farmer charged with cruelty on account of his dishorning cattle. I am not quite sure of the reason for this practice, but I have heard that it has some reference to the animal producing more fat, or cream; whilst in America it is done to enable greater numbers to be stowed away in the railway trucks. Lord Coleridge and Mr. Justice Hawkins, who were the judges, declared that the act was one of cruelty, although they admitted that their opinion differed from that of many authorities. The Lord Chief Justice commenced his argument by considering what is meant by cruelty. He said, "The mere infliction of pain, and even of extreme pain, is not sufficient to constitute cruelty. Men constantly inflict pain on one another, or on the brute creation, for the purpose of medicine or surgery, or under sanction—as by way of punishment—which is lawful, and in such cases it may be reasonably necessary." He then went on to discuss the meaning of the word necessary. He said it was difficult of definition, but must have reference to the object aimed at. He adopted the language of another judge, who spoke of "Unnecessary ill-usage by which the animals suffer." Then, as regarded the question before him, that of dishorning cattle, he considered it unnecessary; it was therefore cruel, and he convicted the accused. Mr. Justice Hawkins pursued the same argument, saying that he would like to add to it some other practices, such as the docking of horses, and quoted another judge to the effect that an operation was not cruel if it was to make the animal more serviceable, that is, as I understand it, more serviceable to man, for I do not remember any attempt to operate on an animal for its own improvement or advantage. I should much like these judges to try the case of lopping off dogs' tails, and decide whether it be cruel or not. The judgment would again turn, I apprehend, upon the question of advantage. In order to settle the question, I intend to make a charge against the next curate whom I meet in a country lane with a terrier without a tail or ears.

The next thing done by legislation was to make an alteration in the Act relating to cruelty to animals, owing to the outcry which took place against experiments being made upon them whilst alive. The term vivisection, as I have already said, does not appear, and is the word unfairly adopted by the opponents of experiments of the most trifling operation. It is cited simply as "The Cruelty to Animals Act, being an extension of the original Act to cases of experiment for medical, physiological, or other scientific purposes." All these experiments were to be made illegal, except under special license, and now the agitation which is going on is to absolutely forbid them. Now, taking into account the large amount of suffering inflicted upon the lower animals by man, which is considered allowable, and the case of any suffering for scientific purposes, which ought to be forbidden, we ask the question why this difference in our action? The answer is obvious; it is given by the common consent of mankind, and put into distinct phraseology by the judges. Because, in the first case, the suffering is associated with what is useful to man, but in the second it is not. We need not enter into the question of what is really useful or necessary, otherwise we



might doubt the necessity of eating meat or wearing clothes ; but we speak of what the world generally regards as useful or necessary. Therefore, according to common consent and the dictum of the judges, many things I have spoken of are not cruel, but allowable. The converse is that all pain inflicted on creatures for the sake of scientific inquiry is cruel, because useless, that is, useless as conceived by the majority of people, and should be suppressed by law. The majority approve, or at least regard with complacency, other forms of suffering, seeing they are associated with what is useful to mankind ; but this scientific cruelty, being useless, is therefore horrible to contemplate. This is all logical enough, both in a popular and legal sense. If my cook poisons a mouse there is no law to prevent her ; but if I gave the same poison to another mouse, in order to watch its effects, I am breaking the law, and liable to a penalty of fifty pounds. The suffering in the two cases is the same, but the motive is different. It is killing the animal for a scientific object which constitutes the offence. Now, then, comes the question of utility, the point on which the whole argument turns. The inutility has a very wide meaning, and is obviously used in a different sense by different persons. The ignorant man can at once see his right to pain an animal for the sake of getting its flesh to eat, or for the skin to put on his back ; but to pain it in order to discover the mode in which the heart beats, or the stomach digests its food, is a pure piece of idle curiosity, and ought not to be allowed. The inutility may have another meaning. There are educated men belonging to a well-known heretical sect in the medical profession who say such experiments are useless, because of no value in the healing art, the whole function of the doctor being to recognize symptoms and the administration of remedies to relieve them. All physiological and pathological research, they say, is unnecessary. I pass by one or two books written to order, and paid for by the Anti-Vivisection Society. Then, finally, the principal and most powerful opposition comes from those who have an antipathy or real hatred to all knowledge of a physiological kind, it being, they say, of no value, even if it be not degrading in its effects ; that men should not be perpetually engaged in prying into their mechanism, but have regard rather to the higher aims of social life, morals, and religion. These persons are the most difficult to deal with, because the hatred to science, and especially to physiology, is a part of their nature, or is hereditary. It has been well said that everyone is born a Platonist or Aristotelian, and so it happens that whilst there are those who are intent on scientific pursuits and unravelling the secrets of nature, there are those who not only feel the strongest antipathy to these researches, but declare that they tend to vulgarize and demoralize mankind, and that their pursuit should be stayed by the strong arm of the law. All this is made evident by the large amount of remarkable literature which the anti-vivisection movement has called forth. I will give one example. "Not content," says one writer, "with observing the blush on the maiden cheek with admiration or joy, a certain man, called Claude Bernard, actually made some experiments on rabbits, to show how the blood-vessels expanded or contracted under the influence of the nerves, and so took all the poetry and sentiment out of this beauteous sign of emotion, and put a vulgar piece of machinery in its place." The writer seemed to imply that it was absolutely wicked to look beneath the skin

and see God Almighty's hand behind the scenes pulling the strings and making the puppets dance. One great writer on art, after describing the beauty of the dove's wing, its form and its sheen, speaks with horror of the anatomist picking it to pieces to see the structure of the feathers. I believe it is the same writer who said that the little country girl knows more of the flower which she loves, and places in her bosom, than the botanist who picks it to pieces. The answer to this was given by Wendell Holmes, who said that the botanist examined the whole structure of the plant, and, therefore, he not only loved the colour and the fragrance of the flower, as a child might do, but he loved the root as well. This is the style of much of the anti-scientific writing; the discovery of the cause of any function they call materialism, and this word is now often used as almost synonymous with immorality, or at least irreligion. In this way the inutility of experiments and their cruelty go hand in hand. These views had a very chief exponent in Cardinal Manning, who, at a meeting of the Society for the Suppression of Cruelty to Animals, said, "He deplored the science worship of the present day, and dwelt upon the fact that not one single discovery had been made through the practise of vivisection." It is curious to think of these blind devotees worshipping a shadow, whilst his Eminence had discovered the worthlessness of science. His speech is valuable as showing the reasons which are used against physiological research. Nearly the whole of the anti-vivisectionist literature is composed of statements endeavouring to prove the worthlessness of experiment, and for good reason, because the whole question of cruelty turns upon it, for, as we have already said, according to common consent and the dictum of the judges, one has no meaning without the other. It becomes the real question at issue. I might just remind my hearers that the reasons which Professor Freeman gave for his opposition were founded entirely on this argument. His proposition seems to be very illogical, or at least very loose, for it certainly can be answered one way as well as the other. It was this, "Is it lawful to seek for knowledge by means which would be confessedly blameworthy if they were used for some other object?" The Professor answered it in the negative to his satisfaction, but it could quite as reasonably be answered in the opposite sense by saying the experimenter adopted practices which, under other circumstances, were not considered blameworthy.

The question, therefore, as to the legitimacy of vivisection turns upon its utility, and I see by the resolution before us that the Congress is thinking of deciding upon it. I should be very sorry to see them attempt it. I do not know how they will proceed. Take, for example, the experiment I just now mentioned, which proved how the blood vessels were under the dominion of the nerves. This illustration, amongst others, was given in a paper published some years ago to show the value of experiments on animals, whereupon an anti-vivisectionist paper attempted to answer this memorandum, and, as regards the experiment spoken of, deliberately put it aside in two lines as useless, although, on the other hand, it was maintained that it has helped to explain a large number of phenomena connected with the nutrition of the body, thrown a light on the operation of many medicines, and suggested new ones. Now, I ask, how will you act? Will you accept the statement on the one hand that that experiment is useless, or the

one declaring that it has thrown a flood of light on many natural and morbid processes? As sensible men you will assuredly say you know nothing at all about it. But as you are not unaccustomed to accept authority, you ought to find no difficulty in adopting the same method on this question.

At the Medical Congress of all nations which met in London a few years ago, the meeting, which crammed S. James' Hall, was unanimous in favour of the utility of experiments on animals; and the other day, at Nottingham, the British Medical Association, at its annual meeting, also gave a unanimous vote in agreement with this. Not only are there these spoken statements, but nearly all the scientific men in all nations take the same line, considering experimentation absolutely necessary for the advancement of our knowledge. This ought, I should think, to be enough, and especially at the present time, when you must be aware that there exists a totally different view of many diseases from that which formerly existed. This is owing to the discovery of parasites or microbes in the system, which come from without, and give a totally different complexion to many complaints. The specific difference between all these morbid agencies can only be told by the inoculation of animals (mostly rats, mice, and guinea-pigs), and the result will probably prove that herein lies the greatest discovery in the whole history of medicine. There are a number of persons who, I am sorry to think, are doing their very best to hinder talented, enthusiastic young Englishmen from taking their share in the grand work in which all other parts of Europe are engaged. I should have considered it far better for you not to have expressed an opinion at all on the value of vivisection, but been content with declaring that, having had the subject brought before you, you saw no reason to offer your protest against the practice. You would thus be left with a free hand.

Now, one word as to the question of cruelty. It is constantly said that it is a dreadful thing to contemplate medical students, who should be reared in a school of philanthropy and gentleness, being allowed to make experiments on animals, cruel to the creatures, and brutalizing to themselves. Now, I quite accord with the sentiments, but declare that the statement is absolutely untrue. Students do not make experiments, and the very supposition is ridiculous, seeing that most experiments require all the sagacity and adroitness of the practised hand of the educated man to perform them. Nor is it true that the student witnesses experiments. Not one in a hundred, I believe I might say not one in five hundred, has ever witnessed an experiment on an animal. Experiments are not performed by lecturers, but usually by a few men in their licensed laboratories. It is true that some of the pictures which have been industriously circulated by anti-vivisectionists have been taken from physiological books, but that these are samples of what is going on in medical schools is untrue. It has been shown over and over again that the amount of suffering inflicted on animals by experimenters is infinitesimal compared with that produced by what is considered allowable for the exigencies of mankind. The scientist has the proud boast that he is the only man who anesthetizes animals before operating upon them. Those who live near rabbit warrens can tell of the nocturnal cries of these mutilated creatures as they lie dying in the traps. Then, again, if the word cruelty be used in connection with these

experiments, the promoters and sanctioners of these acts must be cruel men. Now, for a moment, take the first ten names on the list of those who call themselves anti-vivisectionists, and ten of those who are opposed to them, and hand them to any person ignorant of your object, desiring him to state the apparent difference between them. Would anyone ever conceive that the difference between them was a moral one, and that cruelty was the vice which divided them? The mere suggestion only raises a smile. The difference lies in the fact that one list contains the names of men devoted to science, whilst the others are composed of literary men, clergymen, and some lawyers. This brings us back again to the same point. But it may be said, all that is meant by cruel is that the vivisectionist becomes hardened by the sight of suffering and of blood. If this be so, no better argument could be used in their favour, who believe that herein lies one great reason for the difference between the two antagonistic parties, that is, that it is one of sentiment. The thought of blood and other disagreeable sights is quite enough to settle the question in some minds. It might here be remarked that mere sensitiveness, as being necessarily associated with kindness of heart or active benevolence, and the converse, has been refuted over and over again. I knew a lady who dilated on her extreme sensibility and feeling, and, as a proof, she said if one of her children cut its finger, and she saw blood, she ran out of the room. I proved to her logically that John Howard, who could witness scenes which few could bear, must have been the most hard-hearted of men. Has a woman a tender heart towards the lower creatures who feels a thrill when she crushes a beetle, and then scolds the cook for not getting rid of the vermin by throwing them into the fire or into boiling water?

Now, I must add that much of the agitation against experimentation has been owing, not so much to this feeble reason I have given, but to a much more creditable one, although equally unreasonable, as being one of a personal kind, that is, an appeal to the feelings; making use of that much-abused Christian doctrine, to do to others as you would they should do to you; and so this feeling becomes the basis of their action. As an illustration, the question of allowing children to act on the stage came before the House of Lords. A benevolent nobleman said he had no difficulty in settling the question by applying the true Christian doctrine—would he like a daughter of his own to go on the stage? As he answered in the negative, a very important and large social question was peremptorily settled. In the same way I once heard an American gentleman arguing the question of vivisection with a fellow-countryman, and, after hearing his objections, said, "Are you thinking of your little Flo?" His opponent admitted it was so, when the other exclaimed that he would no longer argue the case with him. I think he was right, for I know for certainty that in many cases, especially of ladies, when you are arguing the question of vivisection on large and general principles, their mind is all the while on the possible sufferings of their little Flos. This *argumentum ad hominem*, which is considered so just, and is yet so erroneous in its application, was used formerly with much force against the dissectors of the dead, and is one even still used. It runs thus: "I should not like any child or relative of mine to be dissected. I ought, therefore, to act to others according to my own feelings, and consequently there should be no dissection." Or: "Ought animals

to be experimented upon for scientific purposes?" Answer: "I should not like my little Flo to be operated upon, and, therefore, they ought not." This feeling largely influences a question which should be argued on other grounds. I should like to say one word in a parenthesis about dissection—to acquaint you with a fact perhaps unknown to most of my audience—that, owing to the very severe restrictions in the Anatomy Act, imposed mainly by the clergy, which required the burial of every dissected body, it has come to pass that it has been quite impossible during the last half-century for any medical man to have learned his anatomy, had England been an isolated country. During this period not a single skeleton has been made in England, nearly all of them being obtained from France, and a few from America. A considerable sum of money is paid by the medical schools every year for their importation. Every medical man of the present day has learned his anatomy from the bones of Frenchmen, and it is very fortunate for us that they do not much differ from our own. Thanks mainly to the clergy, this nation owes much to the French for our acquaintance with anatomy, and I do hope that you will not increase our debt by forcing us to go also to them still further for instruction in physiology and pathology. The agitation against experiments on animals is very much of the same kind as it formerly was against dissection, so that in the beginning of the last century it caused much rioting in many parts of Europe. Fortunately, that good and learned Pope, Benedict XIV., who was a great patron of science, made a decree that all patients dying in the hospital of Bologna should be dissected. His action in the matter created a school of medicine and science in his native city, which brought students from England and all parts of Europe, and made it the most famous in the world. You cannot do better than follow the example of that good Pope.

There are one or two side issues, which, if time allowed, might with value be dwelt upon; one refers to the question sometimes put, Might not all the knowledge we require be obtained without these experiments? Such a question could only be asked by someone who had had no scientific reading, for otherwise he would know that experiment lies at the basis of all knowledge. The Greeks were wonderful observers, but gained very little insight into the nature of the material world. With Bacon first came the method of investigation. The substance of the earth, for example, is of too complex a nature to be known until fire is applied to it, and a number of other powerful agents to decompose and disintegrate it. To know anything of the nature of an object you must see it under different relations, and this is done by experimentation. How can it be known what food is essential to an animal's existence without trying various kinds? and this is an experiment—whether cruel or not is an entirely different question. Whenever a new relation takes place between the earth, sun, and planets, a grand experiment is being made, and persons will travel round the globe at the expense of thousands of pounds to witness an eclipse of the sun or transit of Venus.

Now there is another point which should not be forgotten; that the love of scientific enquiry cannot be suppressed by Act of Parliament any more than any other passion of the mind. It is as utterly useless as to try and put down the cultivation of music or painting.

We have heard of the boy who, to avoid his father's displeasure, went to the hayloft to play his violin, and another who cultivated drawing by means of a rushlight in his garret. We read of Pascal doing his mathematical problems with a piece of chalk on the floor, or the shepherd boy Ferguson lying out in the fields measuring the course of the planets. We find in the same way naturalists travelling through pathless forests in America in search of some new butterflies, or, as I was lately reading, of a professor who spent months in the wildest parts of Australia in search of a fish whose internal structure he was anxious to examine. The impulse to penetrate into the secrets of nature is quite as strong as the passion for cultivating the fine arts. Neither one or the other can be suppressed by Act of Parliament, in other words, by the will of the majority of the people. What happens at the present day as regards any young man pursuing his investigations, say into the nature of the woolsorter's disease, and wishing to make a few experiments on animals, but unable to obtain a license, is that he goes to France or Germany to perform them. I do not know what might happen if this outlet for his energies did not exist; at present he certainly does not break the law; Englishmen are a law-abiding people, and I have never heard of a single instance of anyone breaking the law respecting experimentation on animals. A young man, a colleague of my own, now unfortunately for the sake of science deceased, became as a student ardently desirous of making some further discoveries into the nature of many properties of the blood, which would explain several morbid phenomena. By dint of hard work, in three short years of his life he made some most important researches and gained a European fame. His friends, his family, his countrymen, are proud of the renown he gained, but they scarcely realize the fact that he was driven from his country to do all his work at Leipsic. It should also be known that not only is this ardour instinctive in the breasts of many young men, but they are urged on to their investigations by their teachers and by the colleges. Even the venerable College of Physicians in its yearly meeting, in commemoration of Harvey, enforces the doctrine which he left as a legacy to his successors to search out the secrets of nature by way of experiment. The Anti-vivisection Society should know what it has to contend against.

Now what has been my argument? That an immense amount of suffering exists in the world irrespective of man, and in places where man has never set foot; then, that the relations between man and the lower animals have never been defined; that right has been might, and they have been treated just as man willed, that although individuals may have been merciful, there has been no national recognition of cruelty until the Cruelty to Animals Act was framed, and this has only a very partial, individual, and one-sided action. According to the "zoopholist" the Church has never raised its voice as a body to plead for the lower animals. The tacit understanding of the nation has been that pain and suffering are not to be taken into account if our needs or pleasures demand them. Not only is this the accepted view, but the judges have stated in distinct phraseology that this is the correct view. Cruelty cannot be considered by itself, it is purely relative, and has to do with the advantages derived in connection with it. It being then admitted

by all that cruelty is to be determined by utility, the anti-vivisectionist, logically enough, says that experiments made for physiological and pathological purposes being useless are therefore cruel, and ought not to be allowed. Those who peruse the journals of this sect know that their opposition to Pasteur's work is based on this supposition. They will see pages with black edges giving accounts of Pasteur's fresh victims. As before said, there are many who openly and honestly confess that their use of the term inutility is not in reference to any particular case—that of Pasteur's as treatment of hydrophobia—but is rather expressive of their general feeling towards the valuelessness of all physiological enquiry, even if discoveries are made. That this feeling is the main-spring of nearly all the opposition, I have no doubt, seeing that I am unaware of any known scientific man who has written against the practice of vivisection, whereas on the other hand, there is no one who inveighs against vivisection but takes the opportunity of attacking all scientists, and especially physiologists. A physiologist is a bad, coarse sort of man, whether he makes experiments or not.

What is this Congress asked to do? not to discuss the question of man's relation to the lower animal world; not for the first time in Church history to take up the question of cruelty to animals, but to support the cry to stay educated men, gentlemen, professors, those who have a moral charge over students, from performing any experiments on animals, because, they say, those experiments are useless. Are you going to decide the question? I hope not. You surely would not follow the example of Cardinal Manning, who, shortly after the unanimous vote of the Medical Congress in favour of experimentation, informed a public meeting over which he presided that not a single discovery had been made through the practice of vivisection. An opinion of this kind, wherever given, could have no other effect than that of raising a smile. I personally would rather that you did not express an opinion at all, but merely stand aloof, declaring that you saw no reason to interfere with scientific men. Perhaps if I had the forming of a resolution myself, I should have preferred it to have run in this wise: "Seeing that the amount of suffering to animals is very great in supplying the wants of man, and therefore worthy of the consideration of Congress; but hearing that the pain inflicted on them by experimentation for scientific enquiry is comparatively small, and also hearing from those who are alone competent to judge that the knowledge thus obtained is eminently useful, we cannot as a body declare our disapproval of the so-called vivisection."

Now I make my appeal. Considering that the Church has never as a body raised its voice against different forms of cruelty to animals, I would ask you as a body of educated and enlightened men not to join the crowd of ignorant persons, sentimentalists, and haters of knowledge, and for the first time in your history when the subject of cruelty has come before you, to entirely overlook many of the grosser forms, but pick out that particular form of cruelty (if you prefer the term) which has for its object the acquisition of knowledge, and declare to the country that it ought to be suppressed. I hope we shall be no more benighted than old Horace who said *nescire malum est*. We often hear with sorrow of the opposition between religion and science; I do hope for the love which we all bear the Church that you will do nothing to strengthen that feeling.

The Right Rev. ALFRED BARRY, D.D., D.C.L., Canon of Windsor, late Primate of Australia.

I AM profoundly thankful that (boldly and wisely as I venture to think) it has been determined that this subject, which involves the whole question of our rights and responsibilities towards the animal creation, shall be discussed at a Church Congress. For the very function of our Congress, which it has for many years discharged with splendid success, is, not to frame Church policy or pronounce with Church authority, but simply to form public opinion, and to mould it by the spiritual force of Christian idea. I assert unhesitatingly that this subject is one on which in the discharge of that function, it has a right and a duty to dwell. For certainly it is a burning question which cannot be ignored; it is one on which public opinion greatly needs both information and guidance, and with which an enlightened and earnest public opinion—using law but going beyond law—alone can adequately deal. It is a subject, moreover, on which a Church Congress is doubly qualified to pronounce. Even from a scientific point of view, I protest against the dictatorial prohibitions uttered by some self-constituted and mostly anonymous representatives of science. There is a value, and a great value, in that educated lay opinion, which in our department of study we theologians are constantly bidden to regard, as correcting the narrowness of view to which all experts are liable, and judging with broad common sense and common feeling, both of principles and of results. But from the point of view on which I would mainly insist—the moral and religious point of view—I claim that in this Congress we have the right of experts. For the Church and those who are engaged in her service, miss the very reason of her existence if they do not study and apply to every phase of human life the great principles of religion and morality. Looking at the subject in this light, I gladly see that the cause to which I am conscientiously opposed, is to be pleaded by men of high ability and distinction.\* Their presence here indicates that they at least do not hold that the Congress is presumptuous in dealing with the question. It must secure also what I, for one, greatly desire—that the whole truth of the matter shall be brought out and left to prevail, as it will prevail, by its own intrinsic power.

I.—For the form in which the subject is presented to the Congress I am not responsible. I should have preferred to dwell explicitly not on the interests, but on the duty of mankind—and on this as considered in its fullest generality—to the animals as God's creatures committed to our charge. Duty and interest may in their results coincide; but I desire first to seek duty, and trust in the coincidence of interest, rather than first to consider interest, and from this deduce the course of duty. But yet I see some advantage in that form, because it brings out on this subject two points of vital importance.

The first is this—that in pleading against such experiments as inflict scientific torture on the animal creation, we are pleading not only for them, but for the true "interests of mankind." The controversy, indeed, is but one part of a far larger conflict between the material

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\* In writing thus, I had hoped for the presence of Sir Andrew Clark; and was ot prepared for the character of Professor Horsley's paper.—A.B.



and the spiritual—the devotion to the lower humanity of the body and to the higher humanity of the soul. Vivisection under this aspect can at most claim—how far justly I do not now enquire—to serve the purely material interests by its suffered discoveries; and it is painfully instructive to notice that some criticisms of this subject from a medical point of view have shown an utter unconsciousness that there can be any other interests than these which are worth a moment's consideration. We, on the other hand, do not disregard these, but it is not for these that we chiefly care. We believe that the hardening effect of deliberate disregard of helpless suffering must destroy—primarily in the inflictors of torture, secondarily in the witnesses and supporters of its infliction—the higher spiritual humanity. It must demoralize it by quenching deliberately the instinct of compassion and beneficence, to which by significant use we commonly give the very name of “humanity”—the very principle which in man resists and conquers the cruel and selfish struggle for existence. That demoralization if (which God forbid) it should attack and degrade the noble profession of medicine as a whole, must tend necessarily towards the only vivisection which seems to me scientifically unimpeachable as to the certainty of its results—the vivisection of living men—not, indeed, as in the days of the Renaissance, by the literal torture to death of unhappy criminals, but by experiments for the sake of scientific interests, or even scientific curiosity, on innocent patients who come to seek healing or relief. Now we do not, indeed, believe that the two classes of interests are really opposed to each other. But if they were, even for the sake of humanity itself we should say, “Sacrifice unhesitatingly the lower to the higher; suffer pain rather than selfishly inflict it. What shall it profit a man to gain a whole world of material advantage, and lose his own soul?”

The second point is the unequivocal recognition by this form of the question that the *onus probandi* on its moral aspects rests on those who advocate, not on those who oppose, vivisection. These experiments on living animals have to justify themselves, and to show what the point is up to which they are thus justifiable. Till they do this decisively—till they show substantial reasons why we should set aside the instinctive reluctance of true humanity to the infliction of torture upon the helpless—we who oppose it have to maintain a ground absolutely impregnable.

II.—Let us see what the vivisection is which has to be justified.

No one (I suppose) doubts that man has a right, as a part of his lordship over creation, to use animal service, even to take animal life. But our very law expressly denies that this right extends to the infliction on the creatures we use, even on the creatures that we kill, of serious and excessive pain. It punishes it summarily—refusing all pleas of expediency, of ignorance, even of necessity—as cruelty. Now, when some fifteen years ago it was shown conclusively before a Royal Commission, including some of our leading medical men and scientists, that there was urgent need of restraining by law all cruelty through the practice of vivisection, what was the original idea of the Bill, as proposed by Lord Carnarvon? It was to act in the spirit of the existing law—to insist on what was then thought to be possible, that by use of anæsthetics, both during actual operation and afterwards up to the time of death, substantial painlessness should be secured. Had that provision remained intact, and had it been found possible to carry it out

and enforce it, no one could have raised for a moment any reasonable objection. Up to that point we should all allow that experiments on living animals, if really needed, were justifiable. But in a memorial to the Government, signed by 3,000 medical men, it was urged that by compulsory use of anæsthetics most important researches would be checked ; and it has been proved that in no less than eighteen kinds of experiments it would defeat the whole object of the experimenter. In unhappy deference to this memorial, the Act, as finally passed, contained a section giving power, on recommendation from scientific authority, to grant certificates dispensing with all anæsthetics whatever, and all limitation of the time of suffering, and delivering over the helpless animals, without the slightest protection, to the infliction at the will of the operator of any intensity and any lingering duration of pain. Now of the certificates a constantly increasing number is granted year after year, and the last returns of the inspector shows that, even so far as his imperfect knowledge went, derived from rare visits of inspection and untested returns made by the operators, nearly 1,400 experiments of this kind were performed in 1891 in England and Scotland. Even on the experiments supposed to be performed under anæsthetics we look with grave suspicion. All experts know how singularly difficult it is to secure and continue real insensibility ; and we observe the frequent use of the drug, which Tennyson has called "the hellish curari," reducing the victim to an absolutely motionless helplessness, giving full scope and safety to the operator, while its sensibility is even quickened to suffer what a leading French vivisectionist has called "atrocious tortures." But under the certificates of which I speak, no pretence of removing or alleviating suffering is made. Pain, often exquisite pain, is deliberately inflicted ; the heart has to be hardened against suffering, and even in the case of the dog, man's faithful friend, against mute and touching appeals for mercy.

For under these licenses, what is actually known to be done, and that in England ? Do not be deluded by the belief that in our own country vivisection is so regulated that no serious torture can be inflicted. Abroad, as we well know, vivisection is unrestricted—certainly by law, apparently by public opinion ; and there no one doubts that hideous cruelties are inflicted, often without even a shadow of reluctance, sometimes with a wantonness of infliction, both of physical, and what I must call mental, suffering. In England, I thank God that there is restriction of law ; and yet I must remind you that this restriction, valuable as it is, yet involves a license by authority, which makes the community itself more directly responsible. By such restriction, and, as I trust, also by force of English opinion and feeling, there is, as yet, here nothing equal in extent to what is perpetrated abroad. But still, in our own country, often in pursuance or test of these foreign experiments—for the unrestricted freedom of which some of our medical authorities sigh—animals (such as dogs, cats, monkeys, and rabbits) have their brains removed, their kidneys cut out, windows made in their stomachs, tubes containing strong irritants inserted and broken in their wretched bodies ; they are suffocated, or baked, or frozen to death ; they are inoculated with cancer, snake poison, and the virus of loathsome and painful diseases, and left to die slowly ; and all this, be it remembered, not in a few, but in hundreds or thousands of cases.

Of the truth of these facts there can be no question, for the account is taken from the reports of the vivisectors themselves.\* Yet I can imagine, in those who have not studied the subject, an almost invincible incredulity. Would you have us believe (they say) that these scientific investigators are simply fiends, delighting in torture for its own sake? Do you suppose that the medical profession—a noble profession, which has always been distinguished for its beneficence, and of which but a comparative handful of men are vivisectors—would in the same spirit of heartless cruelty support them? My answer is emphatically—No. Demoralized and hardened by this deliberate infliction of torture, I believe that the mind and heart must be. But all history shows that the most ruthless cruelties have been inflicted, not in mere selfish wantonness, but by those who believed that they were serving some great cause. It is on them that there comes the temptation “to do evil that good may come,” the belief that “the end justifies the means.” So it was in the persecutions of the Holy Inquisition in days gone by, which have passed into a proverb of exquisite cruelty, and which yet were calmly inflicted by those who thought that they were doing God service. So it is in the enthusiasm for science in the present day. Intellect, unrestrained by conscience and heart, is an infinitely cruel thing. By it men, otherwise not unfeeling men, are led to steel their hearts against natural compassion, till they disregard (as Dr. Klein admitted) all animal suffering, or even go to the hideous work (so M. Claude Bernard has it) with a positive artistic pleasure.

III.—What are the pleas of justification put forward on their behalf? They are two—the advance of knowledge, and the increase of power of beneficence to humanity.

How far those pleas bear scientific investigation I leave it for greater experts to examine. For my own part, I will but say in passing, that *a priori*, as a believer in God, I doubt them, for (to quote once more some noble words of the Bishop of Durham) I must hold that, “If He, Who made us, made all other creatures also; if they find a place in His providential plan, if His tender mercies reach to them—and this we, as Christians, most certainly believe—then I find it absolutely inconceivable that He should so have arranged the avenues of knowledge that we can attain to truths, which it is His will we should master, only through the unutterable agonies of beings which *trust* in us.” Perhaps it is not presumptuous to add, not without strong support of scientific opinion, that I doubt the validity of scientific inference from experiments on animal natures as to treatment of that human nature which in so many physical points differs from theirs. And *a posteriori* (so far as a layman can judge), while I hear much confident assertion, I fail to see that sufficient evidence has yet been given in general; and in some famous cases I see that it has been confidently offered, and then tried, and found signally wanting.

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\* In the “Nine Circles” (Sonnenschein & Co., 1892) these reports, both English and foreign, are given without note or comment. I think it right to add, that in several cases these reports have been found to be inaccurate, in regard to the statements by the operators of the use of anæsthetics. Till these are corrected, I have to suspend all reference to the work; and this inaccuracy may affect some of the instances given in my paper, which I think it right to present unaltered, with this note appended.—A.B.

But these considerations I touch only in passing, for they concern not my main argument. Suppose these pleas to be true in fact ; I deny utterly that they furnish any grounds of justification. .

The advance of knowledge—God forbid that we should decry or depreciate it ! In itself, without looking to results, it is a glory of man ; it is (be it said reverently) an imitation of God. But its claim can never be absolute. Righteousness and love are greater than knowledge. With what profound truth does the story of man's first Temptation show us how the desire of knowledge, unrestrained by the great moral law of God's will, taught to explain away that law, and refer it to a base origin, was the secret of the fall from true humanity ! We have been warned on the highest modern authority that intellectual research, especially of the physical kind, can produce a "moral atrophy," a "colour-blindness" to what is beautiful and lovely.

The increase of beneficence to suffering humanity—it is nobler still, for it is even more clearly the likeness of the God who is "Love." But yet, whether for an individual, or for humanity at large, to seek its own supposed good at all hazard of wrong-doing and cruelty to the weaker creatures of God, is surely of the very essence of selfishness ; to hold that the increase of physical comfort, the removal of physical pain, the prolongation of physical life, are the supreme objects, for the sake of which we may demoralize our higher humanity, is simply a worship of the flesh, unworthy of a true man, impossible to a true Christian ; to sin for these purposes against God's creatures, bound up with ourselves in the great chain of organic being, and committed to us as made in His image, and having a delegation of His sovereignty, is a prostitution of God-given power which is almost a sacrilege.

I submit to you, therefore, as thinking men, as believing Christians, that, even if these pleas were true, this scientific torture of sensitive creatures—for surely the plea that animals are insensible to pain is the last refuge of a desperate cause—is an abomination which cannot be justified.

IV.—I appeal on this matter to your reason and conscience. Not that I am afraid of being denounced, or treated with the usual exasperating indulgence, as a sentimentalist, even a "shrieking sentimentalist ;" for possibly a "shriek" of indignant warning to society in grave moral danger may not be a quite unpardonable sin. A man must be a poor statesman, and a still poorer moralist, who despises the right function of sentiment. It is, as I read it, a glory of Christianity, to have rescued sentiment from contempt, and to have sublimed it, by harmony with reason and conscience, to love. But it is not by the easy method of harrowing up your feelings that I would proceed. I ask you to fix your conscientious attention on one question—Is this thing justifiable before God ?

You cannot put away the question as if it did not concern you. In a country like this, all are responsible for laws which condone evil, and for the public opinion, far more powerful than even the law, which it originates and directs. And, if I may do so, I would earnestly appeal to my brethren of the clergy, who on all moral questions have so large a power, so sacred a responsibility, to think more carefully, to speak more plainly, to act more boldly, than the great bulk of them have yet done. Never was there a time when Christianity was more imperiously called

upon, even by men, to justify by moral witness its authority and its very existence.

Do not be diverted from the main question by any side issues—such as that reference to other cruelties in the common business of life, or even in its sports, which the Lord Chief Justice of England in his pamphlet tears to shreds. To use the old homely proverb, “Two blacks do not make a white.” Other cruelties there may be, and there are, though I doubt whether there is any so deliberate and so exquisite as this. By all means let those who will attack them. I, for one, will raise no voice in their defence. But it is in relation to this cruelty that I call for your thought and your sympathy, and I refuse to be turned aside to any other.

Do not be silent by appeal to scientific authority. Even on its own ground I decline to accept unhesitatingly without substantial evidence *dicta*, which have often, as it seems to me, proved to be utterly fallacious, in which the science of one day is contradicted by the science of another. But this question is a moral question. On this I absolutely refuse to put my conscience into another’s keeping; we can judge, we must judge (as we, in our turn, shall be judged), for ourselves.

Do not be troubled, again, by reference to the high character of the distinguished men who approve this practice, though happily few of them adopt it, and by the accusation of presumptuously condemning them, I, for one, have learnt from the Master Himself to “judge no man.” Yet surely from the same divine teaching (by word and by example) I learnt to be “no respecter of persons,” but to speak out boldly in the name of God against whatever seems to me, consciously or unconsciously, to break His Supreme Law of Mercy.

With a deep sense of responsibility, but without a moment’s hesitation, I call upon you to look at this question—as one of great moral and therefore religious significance—and at this alone. I do not desire here and now to suggest any special line of action. If the conscience be roused, if the mind be convinced, if the heart be touched, the will for every man will find the way of action. Look into the English law as it stands; while it so stands, maintain it resolutely against attacks upon its wholesome restrictions, and see that it is honestly and earnestly enforced. If you find, as I think you will find, that it is utterly insufficient, then—as in other like cases—work and persevere, in spite of ridicule and denunciation, to get it made what it should be. If you are forced, as I fear you will be forced, to the conclusion that practically no regulation can prevent this outrageous torture, then, at whatever cost, insist on prohibition, and so at any rate relieve the public conscience from terrible responsibility. But, as I have said, there is a power above and beyond law in public opinion, of which all here in some degree, and many in large degree, can tell. Be it ours to mould that power, as the Church has moulded it in all ages, not by the worldly wisdom of supposed expediency, not by the wisdom which trusts in cold and unrelenting intellect alone, but by the moral witness in the soul of “sin, righteousness and judgment,” which our Lord declares to be the witness to the world of the Holy Spirit of God.

VICTOR HORSLEY, Esq., F.R.S., etc., 25, Cavendish Square,  
London, W.

THE discussion on this subject at the present Congress is generally understood to have chiefly originated with Bishop Barry. Thinking the occasion a proper opportunity to explain the real character of the movement to which the Bishop has recently lent his name and influence, I accepted the invitation of the Committee with pleasure, although so disreputable is the agitation that many eminent medical men consider it should be treated with contempt alone. I shall show that not only are scientific experiments essential to the progress of medicine and surgery, but also that the anti-vivisectionist agitation is false from beginning to end. The very term vivisection is false. It connotes "the cutting up of animals alive without anæsthetics." It is dishonestly made by the anti-vivisectionists to apply to thousands of experiments in which there is not the slightest pain caused to the animal that is the subject of observation. But putting mere names aside, let us take up the two points raised for discussion, and firstly, the question of utility. I will not ask who ought to be the judges as to whether experiments are useful, because the good sense of this meeting will supply the obvious answer—namely, those alone who are fully conversant with the facts. I will therefore turn to those who consider themselves to be fit to judge upon the question. Such persons may be divided into three classes:

(1) Those who know well the sciences of physiology, pathology, practical medicine and surgery.

(2) Those who are ignorant of these sciences.

(3) Those who know something, but who deliberately falsify the facts.

To the first class belong the whole body of the honourable members of the medical profession. To the second and third classes belong the anti-vivisectionists. The unprejudiced audience I see before me will presently judge on which side and with which class rests the truth.

The utility of scientific experiments to man and the lower animals is *a priori* established by the simple consideration that as the processes and phenomena of life are chemical and physical in nature, it follows that experimental observation in the laboratory and by the bedside is the only means whereby our knowledge of that which most intimately concerns us can be extended.

Simple objective proof of this everyone can obtain for themselves by reading a text-book of physiology or of pathology, or of clinical medicine and surgery. With reference to the latter subjects, not only are they indebted to an immeasurable degree for the knowledge on which alone an accurate diagnosis can be based, but also to an unrecognized extent in so-called practical treatment.

Allegations to the contrary I have dealt with elsewhere, but for those to whom time to read the text-books just mentioned is wanting, or who, having read them, are unable to understand them, the final proof of this position is afforded in a most succinct form.

This final proof is contained in two definite resolutions passed at open public meetings of the medical profession, both International and British, and addressed to those who are interested in the progress of humanity and knowledge. The first of these two resolutions was passed unanimously in the general assembly of the International Medical

Congress in London in 1881, under the presidency of Sir James Paget, when the leaders of the profession in this and all civilized countries were assembled. The resolution runs as follows:—

“That this Congress records its conviction that experiments on living animals have proved of the utmost service to medicine in the past, and are indispensable to its future progress. That accordingly, while strongly deprecating the infliction of unnecessary pain, it is of opinion, alike in the interests of man and of animals, that it is not desirable to restrict competent persons in the performance of such experiments.”

The second resolution is specially interesting, inasmuch as it is a courteous message addressed to this very Congress from that of the British Medical Association held two months ago at Nottingham, when the following resolution was passed without a single dissentient voice, and with much enthusiasm:—

“That this general meeting of the British Medical Association records its opinion that the results of experiments on living animals have been of inestimable service to man and to the lower animals, and that the continuance and extension of such investigations is essential to the progress of knowledge, the relief of suffering, and the saving of life.”

Now you have heard the unanimous opinions of those who know the whole subject intimately, and whose verdict is consequently alone of value to minds both intelligent and honest. How far anti-vivisectionists can be considered admissible into such a category may be gauged by their reception of such irrefragable evidence. Usually they try to ignore it, but hear the kind of language with which Bishop Barry on a recent occasion thought it worthy of himself, his subject, and his audience, to describe these unprejudiced statements of fact thus addressed to him by the members of another honourable and learned profession. In a public meeting of anti-vivisectionists on June 22nd, 1892, he warned his hearers that such scientific opinions are nothing but “the arrogance of intellectual experts.”

The refutation of so discreditable a charge may appear to some a waste of time, but as Bishop Barry has never condescended to either withdraw or explain the position he has assumed, I am entitled to ask whether this Congress considers it to be intellectual arrogance for a hardworking and earnest profession, confining itself to those technical subjects of which it is of necessity the best judge, to defend itself against odious calumnies. What may we not rather say of a prelate, who, leaving his own sheep in the wilderness, embarks on a subject for which, as I shall show directly, he has no qualification but ignorance, and endeavours to support those calumnies by the authority of his position. It is by employing vituperation that Bishop Barry attempts to slur over the unanswerable facts of science.

Having given you the unanimous opinion of the medical profession I need not pursue further the subject of the utility of scientific experiments, but turn at once to the question of their morality.

*A priori* scientific experiments are in the highest degree moral, since they constitute the pursuit of truth for truth's sake. I know no higher aim in life than this. If in such pursuit pain is unavoidably caused to the lower animals, none regret it more than medical men, whose mission it is to abolish pain, but such a possibly concurrent fact in nowise invalidates the morality of our work. It is not considered

immoral to inflict pain on an animal by killing it for food ; where, therefore, is the logic in asserting that it is wrong to kill an animal to gain knowledge? In the latter case, moreover, the animal is usually anesthetized, whereas when killed for food it never is.

In short, only a Buddhist can logically and honestly assume such a position.

The Bishop of Durham has lately revived a curious dictum of Sir Charles Bell's on this subject, which was to the effect that God could never have arranged matters so that we should receive the benefit of knowledge at the cost of pain. As the point in question is one upon which the intentions of the Creator have never been revealed to us, the personal opinions of Sir Charles Bell and the Bishop of Durham, being quite unsupported, have no value as evidence, and moreover, if we may venture to judge by analogy, it will be seen that their position is directly controverted by many absolute truths which we do know, and which bear directly on the point. Thus, who can deny that the fact of millions of animals being daily doomed to be torn to pieces alive for the food of other animals constitutes a wholesale scheme of pain as an integral part of the mechanism of nature, and on such a gigantic scale as to be really beyond our conception. And when further we see, as we do, a cat or tiger tantalising its wounded and still sentient prey before finally releasing it from its agony, or when the spider entangles and starves to death the fly, not only is it clear that great suffering is inflicted for the provision of food necessary for life, but that singularly protracted and revolting forms of cruelty are permitted by the Creator for the mere pleasure of those who inflict it. With these facts before us, it must be clear to all logical and fair-minded persons that the contention of Bell and the Bishop of Durham cannot for a moment be seriously maintained. Bishop Barry, however, has thought well to endorse it on several occasions.

But if scientific experiment, falsely called "vivisection," is moral, as I have just asserted, then it follows that I must be able to prove that anti-vivisection is immoral. This I will now proceed to do, and I will show you that from base to apex the whole of the leaders of this agitation are either deliberately false, or acting on an absolutely false basis.

Who are the leaders of the agitation? They may be divided as follows:—Members of the Church: (examples) Bishop Barry, Canon Wilberforce; professional agitators: Miss Cobbe, B. Bryan; amateur agitators of the laity: Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Hutton; half-a-dozen medical men: Dr. Lawson Tait, Mr. Berdoe.

To convince you of the immorality of the actions of these leaders, a few instances will suffice.

Commencing with the Church, it has always been a matter of the utmost surprise that educated men in positions of the gravest moral responsibility, like bishops, should have in this matter descended to receive the information they require from sources of notoriously tainted character, rather than by seeing for themselves in our University laboratories what scientific experiments are in reality.

I have already referred to Bishop Barry's language and methods of carrying on this agitation; I have only to add now that, like Canon Wilberforce, he is basing his whole action on an absolutely false ground, namely, the statements of Miss Cobbe and others—a ground which he



ought to have known is false, and which a very little research would have shown him to be so. But further, it is not too much to ask of a Church dignitary that, before speaking of the scientific work of honourable men as "a moral offence," "cruelty," "demoralization," etc., etc., that he should make some slight effort to learn the outlines of the subject on which he presumes to speak with dogmatic ignorance. He stands by his own admissions convicted of having made no such effort. I charge him and his colleagues, therefore, as not only being ignorant, but with worse conduct, namely, with being culpably ignorant.

Canon Wilberforce is another example of culpable ignorance, and is even more vituperative than Bishop Barry, for having, like Bishop Barry, filled his mind with the statements of Miss Cobbe, contained in the book called "*The Nine Circles*," and which I am about to expose, he considers it justifiable and moral for him as a Christian, a priest, and a Church dignitary, to apply the epithet "inhuman devils," to men of whom he knows nothing, and stigmatizes as "abominable sin" experimental research of which he is utterly ignorant. Moreover, not only has he not made any attempt to learn the real nature of it, but has actually, when challenged to try and substantiate his allegations, deliberately suppressed the truth concerning it. As such conduct on the part of a Canon of the Church must be incredible to you, I will give you one example to prove what I say. When challenged by Mr. Sewill for using the term "inhuman devils" to describe scientific workers like my colleagues and myself, he not only refused to withdraw it, but actually repeated and extended this vile libel in applying it to one of the kindest of men, Professor Goltz of Strasburg. He quotes from this author's paper in Pflüger's "*Archives of Physiology*," giving the volume and page, referring to repeated experiments made on one dog, but if you read the original you will find that all the experiments were done under chloroform—a fact which the Canon for obvious reasons entirely suppresses. Is this honest? Is it the work of a Christian enacting his duty towards God and his duty towards his neighbour? I cannot believe that this Congress would in the least endorse the action of such men, or would commit the Church to a movement headed by Bishop Barry and Canon Wilberforce.

I say that the Canon deliberately suppressed that statement ("No," and "Withdraw.") The statement may appear incredible to you. ("Withdraw.") I have the proof. You will find that Bishop Barry quotes from this book, Miss Cobbe's book, and he nowhere says that the professor's experiments were conducted under chloroform, though that is fully stated by him. I say that statement has been deliberately suppressed. ("Withdraw.")

The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT.

THE word "deliberately" should not be used.

VICTOR HORSLEY, ESQ.

I, OF course, bow to the ruling of the President, who says I ought not to use the word "deliberately." I therefore withdraw it.

I next come to those members of the laity who may be regarded as

quasi-professional agitators, or as actually hired scribes. To the former belongs Miss Cobbe.

For some reason Miss Cobbe's statements on this matter are regarded by a number of credulous persons to be the embodiment of truth. This is the occasion to dissipate this extraordinary delusion, and at the same time to expose one of the rankest impostures that has for many years defaced English literature.

In the whole of Miss Cobbe's assertions on this subject there is to my knowledge not a single one involving scientific fact which does not either falsify that fact or convey a false impression of it—a line of agitation tactics in which she is unenviably superior. Fortunately, her disregard of truth and honesty has now been crystallized into book form, and entitled "*The Nine Circles*." This book is the text-book of Bishop Barry, Canon Wilberforce, and all the agitators of this movement, who earnestly advise its perusal. In it Miss Cobbe expressly states, for the benefit of a generous but unwary public, that the accounts of the experiments which she gives are taken from the actual descriptions furnished by the experimentalists themselves to scientific journals. For the purpose of further deceit she states in the preface that—"So far as it has been possible, the use or absence of anæsthetics has been noticed in regard to all the experiments cited in this book," and she finally invites the reader to estimate the degree of suffering incurred by the animals where anæsthetics are not stated to have been used. Let this be perfectly clear. Miss Cobbe states that the book contains accurate records of the experiments, and that special care has been taken to mention the use of anæsthetics if any such were employed.

I have now to show you that Miss Cobbe has deliberately and fraudulently misrepresented the actual facts on these points. Take, for example, the experiment given on page 66, where Dr. Shore is described by Miss Cobbe as "creating disease" by drawing blood from the crural artery of a dog and re-injecting it. The experiment lasted an hour, and an hour and a half later the dog was killed. She gives the reference to Dr. Shore's paper, but nowhere mentions that he used chloroform or any narcotic; consequently the reader is led to assume from her statements in the preface that no anæsthetic was employed, and that the dog felt the whole operation. But on referring to the original in the journal named by Miss Cobbe (here it is), you see that Dr. Shore in the first line of his description of this very experiment states that the animal was anæsthetized by both morphia and chloroform: and further, that every single one of these experiments was done, by him, under the same anæsthesia. I brand this paragraph, therefore, as a deliberate fraud perpetrated by Miss Cobbe on the readers of this book.

Is this a solitary instance? By no means, although it is of itself amply sufficient. In the book all the experiments are grouped by Miss Cobbe as English and foreign respectively. I have taken the trouble to collect from this gospel of Bishop Barry and Canon Wilberforce all the experiments in which cutting operations are described as having been performed by English scientists, and in which I knew anæsthetics to have been employed. These experiments are twenty-six in number. In all of them chloroform, ether, or other anæsthetic agent was used. But of these twenty-six cases Miss Cobbe does not mention this fact at

all in twenty, and only states it without qualification in two out of the remaining six.

When we enquire into these *twenty* omissions in the *twenty-six* cases, we find in the original that again and again Miss Cobbe has, in making her extracts, had directly under her eyes the words, "chloroform," "ether," "etherized," "chloroformed," "anæsthetised," "during every experiment the animal has been deeply under the influence of an anæsthetic," etc., etc., but has deliberately omitted them, while describing in a senseless and sensational manner the operation itself.

Do Bishop Barry and Canon Wilberforce intend any longer to father this infamous attempt to hoodwink the public? They constantly press it on their audiences as a veritable gospel, and have praised it with fulsome intemperance. Will they not now, for the sake of common honesty, make a public retraction and apology to the medical profession for having, without the least effort to learn the truth, lent their names and help to such a vile cause.

But their position is, if possible, still more unpardonable, for the unscrupulous character of Miss Cobbe's methods is no new thing. The exposure of her conduct in the trial of *Adams v. Coleridge* (*vide The Times*, Dec. 7th, 1883) ought to have made men who profess to be teachers of public morality hesitate before plunging headlong into such an abyss of mendacity and immorality.

One word more, and I have done with these heads of anti-vivisectionism. Miss Cobbe in her papers, Bishop Barry at his meetings, and indeed all chairmen of anti-vivisectionist gatherings, begin and end by invoking the God of Truth and of Mercy. As the rest of the meeting is occupied with a recital of endless falsehoods of the kind just exposed, I say that to my mind such conduct is little short of blasphemy. Does this Congress think that an atmosphere of fraud and untruth is such as should involve bishops or any members of the Church of England, or that prayer and Church offices should be employed under such circumstances?

Even hired agents are used to help at such gatherings, and I would not allude to the paid agitator of the anti-vivisectionists—Bryan—were it not for the fact that Bishop Barry, having organized a meeting at Windsor, employed this man to come down and recount the usual tissue of falsehoods, at the end of which meeting Bishop Barry expressed his gratitude to him, and concluded the evening by pronouncing the Benediction.

Such conduct on the part of a member of the Church seems to me perfectly indefensible, for, on a plain question of truth, ignorance is no excuse to anyone who has occupied the exalted position of a bishop.

Turn now to the leaders of this agitation among the laity. How do they behave in this matter, on which they express opinions professedly actuated by the highest motives of morality and humanity? Take as an example a vice-president of the anti-vivisectionists—the Duke of Newcastle. His Grace has a brother who was, at the time of the recent second epidemic of rabies, terribly bitten by a dog, which was immediately killed. The dread suspicion of hydrophobia naturally arose. How was it allayed? By consulting Mr. Lawson Tait or Mr. Berdoo, or even Dr. Arnold or Miss Cobbe? No, but by consulting me, and

where but at the Brown Institution—the constant focus of attacks by the duke's followers. The duke and his father-in-law—a Major Candy—brought the carcass of the dog there to my laboratory. I examined it, but, as usual, the naked-eye appearances were ambiguous and negative. I told the duke that it would be necessary to make inoculation experiments from the dog into rabbits, after the invaluable method discovered by M. Pasteur. The duke assented, and Major Candy used to frequently come to my house during the next month to learn the result of the inoculation experiments. These fortunately proved negative, and the minds of the patient and his friends were relieved. Now, I contend that this conduct of the Duke of Newcastle is not only despicable, but it is immoral. I may add that when I discovered his relation to this agitation I wrote a registered letter requesting an explanation from him. Of course, I have never received an answer.

I have cited this case as typical of the hypocritical character of the agitation, and let me add that every anti-vivisectionist who, when ill, calls in a doctor with nineteenth-century knowledge of medicine, is as guilty as the Duke of Newcastle of duplicity and meanness.

Now take the case of Mr. Hutton. He, as you doubtless know, is editor of *The Spectator*, and has always employed his journal for violently attacking experimental science. He actually is a member of the committee regulating the Brown Institution, and when I was the Professor-Superintendent of that charity and met him at the committee meetings, I challenged him for several years on many occasions to come and see what "vivisection" really was before he lent himself to the publication of such infamous mis-statements.

He never once came near the place. Is such conduct honest? I am sure this great Congress will say No. Then it is immoral.

I must now speak of the last class of anti-vivisectionists, viz., medical agitators, their position and behaviour.

As to position in the profession they have none, save Mr. Tait, who is an operating surgeon of great dexterity, but whose writings show him to be ignorant of science and her requirements.

As he is invariably referred to by the anti-vivisectionists, and as he writes and speaks to the general public denouncing experiments, and voting for their abolition, I will tell this meeting what is his behaviour when he has to meet his professional brethren in public who know what the real truth is.

In the first place you must know that the British Medical Association devotes six hundred pounds a year out of its funds to furthering the progress of scientific medicine and surgery. A committee of the association is appointed to consider the value of the experiments proposed, and to determine whether or no a grant should be made. Mr. Tait is a member of this committee. Last year, after he had just declaimed against science at S. James's Hall, he came to this committee. He was present during the discussion of the experiments, and during the voting of the several grants of money. Did he oppose any experiment or grant? Did he even protest? Not once. He tacitly acquiesced in everything that was done. This year he never came near the committee at all.

To take a more flagrant occasion.

At the Nottingham Congress of the British Medical Association,

when the resolution I have read was framed, it was duly advertised beforehand. Mr. Tait was in the town actively attending the meetings of the Congress. Did he come to oppose the resolution? Did he dare to publicly attack scientific experiments in the presence of those who could expose him? No, he never came near the assembly, and the vote passed without the slightest question.

I contend that Mr. Tait's conduct in this matter and agitation is not that of an honest opponent, and that in this sense his leadership is not a moral one.

Mr. Berdoo is another example of the pseudo-scientific anti-vivisectionist. For an illustration of his credibility as a medical witness, I will quote from a speech of his at the annual gathering of these agitators. Mr. Berdoo positively stated to the public meeting that medicine in its application at the bedside had not advanced a single jot beyond the knowledge and methods of Hippocrates, *i.e.*, 2,000 years ago. A more astounding falsehood cannot be conceived; but, nevertheless, Bishop Barry and Canon Wilberforce sanction this and the like statements, and Bishop Barry publicly thanked this same man for supporting his Windsor meeting.

To sum up the character of so-called medical anti-vivisectionists, let me say that, if you read medical text books, you will see that for a medical man of the present day to deny the value of experimental science in giving him that wide knowledge of the truth on which he bases his discovery and treatment of disease, is for him to deny the truth itself. Read for yourselves, and pity the man who has fallen so low.

I have now given you a few examples of the way in which this agitation is being carried on by its leaders. I have shown you how anti-vivisectionists act a double part. I have demonstrated to you that the so-called facts on which men of reputed honour, aye, even prelates, base their adherence to this agitation, are flagrant forgeries and glaring falsehoods.

I have only one word to say in conclusion. Believe me, this agitation is now only nominally a humanitarian one. It is really a phase of that thought which is constantly opposing science in the name of religion. This is year by year exhibited more and more clearly in the writings and speeches of these agitators. Every Church is in danger of being forced into a false position. Of none is this truer than of the Church of England, and in the present issue. The danger consists in the fact that a headstrong man, blind to everything but his passionate emotion, can by reprehensible ignorance, and possibly unintentional misrepresentation, gather a following and construct a schismatic party. It is such men who wish now to commit the Church to an attack upon science.

Do not be mistaken. Science is truth. Whatever is not true in scientific work is speedily found out, and as speedily expelled. Falsehood cannot survive in the struggle for knowledge, and knowledge is the basis of utility.

In nowise is this more striking than the strides that have been made in medical science and knowledge since the extension of physical experiment. By twenty years of laboratory work we now know more about infectious disease than our fathers gained by 2,000 years of bedside observation. Researches are spreading rapidly, work is being

actively pushed forward, new truths daily discovered. Though the progress of science may be hampered, her advance is inevitable.

Finally, let me on the great question of moral conduct express what must surely be a general feeling, namely, that no one, be he bishop or layman, has the right to publish defamatory statements of any man or body of men, or of their work, without amply substantiating his position beforehand; and further, that since this has now been done in the Church of England, it is incumbent on the dignitaries I have mentioned by name, that they should fully confess what is false in their recent teaching, and that they should as publicly recant and apologize for having broken the Ninth Commandment, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour."

F. S. ARNOLD, ESQ., M.B., B.CH. (Oxon.), M.R.C.S., 90, Clyde Road, Didsbury, Manchester.

I FEEL myself unable, even if I were willing, to imitate the grossly offensive tone of the last speaker.

In this country experiments on living animals would be stopped tomorrow, if it were not for the sedulous repetition by their advocates, of the statement that they are indispensable to the advance of medicine and surgery, and that to them are due many inestimable benefits conferred on man and the lower animals. The Royal Commission on Vivisection, and the Act which was the outcome of its labours, testify that in this country there is an overwhelming feeling that experiments on living animals for the mere purpose of adding to human knowledge, are unjustifiable. On the Continent a robust faith prevails; there very little is said about the benefits conferred or to be conferred on medicine and surgery by vivisection; it is a means of adding to our knowledge, and to look for further justification seems to Continental vivisectioners unnecessary and absurd. All this is, of course, only one proof out of many, that in the matter of man's duty to the lower animals, Great Britain is far ahead of any other country. Abroad, the whole matter is regarded with almost complete indifference. The vivisectioners have a perfectly free hand, and notice with amusement, not untinged with contempt, the necessity their British colleagues are under, of maintaining in season and out of season, the transcendent value of that method of research to the medical profession as healers of the sick. Professor Hermann, of Zurich, says, "The advancement of our knowledge, and not utility to medicine, is the true and straightforward object of all vivisection. No true investigator in his researches thinks of the practical utilization. Science can afford to despise this justification with which vivisection has been defended in England." That English physiologists cannot afford to despise this justification, is shown by the terms of the resolution proposed by Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson at a meeting of the British Medical Association at Nottingham a short time ago. Mr. Hutchinson moved, "That this meeting records its opinion that the results of experiments on living animals have been of inestimable service to man and to the lower animals, and that the continuance and extension of such investigation is essential to the progress of knowledge, the relief of suffering, and the saving of life." This resolution

was carried unanimously. The profession as a whole has not been, and is not, as unanimous on the subject of the utility of vivisection as was the Nottingham meeting.

Sir Charles Bell, the illustrious discoverer of the double function of the nerves, says in his "*Nervous System of the Human Body*," published in 1839: "A survey of what has been attempted of late years in physiology will prove that the opening of living animals has done more to perpetuate error than to confirm the just views taken from the study of anatomy. In a foreign review of my former papers, the results have been considered as a further proof in favour of experiment. They are, on the contrary, deductions from anatomy, and I have had recourse to experiments not to form my own opinions, but to impress them upon others." Professor Lawson Tait has expressed himself as follows:—"I have given a great deal of attention for many years to this subject, and the more I know of it, the more I become satisfied that nothing whatever has been gained by vivisection." Again, "Like every member of my profession, I was brought up in the belief that by vivisection had been obtained almost every important fact in physiology, and that many of our most valued means of saving life and diminishing suffering had resulted from experiments on the lower animals. I now know that nothing of the sort is true concerning the art of surgery, and not only do not believe that vivisection has helped the surgeon one bit, but I know that it has often led him astray."

In addition to the authorities I have cited as on our side in this matter, I may mention that fifty medical men, including one of our greatest ophthalmic surgeons and a former president of the College of Surgeons, signed the memorial presented last year to Mr. Matthews praying that a license for vivisection might not be granted to the so-called British Institute of Preventive Medicine. Every one of those fifty signatures is the result of a careful study of the subject, and of honest adherence to carefully formed opinions in the face of much obloquy and misrepresentation. The great bulk of medical opinion on the subject of experiments on animals, on the other hand, is a largely uninstructed opinion. The question whether medicine and surgery have or have not benefited by vivisection, is one that requires separate study, and not one in one hundred of those medical men who give mechanical votes in favour of vivisection at meetings of the British Medical Association and elsewhere, and think no terms of abuse too offensive to hurl at the heads of anti-vivisectionists, has given the subject the slightest special attention, or could meet Miss Cobbe in argument on the utilitarian, to say nothing of the moral aspect of the question, without being absolutely demolished. I believe that we owe to vivisection no discovery of proved value and importance either to medicine or surgery. I have shown that men of the very highest eminence in the profession have been, and are, of the same opinion. It is obviously impossible in the time at my disposal, to attempt to cover the whole ground proving a negative; I should like, however, to draw attention to three recent failures of vivisection, which I regard as typical of the unscientific, barren, and misleading nature of the practice considered as a method of research. The three failures to which I refer, are the Hyderabad Chloroform Commission, Koch's tuberculin, and Pasteurian inoculation for hydrophobia.

In the year 1889, Dr. Lander Brunton went out to India to co-operate with Dr. Laurie in investigating the subject of death during the administration of chloroform. The view of most English anæsthetists is that death under chloroform is generally due to failure of the heart's action. In Scotland, on the other hand, it is generally taught that it is the respiratory centre, and not the heart, that is at fault. This Scotch doctrine is that which prevails in India, and it was with a view to putting the matter beyond further controversy, that the Hyderabad Commission of 1889 was appointed. Drs. Lander Brunton and Laurie performed a large number of experiments on animals. Many of these experiments must, from the nature of the case, have been painless; but some, notably those performed to ascertain whether death ever occurs from shock when an operation is performed during incomplete anæsthesia, must have caused great suffering. The general conclusion come to by the Commission was that the Scotch view was right, the English entirely wrong. A report was drawn up embodying this conclusion, and recommending the observance of certain rules during the administration of chloroform, the most important of these being, that no notice was to be taken of the pulse, but the whole attention concentrated on the respiration. A brisk correspondence at once ensued in the Medical journals. Most of the English chloroformists of eminence wrote to express their absolute disagreement with the conclusions of the Commission, and to deprecate and deplore its recommendations. Some went so far as to say that if the rules laid down by the Commission were observed, the chloroform mortality would undoubtedly rise in England. Very soon after the publication of the report there did, as a matter of fact, ensue an alarming increase in the number of deaths under chloroform; whether this increase was *propter hoc* or merely *post hoc*, it is extremely difficult to say, but that there must have been some suspicion of a causal connection between the report of the Commission and the increase in the mortality, in the minds of English anæsthetists, is, I think, clearly shown by the following extracts from speeches made during the discussion on Anæsthetics, at the meeting of the British Medical Association in 1891.

Dr. Dudley Buxton, in the course of his speech introducing the discussion, said: "The Commission failed to observe primary heart-failure in its experiments, and this only was it entitled to state. It, however, went beyond this, and stated emphatically that primary heart-failure never occurred either in the lower animals or in man, and practically told the profession that deaths from chloroform need never occur save through carelessness, or when the Commission's directions were not carried out. In so saying the Commission assumed a grave responsibility, which had lulled many persons into a feeling of dangerous security when employing chloroform, and had led to a reckless use of the agent in a way open to the most severe criticism. He thought it the duty of the section to state most distinctly that the clinical evidence before them contradicted the findings of the Hyderabad Commission, and showed its conclusions to be at variance with common experience."

Mr. George Eastes said: "With regard to the report of the Hyderabad Commission, time permitted him to offer only two obvious criticisms. Dr. Brunton founded his opinions respecting the safety of chloroform entirely on his experiments on monkeys, and other lower animals.



Animals, however, were not human beings, and deductions drawn from the one set of cases could not be rigidly transferred to the other set without considerable reserve. The views of Surgeon-Major Laurie had been so widely published, and their roseate promises of easily attained safety, on the single condition of 'watching the respiration only,' had so enchanted the readers, that it might be imagined that the majority of chloroformists were endeavouring to follow implicitly the Hyderabad instructions. Especially it might be thought that this was the case in hospitals, and yet the majority of reported deaths from chloroform still occurred in those institutions."

A passage occurring in a letter from Mr. Silk, anæsthetist at Guy's and the Great Northern Central Hospitals, to *The Lancet*, soon after the publication of the Commission's report, so tersely puts the case against the utility of experiments on living animals, that I cannot forbear quoting it. Mr. Silk says: "Next, as to the regulations for human administrations which the Commission have drawn up. They are, to my mind, utterly inconsequent, entirely fallacious. I cannot possibly admit that any number of experiments on animals ought to outweigh the results of prolonged clinical experience. As Mr. Braine very aptly remarked, one positive experience should, and does, invalidate a thousand experiments."

What, then, has been the net result of the Hyderabad experiments? Either nothing, or worse than nothing. If there is any causal connection between the issue of the recommendations of the Commission, and the rise in chloroform mortality, then, clearly, those experiments have been not merely useless, but disastrous. If we reject that supposition, the result of the investigations is absolutely nil. The English and Scotch schools are each "of the same opinion still," and the unanimity of view, which the labours of the Commission were to bring about, is as far from attainment as ever.

The great Koch fiasco affords another very instructive instance of the "ignis fatuus" character of experiments on animals. Everybody remembers the announcement towards the end of 1890, that Dr. Koch had been led by some experiments on guinea-pigs to the discovery of a cure for consumption, and other forms of tuberculosis. Everybody remembers also, though there are probably some who wish it might be forgotten, how the profession went wild over this secret remedy, for such it then was, and rushed to Berlin for supplies of it, to try on the *corpora vilia* of their patients. It is unnecessary, too, to dwell on the gradual attenuation and final bursting of the Koch bubble.

Some very valuable lessons, however, are taught by the history of tuberculin which will bear emphasizing. That history places first of all in a very clear light, the utterly untrustworthy character of the argument from animals to man, and it specially emphasizes the lesson, that, when we are dealing with a new remedy, which may be dangerous, no amount of previous experimentation on animals affords the slightest protection to man. Koch sacrificed so many guinea-pigs in his experiments, that a crematorium had to be built for the destruction of their bodies. His experiments led him to the conclusion that he had discovered a cure for tuberculosis. We know now that this conclusion was entirely fallacious and untrue, but its fallacy and untruth were finally demonstrated on the human subject. Man furnished the *corpus vile*

on which the crucial experiment was tried out, and tried out on a far larger scale even than Koch's vivisections. That trial resulted in the branding of the nostrum as not only inefficacious but dangerous. In some cases the injections caused death within a few hours, from what was known as the reactionary fever; in others they undoubtedly produced an exacerbation of the existing disease, and materially accelerated the fatal issue. Cases of lupus, a localized tuberculosis of the skin, which disfigures but is not dangerous to life, were converted into cases of acute general tuberculosis. Tuberculin is now an utterly discredited and almost forgotten nostrum; but the thought of the human suffering and disappointed hope, involved in the transition from the wild enthusiasm of 1890 to the cold neglect of 1892, must be surely a very terrible one to its "discoverer." We see, then, that Koch's experiments on guinea-pigs, notwithstanding the vast scale on which they were carried out, led him to absolutely erroneous conclusions. We see, also, that those experiments not only afforded no protection, but were a source of danger to human beings. Notwithstanding the experiments on guinea-pigs, the truth of the matter had finally to be demonstrated on human bodies, and there can be no doubt that, but for the reliance unwisely placed on those experiments, the treatment would have been abandoned much sooner than it was.

Our greatest authorities on logic teach us that the argument from analogy is one that we must use sparingly and with the greatest care, if we are not to be led hopelessly astray; yet the enthusiasts for vivisection would have us trust in the main, for the advance of medicine and surgery, to arguments possessing more than the usual possibilities of fallacy. The danger of arguing from animals to man, and of this whole vivisectional method of research, when its results are sought to be applied in medicine and surgery, is shown most impressively by the history of the Koch fiasco. Here the disease to be treated was one which is unfortunately only too common and universally known, and it was impossible long to obscure the question of the efficacy or otherwise of a particular form of treatment by a cloud of figures. The case of hydrophobia is very different. Owing to the extreme rarity of the disease, and the great length and variability of the inoculation period, the problem is here very much more complicated, and it naturally takes longer before the truth of the matter, as regards the Pasteurian inoculation, becomes apparent to all men, and Pasteur's decoctions of rabbits' spinal cords follow tuberculin to that limbo from which they have only been saved up to now, by what Professor Peter, of Paris, aptly calls "an inebriation of figures."

The Pasteurian argument may be briefly stated thus. M. Pasteur has treated so many cases. Taking the mortality after mad dog bites at such and such a figure, so many (to put it algebraically, say  $x$  patients) might have been expected *a priori* to develop hydrophobia and die, but only so many (say  $y$  patients) succumbed. Therefore Pasteur has saved  $x-y$  lives. In the first place, I would point out that we are dealing here with unknown quantities, and that an argument founded on assumed values for unknown quantities is not worth much. We do not know how many patients out of every hundred bitten by rabid dogs develop hydrophobia, still less do we know how many of the patients treated at the Pasteur Institute had been bitten by rabid dogs at all, or

were in the slightest degree in danger of dying from hydrophobia. In face of the overwhelming evidence of the recklessness with which all comers have been treated at the Pasteur Institute, however weak the evidence of rabies in the animal, only those determined to be convinced could base even the most modest statistical argument on such a very rickety foundation as Pasteur's figures. The following letter from a gentleman well known in Manchester, which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of July 4th, 1889, explains pretty clearly how the portentous total of cases treated at the Pasteur Institute, on which, be it remembered, the whole Pasteurian argument hangs, has been piled up :—

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Manchester Guardian*.

“SIR,—There seems at present to be a wave in this country in the direction of Pasteurism, and it is just possible that the fashion of the hour may hastily and recklessly commit us to a Pasteur Institution in England, with all its attendant cruelty to animals, which in our soberer moments we would ultimately regret.

“I am one of those who have been treated by this system, and at the outset I would like to say that I have seldom come in contact with one whose face carries upon it the impress of patience and benevolence more than does that of M. Pasteur. His treatment, however, is not carried out by himself, but by young surgeons, bred in the school of vivisection, whose hard, callous countenances and rough, peremptory ways are in strange contrast to those of the philosophical discoverer of the system known as Pasteurism. No matter what your position is, or with whatsoever introductions you come to the Pasteur Institute, you are handed over to these young operators. You take your turn, literally *in formâ pauperis*, in a long queue in a common dispensary; twenty-four times in the course of a fortnight you pass before the youth in charge, in company with about 250 other men, women, and children from all parts of Europe, bare your side, have the essence of mad dog or mad rabbit injected into it, and then you are passed helplessly into the street. Now, one is willing to endure a good deal of what is rough and ready and even degrading if one can be assured against the possibility of hydrophobia, but this is just the sort of assurance which one does not get from a process like this. Personally, I felt far more perturbed by it than by the bite of the dog; and, although I am told one ought to feel scientifically assured by the small proportion of deaths that occur among those treated according to the Pasteur system, yet it does not satisfy me. The manner in which patients are entered in the books seems to me as rough and ready as the process by which they are inoculated. Undoubtedly a large proportion of those operated upon when I was there had not been bitten by mad dogs. One old lady had not been bitten at all; her dog had rubbed her on the face with its paws, not even breaking the skin; she had got nervous, came to Pasteur, and was duly entered and treated. In my own case, I had been bitten by a strange dog in the streets of Manchester. I had no evidence whatever of its being mad. I had immediately sucked the wound, and in ten minutes it was cauterised. My own doctor told me I was absolutely safe. To satisfy importunate friends, however, I

consulted other doctors, and was persuaded 'to go to Pasteur'—i.e., as it turned out, to the young operator from the school of vivisection. I explained carefully to him my case, and quite expected he would dismiss me as too trivial a case to deal with. I could, however, get no opinion from him, but only the curt reply, 'Do you wish to be operated upon?' and having come so far, as the shortest way out of his unpleasant presence, I said 'Yes,' and was entered in his books, and operated upon accordingly. He seemed only too eager to enter a fresh case. His eagerness to fill his book with cases from this crowd of panic-stricken, nervous subjects, collected from the face of Europe, utterly destroyed my faith in the value of those statistics upon the correctness of which the Pasteur system is now being forced upon us.

"I am not an anti-vivisectionist, but I do feel that we need much more convincing evidence, not only of the efficacy of the Pasteur cure, but of its immunity from positive danger, before establishing in England an institute for inoculating all and sundry who are bitten by dogs with this awful virus, obtained, be it remembered, by the infliction of terrible suffering on dumb animals.

"I am, etc.,

"A MANCHESTER CITIZEN.

"July 4th, 1889."

I should like briefly to examine some of the actual figures put forth in support of Pasteur in an article by Dr. Armand Ruffer in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, 1891, as I think it can easily be shown that the pro-Pasteurian argument involves us in the most preposterous absurdities, and amply justifies Professor Peter's description of it as a veritable inebriation of figures. Dr. Ruffer tells us that 8,009 cases were treated at the Pasteur Institute from 1886 to 1889. Of these 79 died, giving a percentage of mortality of 1. As Dr. Ruffer estimates the minimum mortality in cases untreated by Pasteur at 15 per cent, he is led to the conclusion that M. Pasteur has saved 1,121 lives. Now, if we follow these figures out to their logical issue, we arrive at some very curious conclusions: Taking Dr. Ruffer's estimate of mortality, and M. Pasteur's number of cases treated, we find that had the Pasteur Institute not been in existence, there would have been at least 1,200 deaths among the 8,009 cases. Now, a considerable majority of these cases are French, but we will estimate the French cases at only 50 per cent. We come, then, to the conclusion that there would have been a French mortality of 600 during the four years, or an annual average of 150. Now the French Conseil Supérieur de L'Hygiène gives us statistics of the hydrophobia mortality in France from 1850 to 1885, from which we find that the average annual mortality was 23, and the highest mortality in any one year 66.

The Pasteurians would thus have us believe that if M. Pasteur had not been at work in the Rue d'Ulm, there would have been every year since 1885 a French hydrophobia mortality more than double that occurring in the most fatal year from 1850 to 1885. I am surely not going too far when I say that such a conclusion is grossly at variance with all reasonable probability, and requires far better evidence, before it can be accepted for a moment, than the recklessly compiled figures of the Pasteur Institute.

In dealing with a subject so bristling with possibilities of fallacy as a prophylactic treatment for hydrophobia, the only safe way to arrive at a conclusion is to look at the matter in a broad and general light, and ask, Has this treatment, as a matter of fact, and not of contingency, lessened hydrophobia mortality? If we ask this question of Pasteurian inoculation, we must answer it in the negative. In France, from 1850 to 1885, an average of twenty-three persons died yearly of hydrophobia. From 1885 to 1890 inclusive, there was a yearly average of thirty-nine. In England, the total number of deaths from hydrophobia in the period 1880 to 1884 inclusive was 153, while those from 1885 to 1889 (years when many bitten people were sent to Pasteur) were 159, giving a full addition of one to the yearly average.

In all, close on 240 persons have died of hydrophobia, after undergoing Pasteurian inoculation. Failure to prevent the development of hydrophobia, is, unfortunately, not the gravest charge that can be brought against M. Pasteur's treatment. It has beyond all doubt caused the death of several patients. Professor Peter was the first to call attention to the death of several of Pasteur's patients, from a form of hydrophobia, hitherto unknown in human beings, but closely resembling that which M. Pasteur produces in his laboratory rabbits. Professor Peter's terrible indictment, "*M. Pasteur ne guerit pas la rage il la donne*," has never been met, and the responsibility of those who, after failing to bring about the establishment of a Pasteur Institute in this country, are doing their best to inflict one on India, is a very grave one. One of the most striking cases of death from paralytic rabies after Pasteurian inoculation is that of a French rural postman named Rascol, who was bitten on the 28th February, 1889, at the same time as another man, by a dog suspected of being mad. As Rascol wore two pairs of trousers, the bite did not penetrate his clothes. The other man was, however, badly bitten. Neither of the men wished to be sent to the Pasteur Institute, but Rascol was compelled by his superiors to go. From the 9th to the 14th of March he was submitted to the inoculations. On the 26th he returned to his employment. On the 12th of April he developed grave symptoms—paralysis, pains at the points of inoculation, and not at the place of the bite, for as a matter of fact he had not been bitten, and on the 14th he succumbed to the paralytic rabies with which M. Pasteur had inoculated him. The other man, who was severely bitten at the same time as Rascol, flatly refused to undergo the Pasteurian treatment, and is still alive and well.

In each of the cases on which I have touched, the matter was introduced to the public with a great flourish of trumpets as a final and clinching proof of the value to humanity of experiments on living animals.

But "Man never is but always to be blest," and the supporters of vivisection are still waiting to be blest with their crucial and conclusive case. The three complete and disastrous failures to which I have drawn attention surely demand considerable compensation, before even the most crudely utilitarian justification can be claimed for experiments on living animals.

The practice of vivisection seems to me absolutely incompatible with any true or high conception of the *ἥθος* of the medical profession. Our rôle is to save from suffering and death, not to inflict them. We have,

of course, often to inflict suffering, but it is done with a view to save the individual from death or a greater suffering. We deal with patients, not with victims. The vivisector, on the other hand, inflicts suffering, not for the benefit of the individual on whom it is inflicted, but for the prospective benefit of another. *Qua* vivisector, he deals with victims, not with patients. I cannot see how it can be denied, that the habitual dealing with victims, must have, at any rate, in many cases, a disastrous effect on the *morale* of the physician. How can we expect any but the most exceptional of men, to pass daily from the vivisectional laboratory to the hospital ward, and carry with them to the latter place none of the ideas and conceptions as to the rights of the individual, which prevail in and govern the proceedings of the former? I do not of course mean to charge all vivisectors with a neglect of the individual interests of their patients, but that the danger I have alluded to is real, is shown by the cancer-grafting experiments in Germany and France, which horrified the world about a year ago. There undoubtedly prevail on the Continent far more lax notions as to what is and what is not justifiable in the treatment of hospital patients, than the public opinion of the profession would for a moment tolerate in this country. Is it unreasonable to connect that greater laxity with the utter levity with which the sufferings of animals are as a rule regarded abroad, and the absolute freedom with which vivisection is everywhere carried on? We are asked to say how far we would allow experiments on living animals. As I believe the whole method to be, scientifically speaking, absolutely unsound and untrustworthy, I see no reason to allow them at all, and certainly so long as English physiologists are found subscribing to memorials to such men as Claude Bernard, Paul Bert, and Chauveau, and so long as it is impossible to get from them an admission that there is any point of agony beyond which it is immoral and unjustifiable to go, those who have taken this matter up, after mature consideration and careful study of the facts, are not likely to withdraw or compromise their demand for absolute prohibition. We may, at any rate, fairly demand that the supporters of vivisection shall take the initiative and show how, if the practice is allowed at all, gross abuses can possibly be prevented. The present system, under which the inspection under the Act is placed in the hands of thick and thin supporters of vivisection, can satisfy no one, and is a grotesque and unseemly farce.

Man's interests do not begin and end with his body. Health and knowledge are two most excellent and desirable things, but not even they are worth pursuing at the cost of justice and mercy. The modern tendency to deify them, to run after them as the supreme good, and to justify any and every means by which they are sought, is, to my mind, full of evil augury. Fortunately, there are not wanting signs of a reaction towards the conviction that the moral law is, after all, operative here as elsewhere, that a wrong and an injustice does not cease to be such because it is claimed that it is perpetrated in the cause of knowledge, or of health, and that, in the long run, our store of those blessings is likely to be the more increased, the more closely we adhere to legitimate means in their pursuit.

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## DR. M. ARMAND RUFFER.

I HAVE received the following telegram from Sir Andrew Clark :—"My absence arises from official engagements which cannot be set aside. My sympathies with experimental research are strong and unwavering. The law of sacrifice is the law of life, which no one can escape, and, provided it is conducted with reverence, of necessity, and under supervision, I regard experimental research not as a mere privilege, but as a moral duty. My distinguished colleague, Dr. Wilks, will take my place.—ANDREW CLARK."

IN the first place it is my duty to thank the organizers of this Congress for the high honour they have conferred on me in asking me to address you to-day, and for allowing me to stand up for the cause of humanity, of freedom in scientific research. And it requires some moral courage to defend this cause now-a-days, for there has been no controversy in this nineteenth century conducted with less regard to decency and truth on the part of those who object to science, than this controversy about the rights of scientific men to search for truth.

The late Archbishop Magee defined cruelty as "the infliction of unnecessary pain," and, if that be so, then in medicine ignorance means cruelty, for it is when we are most ignorant that we inflict most pain. On the other hand, science means humanity, for when we have acquired knowledge, then we can apply it with the least risk and pain to our patient. Science can only be advanced through research, and by scientific research I would express the working out of a problem for the sake of truth, without necessarily having in view any ultimate practical use; for every scientific truth that is discovered, be it to all appearances ever so small, ever so useless, may be followed by countless future practical applications and by priceless blessings, both to man and animals. Just as it is impossible to say what good work may be accomplished in his future career by a helpless baby, so it is impossible to foretell what germs of future blessings there may be in an apparently trivial scientific discovery.

When, in the beginning of this century, a scientific man showed that he could at will prevent the occurrence of putrefaction by purifying air, he little guessed that he was laying the foundation of a great deal of our present knowledge of pathology. And when, some thirty years ago, that great and good man, Louis Pasteur, began his remarkable work on the lower forms of the vegetable kingdom, he had no idea that in his own life-time his work would render services to humanity, such as perhaps have never been rendered by one man. Pasteur's work, as you all know, paved the way for that treatment of wounds discovered by Sir Joseph Lister, and there is not one person present here to-day in whose family, or among whose friends, suffering has not been alleviated and life saved through the application of Lister's principles. Remember though, that Pasteur's discoveries, without which Lister's treatment could never have been brought into existence, were carried out without any immediate practical object in view. In one word, his work was scientific in the strictest sense of the word, and his is a most striking example of the truth that the advancement of science is the advancement of humanity.

I should like to say a few words more about the services which that great man has rendered to mankind. All of you have heard of his treatment of hydrophobia, and of its marvellous application to human beings; you know that when a man has been bitten by a rabid animal he usually applies to Pasteur for treatment, and that in 98 per cent. at least of cases treated, either in Paris or in the kindred institutes of Odessa, Buda-Pesth, Moscow, S. Petersburg, Tiflis, Bucharest, Warsaw, Rio de Janeiro, or Constantinople, M. Pasteur's method has proved successful.

I will assume the mortality before M. Pasteur's treatment to have been 14 to 15 per cent., although I am convinced that this number is far too low. The total number of persons bitten by animals proved to be rabid from 1886 to 1891 and treated at the Pasteur Institute in Paris was 7,925, and the mortality amongst them amounts to '92 per cent. only.

Before M. Pasteur's time, the mortality among people bitten in the face varied between 64 and 80 per cent. I find that 710 persons bitten in the face were inoculated during these five years by M. Pasteur, and the mortality amounts to 3'38 per cent. only.

You have all heard the dictum of the Anti-vivisectionist Society—"M. Pasteur does not cure hydrophobia, he gives it." Do you believe that M. Pasteur's present and former assistants, who, if anybody does, know the possible dangers of the treatment, would have had themselves inoculated, if they thought there was the slightest danger of their contracting rabies? MM. Grancher, Roux, Chantemesse, Charrin, Gama-leia, Perdrix, Viala, and many other assistants and servants of the Institute, have all been inoculated, and I am happy to say that all of them are in perfect health.

M. Pasteur is not the only one who has obtained such cures, for the directors of similar institutes abroad have obtained similar, and in some cases even better, results. I will only quote one instance of what has been done in Hungary through M. Pasteur's treatment. In 1890-1891, 689 persons bitten by rabid animals were inoculated at Buda-Pesth (mortality 1'18). On the other hand, of the very few persons who declined to be inoculated, twenty have died already of rabies.

Now, thanks to the propaganda of the Anti-vivisection Societies, both in England and France, a number of people bitten by rabid animals decline even now to submit themselves to the treatment. No doubt, these anti-vivisection societies feel a kind of pride in thus preventing people from making use of a method based entirely on knowledge gained through experimentation on animals; and no one would grudge them their little triumph, were it not attended by the direst results to the *corpus vile* of anti-vivisectionist research—namely, the human patient. The following facts were reported to the Prefect of Police by an independent medical man, Dr. Dujardin Beaumetz, who is in no way connected with the Pasteur Institute in Paris:—

In the year 1887, 350 persons were bitten by rabid dogs in the Department of the Seine; of these, 306 were inoculated by M. Pasteur, and three died (mortality '97 per cent.); forty-four declined to be inoculated, and seven of these are known to have died of rabies (mortality 15'9 per cent.). In 1888, the mortality amongst those bitten in Paris and inoculated amounted to 1'29 per cent., to 1'27 in 1889; in 1890 and 1891, the mortality amongst those bitten in Paris and



inoculated (296 cases) was *nil*. On the other hand, in 1891 alone, of those bitten by the same dogs, and not inoculated, four died of rabies; thus the triumph of the anti-vivisection societies may be considered to have caused the deaths of at least ten human beings during the last five years.

I have said enough of rabies, but I should like to add a few words about what M. Pasteur has done for animals themselves. On the Continent and in England there are large tracts of pasture land in which agriculturists dare not place their cattle because there the animals almost invariably die of anthrax. M. Pasteur in 1881 discovered a method of protecting animals against this disease, and up to 1891, 320,000 head of cattle were so protected with absolutely marvellous results. In one Institute alone, in Russia, 100,000 head of cattle have been inoculated, with the result that the mortality from all causes has fallen from 10 per cent. to 1 per cent. among the animals so protected.

M. Arloing also, who is not a pupil of M. Pasteur, some years ago invented a method of protecting animals against another plague of young horned cattle, namely, quarter-evil. One fact will suffice to show his success; in the canton of Freiburg, out of 36,744 head of cattle 22,300 animals were not inoculated against quarter-evil, and 518 of them died of the disease. On the other hand, 14,444 were inoculated, and 16 only died of quarter-evil. A simple rule of three will show that had these latter animals not been inoculated, 322 would have died. Roughly speaking, 300 animals have thus been saved.

These results are sufficiently startling, but, in my opinion, they acquire increased importance from the fact that they are vouched for by agriculturists, who do not care the proverbial pin about science or theories, but who have now had practical experience of the benefits rendered to their property and to their happiness through experimentation on animals.

Mr. Arnold has said that medicine has derived no advantage from experiments on animals. Now Mr. Arnold is a graduate in medicine, that is, he owes his present position to the knowledge he has gained through experimentation on animals, for he has passed examinations in physiology. The examining boards of the Universities say to their candidates: "Before we allow you to pass to the clinical part of your studies, you must satisfy us that you know the elements of physiology, because, without them, you will become a source of danger to your patients." An examination in physiology, therefore, is to the physician, what an examination in the Gospels is to the clergyman, and most of our knowledge of physiology has been obtained through experiments on animals. Mr. Arnold went through this ordeal satisfactorily, and I would ask him this one question: "How would you and I, Mr. Arnold, have answered a single one of the questions which we answered in June, 1886, without constantly referring to the knowledge which we had gained, directly or indirectly, through experiments on animals?" I have not the least hesitation in saying that any candidate who had not based his answers on experiments on animals would, and rightly too, have been "plucked" by his examiners. The examining bodies of the Universities of all nations insist on medical men possessing the knowledge derived from experiments on animals before they pronounce them fit to exercise their profession; and it comes to this—On whose side is the balance of skilled opinion throughout the world? Are we

to take the opinion of the leaders of the medical profession in every country, or that of the ladies and gentlemen whose contributions to medical science are published chiefly in the *Manchester Guardian*, *Star*, and *Echo*?

I will not detail now the abominable statements concerning Pasteur which have been circulated in this country, but I must allude to them in passing, although I do not consider them of much importance *per se*. They have been circulated by the Anti-vivisection Societies of London and Paris, and that is equivalent to saying that they are to be taken *cum grano salis*. I refer to the statements made from time to time in the journal edited by the Anti-vivisection Society, which appear to have been made with the approval of my Lord Bishops of Manchester, Liverpool, Bath and Wells, Southwell, Wakefield, Carlisle, and others, whose names appear on the back of the paper in which these statements were first published. And, may I add, with all due deference to these gentlemen and to the clerical profession, that I do not know anything more likely to bring religion into contempt, and to prove a disgrace to the clerical cloth, than the allowing of such statements to be made under the plea of morality, and under the guise of religion; or the publication of such slanders about Dr. Poore as were circulated at a meeting opened with prayer and closing with the Benediction.

The medical men in the room will wonder perhaps that I have said nothing about the results obtained through our knowledge of cerebral localization, knowledge gained to a large extent through experimentation on animals. If I have not done so, it is because the "inhuman devil," as Canon Wilberforce has called him, who was one of the pioneers in these researches, and the first to apply successfully to man the knowledge so gained, is now in the room, and I would spare his blushes.

We have heard a great deal on many occasions about the pet argument of the anti-vivisectionists—the supposed disparity between the action of drugs on men and their action on animals. They say, for instance, that because belladonna is a strong poison to man, but not so poisonous to rabbits, therefore it is no use to experiment on the latter in order to discover what the action of the drug will be on man. Now this disparity does not exist to the extent that our opponents wish to prove. No one has ever denied that a drug may act in different ways on man and on the lower animals, but there is always more or less similarity between its action on the two classes. It is a question of degree, and not a question of kind. Every new fact which has been discovered since Darwin's epoch-making publications shows that man resembles the lower animals, not only in structure, but also in physiological action; every new fact has proved that animals are subject to the same diseases as man, and that the physiological action of drugs is in the main the same on both. There are differences between them, no doubt, but those differences are perhaps not half so great as those which exist between man and man.

Some gentlemen have said that they would rather die than make use of the knowledge acquired through experiments on animals. This statement is more to the credit of their hearts than of their good sense; for if they object to experiments on animals, they would never, I am sure, think of eating meat made tender through the mutilation of animals; they would never eat fish which has been dragged from the bottom of

the sea by a hook through the nose ; they would never think of giving cod-liver oil to sick children, for the same reason ; they would never think of driving in a carriage or cab drawn by a horse mutilated in order to render it more docile ; far less would they support, as I am told some of the clergy do, by active example, the hunting of animals or the angling of salmon for "sport." In fact, they must turn strict vegetarians. Not only so, but our knowledge of drugs has been entirely gained by experiments, either on animals or on man, diseased or healthy ; and if the Bishop of Manchester and his supporters object to making use of knowledge acquired through experiments on animals, how much more will they not object to knowledge gained through experiments on mankind ? He must, therefore, give up all treatment and all drugs, and the only thing left for this gentleman to do, should he wish to remain logical, is not only to become a vegetarian, but to join the Peculiar People ! He would then be intensely, one might almost say painfully, logical ; but, I have been taught at Oxford that logic, when not tempered with reason, is but a poor substitute for common-sense.

To conclude, the question to be answered is this : Are men of science to prosecute their researches for the good of mankind, or are they to be prevented from doing so ? I have told you a little of what has been done by medical science, but it would take me more than a day simply to indicate what yet remains to be done. One disease will suffice to show the importance of this question, namely, cancer—a good example indeed, for there are many among us here who will most surely die of this terrible disease. It has been studied at the bedside since the days of Hippocrates ; the labours of medical men, surgeons, etc., have been wasted on it ; but we must confess that at present very little is known about it further than the fact that when a human being is afflicted with this malady, his life may be prolonged for a few years, but that in the large majority of cases, he is doomed to an agonizing death. Of the cause of cancer and of its essential nature we know nothing ; microscopically it has been examined, until at last one of the workers on the subject has declared that he believes nothing more can be learnt about it by microscopical investigation. The question now is : What are we to do next ? Are we to wait until by accident a cure for the disease is revealed to us ?—in fact, go on as we have been doing for the last two thousand years, or are we to try and save some of these human lives by extending our knowledge by experiments on animals ? The answer is obvious, and he would be but a poor investigator and a poor Christian who would not attempt to throw light on this point, even at the cost of some animal suffering. Those who think that animal life and animal suffering are of as much consequence as human life and human suffering, will find their answer in the Gospel of S. Matthew (x. 31).

Before I close, I would say one word of warning to those who are now trying by every means in their power to arrest the progress of science. Have you considered what will be the judgment of future generations on you, if, through your exertions you succeed in arresting, even for a time, the development of medicine, the growth of the healing art ? Have you considered what judgment will be passed on you when the human beings whose lives might have been prolonged through extended knowledge, the acquirement of which you have done your best to delay, arise as witnesses against you ? The Lord Bishop of Manchester

has said in the pulpit that we vivisectors prosecute our researches at the peril of our souls. When the Day of Judgment is at hand, who is the more likely to be condemned—the man who has passed and indeed risked his life in trying to alleviate suffering, or the man who says to his fellow-creatures, “You shall die, rather than that an animal shall suffer”—saying this in direct contradiction to the precepts of common humanity, in direct opposition to the teaching of God.

JOHN H. CLARKE, ESQ., M.D., etc., 30, Clarges Street, London, W.

To the question propounded to this meeting, “Do the interests of mankind require experiments on living animals?” I beg to return an answer in the negative. My reasons I will now lay before you.

For the judicial mind it is of the utmost importance to be able to distinguish between opinion and fact. To-day the Church of England has, in a manner, accepted judicial functions on a most urgent question, and, at the outset, I beg of the tribunal to keep well in mind the importance of this distinction.

When a student enters the portals of a medical school, he finds there placed over him men of learning, endowed in his imagination with all possible knowledge in their several departments, and endowed in solemn earnest with the power of professional life and death so far as he is concerned. He finds these men, his demigods, exercising certain privileges, teaching certain doctrines and holding certain opinions, which he must assimilate and be able to reproduce if he is to acquire his licence to practise. Sent to these men by his parents without any hint that there may be a question as to the righteousness of anything they may do or say, how is a young boy to avoid being absorbed in the life and opinions of his school? Escape is all but impossible.

I confess I shared the common fate. I learned to look upon vivisection as a horrible necessity; but yet, a necessity. I learned to look upon the vivisectors as men who were the leaders of the profession, and those from whom such light and help as were attainable in the dark and devious ways of medicine were to be sought. It is true I saw but little of the practice. I saw frogs have their heads cut off that their still living muscles might be dissected out and experimented on before the class. Here the pain was only momentary, death being instantaneous; but the method of handling the creatures was revolting—though, as I imagined, necessary. I saw the liver cut out of a living mouse, and boiled immediately, to show to students that in the fresh state that organ contained no sugar; and it did not occur to me then that this was a perfectly unnecessary demonstration. A pigeon which had had part of its brain removed I also saw, and I supposed that the exhibition of this poor creature, still living, but robbed of all the brightness of its existence, was a necessary method of teaching me the functions of the brain. I did not then dream of questioning the prevailing opinion that experiments on living animals were necessary, and therefore right.

The first years of practice outside the shielding walls of a hospital and medical school are years of disillusionment to the medical fledgling.

Such they were to me in many particulars. The opinions I had absorbed met with many a rude shock when brought face to face with actual facts. When I came to deal myself with sick people, I found that the men and the books I had expected most help from were the least able to give me what I wanted; and of sheer necessity I found myself compelled to break loose from opinion in various directions, and set myself steadily to search for the facts.

I trouble you with these few personal matters because I wish to show you how medical opinion is generated and transmitted, and how it lives in the minds of those who do not happen to be so constituted that they can break loose from its fetters, or from some of them.

And now I must add a warning. Medical opinion is never so much to be suspected as when it is unanimous. Doctors, you know, have a proverbial right to differ: it is one of our sacred privileges which we exercise without reserve in particulars; but in generals we are frequently unanimous; and then our unanimity is truly wonderful. For ages it was the unanimous opinion of the Faculty that blood-letting was the chief method of restoring the sick to health and of keeping the healthy sound; though Moses, a better physiologist than them all, had thousands of years before declared that the blood was the life. Scarcely less unanimous were the profession in the opinion that next in value to copious and repeated blood-lettings as a remedial agent came mercurialization—an opinion epitomized by medical wisdom in the pretty phrase, "salivation is salvation." When Harvey completed, so far as he could, the hypothesis of the circulation of the blood, the medical profession was unanimous in the opinion that he was wrong: the Messieurs Purgon and Diafoirus of the time laughed him to scorn, and stigmatized him and the few who stood by him with the nickname "Circulators." And now we have the British Medical Association declaring itself at Nottingham equally unanimous in the opinion that vivisection, or experiments on living animals, have been of "inestimable service to man and the lower animals, and that the continuance and extension of such investigations is essential to the progress of knowledge, the relief of suffering, and the saving of life."

Such is the unanimous British medical opinion regarding vivisection: we will test it presently by comparing it with the practical results brought forward at the Congress which gave it expression. But before doing so, I want to make one or two points clear. In the first place, the common idea that physiological discoveries are made by simply opening up a living animal and looking into it, is completely erroneous. It is nothing so simple. Vivisection means tedious and difficult observations of animals after they have been dissected alive, and whilst they are still living; and so complicated is the process that it is the rarest thing for two experimenters to be agreed about the results of the same experiment. The next point I wish to insist upon is that there is no necessary connection between physiological discovery and improvement in medical practice. How was it that wholesale blood-letting was put a stop to? Was it by Harvey's discovery of the circulation? Not at all. It was not until two hundred years after Harvey's time that the profession gave it up, and then it was not the physiologists or the vivisectioners that introduced the innovation. To this day the most popular of medical journals bears the name of the sanguinary implement

on its title-page. The third point is, that the results of experiments on animals cannot be taken as any guide to what will happen if the same experiments are tried on man. So far from vivisection saving human beings from being experimented upon, it actually necessitates it; and one doctor a few years ago explicitly stated, in a letter published in *The Standard*, that hospital patients existed for that purpose: they were, said he, "*corpora vilia*," paying for gratuitous medical services by affording in their persons a field for the experimenting proclivities of their medical attendant.

I will now return to the Nottingham Congress. After that very sweeping resolution we should naturally expect that in the proceedings of the Congress there would be, as the outcome of vivisection, some great improvement in medical practice announced to sustain it. But there was nothing of the kind. In the department of Therapeutics (that is, the "curing" department proper as distinguished from all the "knowing" departments) there had been a grand committee appointed the previous year, with Professor W. T. Gairdner at its head, and its report was—Absolutely nothing done!

In the department of Pharmacology—the science of studying drug action by means of vivisection—a great deal was done. A certain Dr. Chadbourne, of the United States, read a paper on the pharmacology of a new kind of cocaine, having a slightly different chemical composition from the ordinary kind. (And here I would point out parenthetically the perfect free trade that exists among vivisectors—British, American, and Continental. The American Dr. Chadbourne's experiments were performed in Berlin, through the "kind permission" of Berlin vivisectors, for the edification of a Congress of British doctors.) His experiments were made on frogs and rabbits chiefly. These animals were poisoned with the drug, and then dissected alive. They had their brains and spinal cords exposed, their spinal cords cut, producing paralysis; their vagus nerves dissected out, cut and stimulated; and some of them, in addition, were put under the influence of the "hellish" curari, as Tennyson has fitly called this drug, which heightens sensation, whilst it prevents the animal from exhibiting any sign of what it feels. Mark what followed! The next step was—not to cure, but—to experiment on human beings. Through the "kindness" of a professor of surgery, Dr. Chadbourne was allowed to experiment at will on the *corpora vilia* of the professor's hospital patients. He does not appear to have hurt them much—he dropped the drug into their eyes, and found it behaved very much in the same way as the ordinary cocaine. But what had this to do with the spine and nerve cuttings and curarizing of rabbits and frogs? Nothing at all. If he had never touched an animal, but had simply dropped a little of the drug into his own eye, as he did into those of the hospital patients, he could have found out more than all his cruel experiments on the animals could have told him, namely, how it affected sensation.

This is a typical example of the absence of connection between pharmacology and therapeutics fully illustrated in Dr. Lander Brunton's book on the subject. When this ponderous tome came out, it was said by one of the medical journals to mark a new epoch in medicine. More's the pity for medicine! At the International Medical Congress of 1881, I ventured to protest against the practice of vivisection when

employed for the study of drug action. Dr. Brunton was so moved by my heretical conduct that he came to me after the meeting, and in all honesty and good faith expostulated with me on what I had done. A correspondence between us followed, and in his concluding letter he said that the study of drugs on the entire organism was too complicated an affair to make anything of; that their action must be studied on each part separately, as in Dr. Chadbourne's research. But the use of it all? Search Dr. Brunton's book and see. I defy anyone to find any connection between the experiments and the uses of the drugs that will stand analysis. Generally it is like this—which actually occurs in the book: *Stavesacre*, we are informed, kills animals by paralyzing their vagus nerves. And its use? "It is good," says Dr. Brunton, "for killing lice!" We are much obliged to you, Dr. Brunton, for the information, but most of the village dames knew that long before you were born!

Now let us come to Pathology—the science of disease. What has vivisection done to advance that during the year? Did the Nottingham congressers teach the world anything useful on this head? Professor Victor Horsley, at the dispensary for sick animals, over which he formerly presided, has done an enormous amount of cutting up of living animals in the supposed interests of pathology, and his labours in this department earned for him the position of President in the Pathological Section at the Congress in question: and yet in his presidential address he said: "Pathology as such is almost unknown among us;" and as a remedy for this state of things he urged the necessity for more vivisection. Speaking on a paper by Dr. Vaughan Harley, who as Grocers' Research Scholar has been carrying out a series of exceedingly painful pathological experiments, Dr. George Harley, another eminent pathologist, entirely endorsed the president's remarks. "More vivisection" is the unanimous demand of the Congress as the only possible remedy for all medical shortcomings. The daughters of the horseleech are not to be compared to these gentlemen in the insatiate cry, "Give, give." Nothing, or, rather, worse than nothing, comes of it all; but that makes no difference. Theirs is the argument of the venerable seller of matches; they may lose on every experiment, but it is the quantity that is going to pay. Therefore, "Give, give," is their cry.

Let us look a little at Dr. Vaughan Harley's work, paid for by the City Grocers, and carried out at Christiana and Leipzig for the delectation of the British Medical Congress.

The sweetbread is a very deeply-seated organ, and to cut it out, or experiment upon it, necessitates the opening up of the abdominal cavity, the displacement of internal organs, and a great deal of cutting and tying of deep-seated vessels and nerves. In Dr. Harley's research, sometimes the whole of the gland was cut out; sometimes part of it only. When the animals recovered from the operation they suffered from thirst and hunger, and slowly and miserably died. No good came of these experiments. We are no better able to treat diabetes, the disease they were supposed to elucidate, than we were before. All that the experimenter can say after the pain he has inflicted is this: "There is no disease richer in clinical and experimental literature than *diabetes mellitus*, and certainly none that has had a greater diversity of opinion

expressed regarding its pathology." Quite true! The more experiments, the more uncertainty, the more darkness; therefore, "Give, give"!

The same vivisector related at the same Congress another research on the "Pathology of Obstructive Jaundice." In this investigation, in order to keep the animals (dogs) alive as long as possible, his first endeavour, he tells us, was "to restrain, as far as possible, the activity in the dogs' digestive functions whilst they were under the influence of the operations." That is to say, he starved them. He gave them no food for from ten to seventy-two hours before they were operated on, and withheld it after the operation for from one to seven days. The operations consisted in opening the abdomen and tying the bile ducts and the thoracic or lymph duct. Out of nine of the animals so operated on five died from rupture of the ligatured bile duct, causing peritonitis, and two more died of peritonitis without rupture of the bile duct. And for all this dreadful work no human being is, or is likely to be, one whit the better.

That you may form an idea of the horrible torture involved in these experiments, I will refer to an incident upon which I commented some years ago. A surgeon who was so proud of his achievement that he wrote an account of it in *The Lancet*, and afterwards urged it in a letter to *The Times* as a strong argument in favour of a "free vivisection table," operated on a dog, cutting out part of its bowels, stitching the ends together, and then stitching up the opening he had made in the abdominal wall. The operation was done under anæsthetics, and therefore is called painless. But mark the fraud of anæsthetics as applied to vivisected animals. Operations on the abdominal cavity entail at the best very much after-suffering, even when the patient receives the most assiduous nursing. But what about the nursing of a vivisected animal? It is left fastened to a board—generally the board on which it has been carved. The second night after the operation in the case in question, the animal lay there, crying in pain. Its cries attracted another dog in the laboratory, which was waiting the same fate. This one broke loose from its tether, and went to help its wounded companion. It first gnawed through the cords that bound it; and then, thinking apparently that the dressings were the cause of the pain, the dogs tore them off. Then they ran round the laboratory together through the night, until the wounded one dropped from exhaustion, and was found in a dying condition from peritonitis at ten o'clock the next morning, when the surgeon visited the laboratory. This incident will help you to realize the sufferings of the animals even in the cases in which anæsthetics have been used for the first part of the operation. Hence it is that I say that the use of anæsthetics by vivisectors is, to a very large extent, a fraud on the animals.

Medical history is full of examples of the contrast that exists between the unanimous opinion of doctors as to the value of vivisection, and the facts on which that opinion is supposed to be based. I need only refer to Dr. Koch's supposed consumption cure. In the laboratory he gained from experiments certain information of the behaviour of guinea-pigs in relation to the poison of consumption. I do not deny that "information" may be gained from these experiments; but I do maintain that the information is either pernicious, or else is obtainable by



innocent means. Herophilus is said to have discovered from the vivisection of 600 criminals that man has a pulse. He could have discovered this by merely feeling his own wrist. Koch by vivisection gained information about guinea-pigs and consumption: what was the good of it? His laboratory conclusions proved fatal to numbers when tried in hospitals, as Virchow and others have abundantly proved. Again, we have heard much of the extraction of brain-tumours as being an outcome of experiments on animals, not to say on living human beings—hospital patients pressed into the service of vivisectors. On the other hand clinical observers foretold that the data for such operations was so uncertain that surgeons were not warranted in performing them, and this the event proved. The first two patients on whom the operation was tried were killed by it; and so many others have followed, that Sahli, the latest authority on the subject, condemns the operation and supports the clinical observers.\*

It may be asked, how can an intelligent and in most respects humane profession be so far wrong? I answer, it is dominated, or intoxicated, —hypnotized, if you will—by the vivisecting spirit. If the profession were quite sober on the question, how would it be possible for responsible men like Sir James Paget and Sir Joseph Lister to make the perfectly outrageous statements they have done about Pasteur's proceedings? Sir James said at the Mansion House, when advocating the establishment of a British Pasteur Institute, that M. Pasteur had saved the lives of 900 persons from dying of hydrophobia as certainly as if he had snatched them from drowning. Sir Joseph in his speech in deputation to Sir M. Hicks-Beach modestly put the figure at 12,000. These statements are simply absurd; there never was anything like such a mortality possible; and yet so dominated is the profession by the vivisecting spirit, that no word of contradiction has gone forth from its responsible organs. In defence of vivisection no statement is too outrageous. What are the facts? In France, the country most affected by Pasteur's experiments, the mortality from hydrophobia has actually *increased* since he began to inoculate for it. This is easily accounted for. Professor Peter and Dr. Lutaud have shown that Pasteur has actually killed a number of his patients by a disease of his own invention—paralytic rabies. Professor Horsley has proved that the inoculations were fatal in one of the English cases; and I have ascertained that in another the symptoms with which the patient died were entirely unlike those of ordinary hydrophobia, and corresponded accurately with those of the Pasteurian variety.

We are often told that it is only eminently scientific persons who can understand this question of experiments on living animals. I admit that it requires a certain amount of technical knowledge, not so very difficult to attain, to be able to unravel the complicated relations of medical fact and medical opinion, and to distinguish clearly the one

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\* The proceedings of the recent "International Congress of Experimental Psychology" fully sustained this view. Professor Victor Horsley having read some notes on "Experiments on the Degree of Localization of Movements and Correlative Sensations," the *Provincial Medical Journal* says: "A lively discussion ensued, in which Professors Hitzig and Henschen insisted on the great difference between man and the lower animals."

from the other : but this has now been done, and the question itself is simple enough for the humblest understanding to decide.

If vivisection were of any real benefit to mankind, surely it is human vivisection, and not that of animals, that would be the most valuable. But nothing good has come of human vivisection. Our modern Herophilis asks for animals only, though they do not scruple to use human material, with or without consent, when chance gives it them in the hospital or workhouse infirmary. Such has been the history of the cancer-grafting cases ; of the victims of the Koch consumption "cure ;" of Mary Rafferty and the man Rusticucci, whose brains, exposed by accident, proved too tempting a field for the experimenting proclivities of their medical attendants ; of the victims of the nitrite of sodium experiments ; of the boy, aged ten, "who had never in his life tasted alcohol," and who was repeatedly dosed with it by his doctor that the latter might learn the effect of alcohol on the bodily temperature ; and of the man whom the same doctor made "dead drunk" for the same purpose. It must be so ; animals differ so greatly from one another and from man, that experimenters are obliged to experiment on human beings in the end. They do not admit this ; they say, "Give us a free vivisection table, and we will save you from suffering." That is their plea. What does it amount to ? They ask to be allowed to inflict on man's poor relations—not death, which is the common lot of man and animals alike, and which need not be painful, but—unlimited pain, the worst of all evils known to them, to save man from suffering pain, which may be to him no evil at all, and which is often the direct consequence of his own wrong-doing. Shelter yourselves from suffering, they say in effect, behind the quivering bodies of our innocent mutilated victims : rob the poor man of his one ewe lamb to save your own teeming flocks. If it were true—which it is not—that they could perform what they promise, could the Church of England hesitate to pronounce judgment on a plea so infinitely mean ? A recent Diocesan Conference decided by a large majority that it did not know enough about the question to decide, and it evinced little inclination to provide itself with the information necessary. The present meeting is an assurance that the Church at large does not endorse this attitude. The great and powerful Church of England cannot afford to play the Gallio on one of the most urgent moral questions of our time. Should the cultivated and refined refuse to decide, the unlearned toilers of the land will rise up in judgment against them and will decide it for themselves.

In spite of all its faults, our country has on former occasions pioneered the world in the cause of freedom. The masses of the nation are gradually informing themselves on the question of vivisection, and are becoming less and less inclined to be blindly led by the class opinions of the medical profession. Presently they will speak with a voice that will not be mistaken. Our country—I trust with the Church's help and guidance—once more will lead the world in the pathway of right-doing, of winning justice for the oppressed, and, beginning at home, will purge itself from this, the meanest of all its crimes.

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## LETTERS.

### The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT.

SIR JAMES PAGET and Sir George Humphry were asked to speak, but they were not able to do so, and were obliged to decline. They have sent letters. Is it the wish of the audience that they should be read now? (Cries of "Yes.")

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### The SECRETARY

THEN read the following letters :—

"I, Harewood Place, Hanover Square, London, W.

"October 5th, 1892.

"MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

"I sincerely thank you for permitting me to write to you on the question which is to be discussed at the Church Congress to-morrow, as to whether 'the interests of mankind require experiments on living animals, and, if so, to what point they are justifiable?'

"I think it certain that, if the saving of lives, the maintenance of health, and the relief from pain may be reckoned among the interests of mankind, the opinion of the members of the medical profession and of other scientific men is, on this question, as nearly unanimous as is any opinion held on any subject by any large number of persons. And I think that they may fairly claim respect for their opinion, because none know so well as they do what such experiments are, and what results in scientific knowledge and in its useful applications to both men and animals have been gained by them. Especially, I think that the clergy may justly be expected to place confidence in the opinion of medical men, considering how commonly they work together in their nearly allied duties, with mutual trust and confidence.

"On the question 'to what point are' such experiments 'justifiable,' the first answer may be that, in this country—with which alone, I suppose, the Congress is concerned—the conditions under which experiments on animals may be performed are determined by the Act of Parliament passed in 1876. This Act is a stringent one; it is carefully enforced; and it renders the experiments legally 'justifiable.'

"I believe that they would be deemed reasonably 'justifiable' by any person able and willing to judge reasonably, if, instead of relying on statements which are as erroneous and exaggerated as are those by which the Church is attacked by its enemies, he would learn for himself how the experiments are done, how free from pain the greater part of them are, how slight is the distress produced by them, and what useful knowledge has by their means been attained.

"Whether they are also morally 'justifiable' is, I apprehend, only a part of the much larger question as to the degrees of pain which men may inflict on animals for any purpose whatever, as for the pleasures of sport, the luxuries of food, the acquirement of knowledge, or any other. This larger question is, I believe, not before the Congress, and I need not attempt to answer it; but I am sure that all the pain inflicted in experiments on animals in this country, is too small to be brought into comparison with that which is inflicted on them for the attainment of many of the common pleasures of our lives.

"And I would add my hope that the selection of experiments on animals as the one cause of pain to them which is appropriate for discussion in the Congress, may not in any degree tend to the supposition that the Church wishes to resume the 'timorous or averse' attitude towards science which, as your Grace has well said, she now does not hold. Many men of science will be very grateful to your Grace for the expression of your opinion on the relations between their studies and the teaching of the Church; for to many of us it has been a source of great happiness to observe the increasing evidence that natural science and religion are constantly becoming more mutually illustrative and mutually helpful.

"I beg your Grace to allow me to remain, very faithfully yours,

"JAMES PAGET.

"P.S.—Of course, your Grace will use my letter in any manner that you wish."

"Cambridge, October 4th, 1892.

"To his Grace the President of the Church Congress.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

"I would not have troubled you and the Congress with any remarks respecting vivisection, had I not been requested to do so.

"It may have come to your Grace's knowledge that I was not in favour of the subject being brought before the Congress, and that I declined to read any paper or take part in the discussion.

"I felt that the expression—perhaps in strong terms—of exaggerated views and apprehensions on the part of those little acquainted with the subject, which we find to be commonly done when it is brought before the public, would be likely to exercise an undue influence upon the minds of others also little conversant with it, so causing a prejudice against it and retarding the formation of that calm, fair judgment respecting it, which we may reasonably expect the good sense and good feeling of the English people will ultimately arrive at.

"I cannot conceive that anyone who is really acquainted with the present state of our knowledge of physiology and pathology can have any hesitation in admitting that that knowledge is, in no small degree, due to the labours of those who—more especially in France and Germany—have, carefully and in the earnest spirit of research, carried on the practice of vivisection, and that such knowledge could not in any other way have been arrived at. Further, the growing insight into that which is the most difficult, and to man the most important of all physical problems, viz., the nature and action and the mode of combating and preventing morbid processes, is attributable chiefly to the same method of investigation.

"The best hopes of medicine to promote the physical and moral welfare of mankind—I say the moral as well as the physical, for the two, as is well known, are closely associated—are in the direction of preventing disease; and the power of preventing disease depends upon a knowledge of its causes. For this knowledge we are greatly indebted to experiments upon animals.

"As the subject is to come before the Congress, I trust that—under your Grace's superintendence—the members will give it a calm and unbiassed consideration.

"I remain, my Lord Archbishop,

"Yours truly and obediently,

"G. M. HUMPHRY."

## ADDRESS.

The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT.

THE Congress will now allow me to consult them again. There was time lost at the beginning by the questions asked and answered; so you have heard none but prepared speeches upon the subject. Many cards have been sent in. The two first are those of the Bishop of Manchester, who has been appealed to in the course of the controversy, and the Bishop of Edinburgh. If it is your wish to take ten minutes more, that each bishop may have five minutes to speak to you, please indicate by show of hands.

[Thus invited, the Congress unanimously affirmed their desire to hear the right reverend bishops.]

## DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. JAMES MOORHOUSE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Manchester.

I STAND here simply to consider this question from the ethical point of view. I do not profess to be an expert, or to know anything at all about the relative utility of one kind of operation and another; but I do know, I hope, something about morals, and I beg to say that my morals differ *toto calo* from those of Professor Horsley, who began by telling us that the greatest ideal of life was the search for truth for truth's sake. My morality differs *toto calo* from his, because my idea of the purpose of life is totally different. My idea of the purpose of life is that it is to be the service of love

to God and man, and the search for truth is of no use unless it is made subservient to that great purpose. My faith is that of the great Christian poet :—

“ He prayeth best who loveth best  
All things both great and small ;  
For the great God Who loveth us,  
He made and loveth all.”

You say, “ What is the right of animals ? Have they any rights at all ? ” “ Assuredly ” I answer, “ they have. ” I do not hesitate to say what the right is. The right of an animal comes from the possession of the nature that God has given it. The animal did not make itself. Its Creator made it sensitive to pain, and giving it that sensitiveness, He gives it a right to tender treatment at the hands of all those who have intelligence enough to understand that it is sensitive to pain. This right comes from the possession by man of the power of understanding its nature. When man understands that an animal is of a nature sensitive to pain, he is bound not to give any pain to that animal if he can avoid it. I am told that we kill animals in order to obtain our food. Yes ; and the tiger does the same. What is the tiger's right to kill ? That it has an organization such that it must kill to live. If the Creator made it so, it has the right to kill. But I see from the testimony of many naturalists that it kills in such a manner as to give the minimum of pain in the act of killing. Man has the same right to kill if he needs animal food. Then, if God made us so, we have the tiger's right to kill. But if anybody will show me that I can live a healthy life without animal food, no particle of it shall ever pass my lips again. Yet I would not choose the trade of the butcher who kills the beast I eat, and, therefore, I would never go out on those hunting expeditions, which are, to my mind, nothing but a survival of mediæval barbarism. We have been told by one of the readers of the papers that we never heard of an animal having a right to its skin. Still I will tell you what right the animal has. It has the right to be deprived of its skin with the least possible amount of pain. If I heard of a man putting seals to torture, and keeping them in continuous torture to get their skins, I would condemn that man. Then we are asked about cutting off the tail of a dog. Surely that is trifling with the subject. When a man cuts off the tail of a dog—I would rather he did not—but still, when he does, he only gives it a momentary pain. How can it be said that has anything to do with what we are talking about ? We are discussing the infliction of torture for continued and prolonged periods. I say the two cases do not stand on the same basis. They have no business to be considered together. Then, again, we have been told that the law of sacrifice is the law of life, by a telegram which was triumphantly read out to us. The law of sacrifice is the law of life, but the Christian law of sacrifice is that a man shall sacrifice himself for the advantage of another, not that he shall sacrifice another for his own advantage. I am going to put a plain question. Those who believe in vivisection are commonly believers in evolution. They therefore must conceive the possibility that the present race of men will be succeeded in the ordinary evolution of life by a race as high above them as they now are above the anthropoid apes. Men are higher than the ape, and why, if evolution be true, should there not arise from our race another which is as much above us as we are above the ape ? Then if the law of sacrifice be the law of life, according to Sir Andrew Clark, the higher race will have the right to subject Sir Andrew Clark and all other medical men of the lower race to prolonged torture. for the advantage of the higher race. What possible objection could our medical experts raise to such a proceeding as that on their own principles ? Their oppressors might answer, “ We only do this to your body, and as for your spirit, if you be a child of immortality, you will rejoice in the knowledge that you are benefiting thousands of persons by your self-sacrifice. You are doing good to a race higher than yourselves, and you are working out the grand destiny which you were sent into the world to accomplish. ” What is the answer to that ? What possible plea can be urged by these vivisectionists to be spared this torture themselves ? They could only urge, “ You know that God Almighty has given us a nature exquisitely sensitive to pain, and knowing this, you have no right to subject us to torture. ” They, then, have no business to put lower animals to torture for the very same reason. I care not what the uses are, I say the proceeding is immoral in itself, and therefore cannot be justified. I now wish to speak upon that in reference to which an appeal was made to me, namely, my own statement that men who carried out these terrible experiments on living things, knowing them to be in torture, do so to the danger of their own souls. I have the greatest respect and regard for many members of the medical profession. I believe it to be a

noble profession, and I do hope God will prevent me from ever saying one word in reference to any individual member of it that is depreciatory of his character. I do not mean that by what I say ; but I mean this—just as the Spanish inquisitors were, many of them, good and saintly men, and thought they were doing good to men's spirits—a higher thing than doing good to their bodies—by burning and torturing their victims, and yet were demoralized and made callous to suffering, with or without their own knowledge, so I believe that our friends of the medical profession, who practise these experiments, become unconsciously more callous to suffering, and are therefore endangering their own moral and spiritual well-being by what they do. We are charged with objecting to vivisection because we are timorous as to the possible revelations to be made through them. I answer I am not afraid of the increase of the vivisectors' knowledge, but of the consequences of the vivisectors' acts. If our medical friends can tell us something more about life and human life, no one will rejoice more unfeignedly than I. I am not afraid of progress ; what I am afraid of is, that our medical friends are engaged in an occupation which to them is morally dangerous, and which will be morally dangerous to us if we condone it without protest. That is all I have to say about it. I will only say just one word in conclusion. If there have been any statements made by Miss Cobbe which are not true, or if she has made constructive misrepresentations by wilfully omitting that which would have altered the whole aspect of a quotation, I am sure Miss Cobbe will have courage enough to apologize for doing so, and will make such explanations as the matter demands. But I could quote from her book instances of experiments conducted under anæsthetics at the beginning, which, as the writer of a paper read here showed, were afterwards prolonged for days and weeks, and surely, no creature could live under anæsthetics for days and weeks. Though anæsthetics be given at the start, anæsthetics are not continued, and the process of torture goes on in spite of anæsthetics.

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The Right Rev. JOHN DOWDEN, D.D.,  
Lord Bishop of Edinburgh.

THERE is much that was humorous in the speech of the Bishop of Manchester, but there was much, at the same time, that was indeed very grave, in the fact that the only two speakers representative of the clergy in this great assembly have taken a particular line, which I am certain does not represent the opinion of the great majority of the clergy. Nothing, I am certain, would be more disastrous to the Church of England than that it should be generally accepted that the sentiments expressed by the Bishop of Manchester and Bishop Barry are those of the Church. The Church is not hostile to science ; the Church favours science. And then when we come simply to the question of morals, the Bishop of Manchester assumes, I think, a very lofty tone, as if he alone was the arbiter of what was right and wrong. I venture to say, after a study of ethics, which I have made in great measure the study of my life—I venture to say, from that point of view, as well as from the practical point of view, that my entire sympathies have been with the experimentalists in this question. I listened with feelings of the strongest indignation to the language which Bishop Barry has used with regard to these experiments. I happen to have the good fortune to live in a city which has a great medical school, in numbers perhaps the greatest in the United Kingdom, and in distinction not inferior to any. I have among my acquaintance men who are eminent in the medical profession, and who themselves have aided the advance of science by their experiments of the kind referred to. I know them well—and knowledge is worth any amount of speculation—I know them to be among the most kind-hearted, the most generous, the most sympathetic, and the most noble-hearted of men ; and the language which has been used of them by Bishop Barry I repudiate with indignation. But to come down to the one single point of morals. Let us take one concrete case. Of course, if a thing is wrong, it is wrong, and no more is to be said. But let us put this particular case to those who deny the right of making a painful vivisection in the case of an animal. Suppose that by putting one of the lower animals—a rabbit or a guinea-pig—to pain, or even to serious pain, we could save the town of Folkestone, or our own dear England, from the scourge of cholera, is there one who would pretend to say that we were not right in doing so ? I cannot myself breathe the very rarified air of morality with which Bishop Barry and his friends are content. It seems to me to be morality up in a balloon. I deal with the practical things of life, and there can be no question, I say,

that the substantially unanimous opinion of the medical profession settles the practical question of utility; and the ethical question you must not take on the word of these two distinguished bishops who have addressed you. There are many others, doubtless, who take a different view of the question. My sole object in speaking to-day was, not to let it go out to the world that the bishops of the Church—for there were only two that addressed you—are to be regarded as representative of the Church, when they take a line so hostile to what I believe tends to the real advancement and happiness of mankind.

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The Right Rev. BISHOP BARRY.

ALLOW me to say a word in reply to the challenge made to me on this platform. As Mr. Victor Horsley has taken the somewhat unusual line of a personal attack, and a personal challenge, I wish to say that I will hand him my paper, and if he will show me there is a statement in that paper which is unwarranted by the facts, I will withdraw that statement when my paper is printed, and I will express my regret for having made it. For obvious reasons, I do not ask this as a matter of courtesy; I ask it as a matter of right. There is my paper.

Mr. HORSLEY.

I DO not want it, thank you.

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*EXHIBITION THEATRE.*

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 6TH, 1892.

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The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY in the Chair.

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- (1) PREPARATION FOR DEACONS' AND PRIESTS' ORDERS; AND
  - (2) PREPARATION OF LAYMAN FOR EVANGELISTIC WORK.

PAPERS.

The Right Rev. JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D., Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

THAT candidates for Orders should, if possible, have a University education is an axiom with almost all educated Englishmen. The best and fullest preparation for those who are to undertake ordinary parochial work, and do not aspire to be theologians, would probably be a course in arts at the university of three or, if possible, four years, followed by a full year or more at one of the theological colleges. But if both cannot be had, it would seem better for a candidate to have three years at a university rather than two years at a theological college, even if he lacked something of the more directly professional preparation that the latter may, and often does, give in a very satisfactory manner.

This being the case, the main object of my paper is to suggest how a

candidate for Orders, of ordinary ability, should best use his time at the university. As one who was long a college tutor, and for a short time a professor at Oxford, I naturally speak most of what my experience has taught me—the life of a member of one of our older corporations.

I shall first say something as to formal studies, then a few words on other instruments of training, and, lastly, on the preparation immediately preceding Ordination.

1. *First, as to studies.*

A candidate going to Oxford should by all means pass his first examination (responsions) before entering on his residence, and should pass the second (moderations) by the end of his first year, unless, indeed, he is reading for honours in classical moderations. The latter is by all means to be advised, if a man can do well enough to take a third-class. He may then, not unwisely, spend his third year in taking a pass in the final schools if he is pressed for time. If, on the other hand, he reads for a pass in moderations, he will have two years before he can take his B.A. degree, and, if he has entered Oxford about nineteen, a third year before he can be ordained deacon. During his latter years at Oxford he will have a three-fold choice, either to take a pass degree, or to read for honours in classics or history, or to read for honours in the school of theology.

In making his choice amongst the many lines of study open to him, the candidate for Orders, whether at Oxford or Cambridge, must remember that it is to be the business of his life to know the working of men's minds—what they have thought in the past and are likely to think in the future, to be able to speak to them with some confidence and authority on moral and religious subjects, to explain, to interpret, to argue, to persuade, to convince. Much of his time will be spent in the translation of the thoughts of Christian teachers of past ages into modern and popular language, especially, of course, in the adaptation of Holy Scripture to the needs of the present day. He will, therefore, find it of little use to make any special study of mathematics, or physical science, or law, or even medicine, unless he is to be a missionary. History, whether ancient or modern, logic, and philosophy will be of the greatest advantage to him, and so will all study of languages, whether classical or living in present use.

He should strive of course, *by the way*, to have sufficient acquaintance with the terms, methods, and results of mathematical and physical science to be able to appreciate the meaning of assertions made by those who study them; *i.e.*, so as to tell whether they are stating ascertained facts or merely propounding theories which are in course of verification and development. The latter may turn out in the end to be as important as the former, but they will naturally be regarded with a different feeling. Much knowledge of this kind may be acquired by reading for recreation some of the popular books of the day (such, *e.g.*, as Wallace's "Darwinism" and Ball's "Story of the Heavens"), and talking with men who are reading for honours in any of these schools. For this reason it is good for a man, if he can afford it, to go to a largish college, where he can rub against men reading for honours in different lines.

Starting with these general principles, it is, I think, clear that if a man have the needful ability, his best course is to read for the final



classical school, which consists of philosophy and ancient history, embodied mainly in the texts of classical authors. Another useful course is open to him in the school of modern history, though the methods of teaching in that school are hardly as yet sufficiently perfected to make it of equal value. The first of these schools will give him insight into the foundations of thought, since the problems of theology and philosophy are fundamentally identical, the other will show him the connection of Church history with politics and social life. Both will broaden his mind and enlarge his sympathies above party and mere tradition.

Next in value to the final classical school, and therefore in most cases preferable to that of modern history, will be the honour school of theology, which, though not confined to students of Anglican divinity, has, in Oxford, at any rate, a strong and sound dogmatic tendency, and ought to be helpful to any candidate for Orders, unless he be too immature for it. No doubt this immaturity of some candidates is a very real misfortune. Their minds have not sufficiently fermented by contact with the great problems of life, into which history and moral philosophy would have initiated them, and their study of theology is apt to be unfruitful, possibly to drop into being mainly a getting up of books of which they cannot understand the full interest. Such immature study of theology may, on the one hand, turn out men of hard and dogmatic spirit, fancying that they know everything; or it may leave them unsettled and unsatisfied, conscious that there are preliminary problems that they have not mastered, and therefore in danger of being overbalanced by sceptical difficulties when they meet them in life or in their chance reading. The best results in this school are often achieved by those who, having graduated in honours in one of the other schools we have spoken of, take a fourth year for the theological school. But this is rather too trying an ordeal for most men.

What is really wanted for the main body of candidates is, that there should be a preliminary examination in the school of theology, including Christian evidences and the elements of moral science, in which the ethics of Aristotle would naturally find a place, and the study of heathen or imperfect religious systems.\*

I make this suggestion with diffidence, knowing that the university is naturally disinclined to new examination schemes, and jealous of over-specialization. In any case, however, the student must be on his guard as to these dangers, and do his best, with the help of his teachers, to supply the want for himself.

In recommending the school of theology, whether at Oxford or Cambridge, I do not merely consider the professional training which it gives, but I recollect the great advantage of affectionate intercourse with teachers and fellow students of high character and reputation which it opens to a young man, and the status of a candidate for honours which he thereby acquires. There is a difference, rather of

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\* I cannot help hoping that my friend, Professor Knight, of St. Andrew's, may do something in a short time to supply a manual of ethics for Christian students dealing with some of the problems of the day and of all time in a constructive spirit, which might be a text book in such a school.

kind than of degree, in the attitude of duty towards his whole university life which separates an honourman from a passman.

It is also found by experience that those who have long had their minds set on Holy Orders develop powers in dealing with Biblical and other theological subjects which are quite unexpected by those who have only taught them the rudiments of secular learning. Such a vocation is of God, and He often vouchsafes to illuminate the intellect which is devoted to Him in a manner that surpasses human foresight.

But if a man can afford a year at a theological college, and has little intellectual capacity, there is no doubt that a careful selection of pass work, such as Oxford offers him, will be of very great advantage to him as a candidate for Orders. I do not think that I am prejudiced in saying that, excellent as the Cambridge honour course, whether in secular or theological subjects, undoubtedly may be, the pass course at that university is distinctly inferior as an intellectual test to the Oxford pass, and particularly as a preparation for Holy Orders. Nor has a man who has only obtained mathematical honours usually advanced far in his real preparation for the ministry.

I have said nothing of Dublin, but, judging by what I have the privilege of knowing of the teachers in the theological school there, and of the results of their teaching on candidates for Orders who have come before me, I should have considerable confidence in recommending it. An arts degree at Dublin may be taken by examination without residence, but the Divinity Testimonium is only given after a further two years of residence. I am glad to welcome candidates bearing this Testimonium, provided they have good recommendations from headquarters, and I can conceive Oxford and Cambridge graduates in arts doing well in studying for two years at Dublin, if time allowed.

The Durham course seems unfortunately planned too much with a view to those students who are hampered by defective early training, or by want of means to reside for a full course at the University, but there should, I think, be no difficulty in accepting candidates who have both the Durham B.A. and the licence in theology. Either by itself is, I venture to think, inadequate.

King's College, London, is not at present incorporated in a teaching University for London, and therefore it lies outside my division of the subject. But I must be allowed to express a hope that the opposition to the very practical and reasonable scheme in which it is interested will not be persevered in. It seems hardly creditable to those who have fomented it, and certainly not to those of them who are members of the Church of England.

(2) I have not time to say much on the *less formal instruments for training candidates* at the universities. There is a great difficulty in the reserve which many men show as to declaring their intention to take Holy Orders. The old plan of giving notice two years or so before the B.A. degree that a man wished to have college testimonials for Orders has, I believe, unfortunately died out, and very often tutors and lecturers do not know what a man's intentions are. They may some of them think "it is not my business to ask." But it ought at least to be somebody's very real and important business. The authorities of some colleges show all proper care in the appointment of chaplains and divinity lecturers, whose duty it is to keep in touch with such men, and to find out

and direct their vocation; but others are, I regret to say, much too neglectful. Considering the very large amount of Church property and endowments in the hands of our colleges, it is not fair, either to students or their parents, that one theological tutor should be shared by a number of societies, as is sometimes the case, or a chaplain appointed who is in a distinctly inferior position to his secular colleagues. Still there is some religious person everywhere whose duty it ought to be to see every student on entrance, and find out what his intention is as to his future life. If a man has no intention, then he should be counselled to do his best with prayer and careful self-examination to find out, before the end of his first year, what work God has for him to do in the world. These private interviews should be the chief occupation of the first two days of every term to the dean, college tutor, or chaplain in charge of the religious instruction of the college, who should keep a careful register of each man's career, and be able to give a testimonial of real value to him and to the ordaining bishop when he goes out. Often a few words of prayer said at the end of such an interview may be all that is needed to open the glorious possibilities of a holy and dedicated life to a man as yet undecided. It would always tend to confirm a vocation already, by God's grace, perceived.

Much, of course, also depends upon the professors. Cambridge has, I think, gone farther than Oxford in organizing a definite voluntary course of study for graduates who desire to continue in residence without going to a separate theological college. Much good work indeed is done at Oxford by such foundations as S. Stephen's House, Wycliffe Hall, the Pusey House, and the recent institution of the Liddon and Aubrey Moore Funds, but something still remains to be desired. The inception of this Cambridge scheme is, I believe, mainly due to the present Bishop of Durham, who has done so much in different directions to supply the defects of the anomalous system into which we had drifted, or at least were drifting. Such a school, if it took firm root, would have a threefold advantage—(1) It would enable men to become really learned theologians, which they can never hope to do away from great libraries and contact with learned men; (2) it would supply the professors with audiences suitable to their abilities, and give them a stimulus which lecturing mainly for the honour school of theology, or repeating one or two courses to satisfy the bishop's requirements, does not usually do; (3) it would restore to the university the element of mature theological opinion which it has largely lost owing to the secularization of fellowships, and so to some extent balance the constant danger of rash speculation and scepticism. I may remark that the present ordinary requirements of bishops, viz., that a university graduate should bring a certificate of attendance at *two* courses of professors' lectures, is of very slight value. If it were at least *six*, and if the subjects were named—with some liberty of choice as to teachers and studies followed—both students and professors would benefit, and the bishops' examining chaplains would not so often be obliged to halt doubtfully on the line between accepting and rejecting candidates.

I suppose that at least one course each on Biblical introduction, dogmatic theology, Church history, and pastoral care, including homiletics, would be required, and that the other two would be left to the candidates' own discretion.

(3) I will end by a few words as to the *preparation immediately preceding Ordination*. It is a great boon to candidates that the bishops' examinations are now very generally separated from the Ember season by an interval of some weeks. This leaves opportunity for more spiritual intercourse and mutual knowledge between the bishop and the candidates, for something of a retreat or time of quiet devotion, for opportunities of forming a plan of life when a man has got over the paralyzing anticipation and dreaded barrier of examinations.

We have now tried at Salisbury for some years to improve even upon this—following, though at a distance, a practice of Bishop Caldwell's in Tinnevely. In Advent our candidates for Deacons' Orders spend the fortnight before Ordination continuously in my house. The first three days they have the ordinary examination. Then those who have passed it remain for a week of instruction, and then the priests, who have been previously examined, join them for three days of devotion. The instruction is chiefly in homiletics and pastoralia, and is given mainly by my friend and chaplain, Canon E. R. Bernard, whose special aptitude in such work must be known to many here. In the evening we read aloud some book, and at evensong we have a meditation or address bearing on some part of the work of the ministry. In the Ember days we have a sort of modified retreat—Holy Communion in the morning, reading at breakfast, silence up to one o'clock, a slight amount of sermon composition, and of answers to questions on a short treatise which has been read since the examinations, as well, of course, as frequent services and addresses from someone specially qualified. My own addresses are given at the Communion and in the evening, and I have also begun to give the priests certain special instructions in their own work.

I am sorry that we are at present unable to find time for this arrangement as to the week of instruction in the Ember season before Trinity or in Lent, but I am satisfied that it is an advantage to have it, if only once a year.

It is an advantage surely for the diocese as well as for the individuals who take part in it. They will never, we trust, feel shy of coming to Salisbury or to the bishop after so close an association with the place; they will look to the cathedral not merely as an official centre, but as a House of God where they can feel at home; they will understand the value of converse and intercourse with one another, and form friendships which we trust will not be lightly broken.

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The Rev. A. J. WORLEDGE, Canon Residentiary and Chancellor  
of Truro Cathedral.

SOME ten years ago, in the preface to the translation of a remarkable treatise, the "Five Wounds of the Holy Church", by that distinguished priest and philosopher, Antonio Rosmini-Serbati, the founder of the Institute of Charity, Dr. Liddon put the following question: "Is the effort to establish, and raise the standard of theological colleges sufficiently general and hearty to secure to the Church of England a highly-educated and devoted clergy in the troublous days which are probably before us?" To such a question the discussion of this

afternoon may do something towards forming an adequate reply. This paper, however, is necessarily concerned with but one department of a very wide subject. It has been arranged that I should say something on the preparation of non-graduates for Holy Orders. In this department it will be convenient to include a reference to another and distinct group of candidates for Ordination, in number at present small, but likely to become important—the students and the graduates of the new University Colleges in England and Wales, of whom Principal Rendall, the Vice-Chancellor of the Victoria University, spoke in a paper, which deserves very serious attention, at the Church Congress of 1891.

(1) *Statistics of Ordination*.—It will be convenient, first of all, to gain a clear view of the proportion borne by these candidates to the total number admitted into the sacred ministry in the Church of England year by year. Limiting our view to England alone, one feature of the statistics of Ordination is remarkable, and not altogether satisfactory. Between 1881 and 1891 the population of England increased by 2,500,000, but there has been no commensurate increase of the clergy for home work. The total number of priests and deacons ordained in 1881 was 1,435, and in 1891, 1,468. The increase was, therefore, only thirty-three, and the fact must be faced that in some of the intervening years the numbers have been larger. Moreover, it is clear that we cannot expect the universities of Oxford and Cambridge ever again to meet the full demands of the Church for her ministry. In the last decade the proportion of Oxford and Cambridge graduates never rose beyond sixty-one per cent. of the whole. In 1891 it fell to fifty-nine. A contingent of 196 graduates from other universities brought up the percentage of graduate candidates to seventy-two per cent., a figure, it may be well to observe, exactly double the number stated in a certain newspaper, anxious, no doubt, to represent the clergy in a condition of intellectual decrepitude. Nevertheless, had it not been for 383 non-graduates (among whom thirty-seven “*Literates*,” who had been to no college or institution of any kind, are included), 383 curacies would have remained unfilled, with serious results to the work and interests of the Church. To these must be added a body of about 100 men drawn from the University of London and other university colleges, which, unlike Dublin and Durham, are unprovided with instruction in Divinity. For such candidates some special preparation at a theological college would seem imperative, and the Church has, therefore, to consider annually the needs of some 500 men, without whose ministry her work in England alone could not be maintained, besides providing for the education of the students, about 120 in number, at the missionary colleges.

If, then, the supply of the clergy is to meet the demand, it is clear that the Church must seek for nearly two-fifths of her ministers from sources other than the ancient universities. And, if the Church, through her Episcopate, invites these men to offer themselves for Ordination, she is in honour bound generally and heartily to educate them for the work, and unreservedly in every diocese to welcome them to it. No one valued more highly than\* the father of the bishop who

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\* Bp. Chr. Wordsworth of Lincoln.

has just addressed us, "the benefits of training in classical and mathematical discipline and learning, and in other pursuits which," he said, in language as true as it is eloquent, "give a dignity and strength, a breadth and depth, a refinement and tact, a frankness and generosity to the character of many an English clergyman nurtured in our English universities." No one felt more keenly the necessity of the majority of our future clergy being educated in them; no one was more sensitive "to the want . . . of comprehensiveness in reading, and of largeness of views, in many" who had not these advantages; but no one believed more strongly, and in deed as well as in word gave effect to the conviction, "That the diaconate and priesthood are *vocations*; and that if a man is in God's counsel and providence called to these, we have no right to shut him out because of social position, or inability to spend three years at a university."\* But Bishop Wordsworth, while a real father in God to the numerous non-graduate students who were trained at Lincoln during his Episcopate, saw the absolute necessity of enlarging and deepening the studies of men trained in theological colleges. "To ordain men who are excellent but uninstructed is no kindness either to the ordained or to the Church."†

(2) *Training of non-graduate candidates for Ordination in the Church of England.*—What, then, is the Church of England doing to train those candidates for Ordination who do not pass through the university course at Oxford and Cambridge, Dublin and Durham? There are twenty-one institutions in which such candidates can be received. The Theological Department of King's College, London, S. David's College, Lampeter, and the Licentiates in Theology at Durham form one group, thirteen theological colleges are included in the second, and five missionary colleges in the third. In the instruction of the students and the general organization of the colleges about eighty-three clergymen and fourteen laymen are more or less actively employed. Bursaries and scholarships amounting, perhaps, in all to about £500, or at most £600, are provided in these colleges, which are, as a rule, provided with very slender endowments. From the Ordination Candidates' Exhibition Fund a few grants are annually made to non-graduate students in residence at the theological colleges, and assistance is from time to time given by Clerical Educational Aid Societies. The help given through three of these Societies is limited to candidates whose principles are strictly those of the evangelical school. For the students of the missionary colleges the provision is more generous. At Islington, the Church Missionary Society is prepared to defray all charges. At the other colleges, and notably at S. Augustine's, the sum of £2,463 was contributed during 1891 by sixty-one Missionary Studentship Associations in twenty-five different dioceses towards the support of eighty-three students, and there are also a few exhibitions available for this purpose.

And it should be known that, during the last eleven years, the Divinity professors at Oxford and Cambridge, examining chaplains to the bishops, and representatives of nearly all the theological colleges, have met in conference on five different occasions to consider how the

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\* Diocesan Addresses, 1879 and 1882.

† Dr. Liddon, *Guardian*, 12th July, 1876.

methods of preparation for Holy Orders may be improved, and have offered suggestions based on careful investigation by committees, some of which are now beginning to be adopted by the Church.

But, while we ought to acknowledge with gratitude what has been done in response to the guidance and grace of God, it is necessary to say distinctly that the conscience of the Church of England as a whole is not as yet roused to the vital importance of selecting, testing, and training candidates for the ministry, nor to the necessity of a corporate financial effort in aid of the education of any section of her future clergy, although of special acts of generosity on the part of individual bishops, priests, and laymen there have been striking, if rare, instances. In any reasonable forecast of the future we cannot forget that although, if she is true to herself and does not yield to despair, the Church of England will continue to exercise a predominant influence on the theological faculty and the religious life of Oxford and Cambridge, she can no longer claim either university or the college system in them as her own. Revenues which had been largely available for filling up the ranks of her ministry are available no longer for this purpose, and since these resources have been diverted other difficulties have arisen. The diminution of the incomes of the beneficed clergy makes it impossible for many of them to educate their sons for Holy Orders, while among the wealthier classes in the country the diminished number of candidates for the ministry has now, for several years, been a fact to which we must make up our minds. At the Leeds Church Congress in 1872, it was said by a high authority (the present Bishop of Oxford), "At the present moment a very large proportion of the young men intended for clergymen are the sons of beneficed clergymen, and of laymen who see their way to obtain benefices for their sons, and who train them accordingly (and train them well, as a rule) with a view to the office; and both these classes are able, with a little self-sacrifice, to send these sons at least to Oxford or Cambridge."\* No such statement, it may be feared, will be found in the report of the Church Congress held at Folkestone, but until the real facts of the position are more widely understood the channels of liberality will not be opened.

(3) *The efforts of other religious bodies in regard to this work.*—And, indeed, it cannot be truthfully said that the support accorded by the Church of England as a whole to the work of training men for Ordination bears favourable comparison to the interest taken in the matter either in the Roman Catholic Church or in other Christian bodies.

While we may not forget the theological departments in the University of Durham, King's College, London, and S. David's College, Lampeter, it must be admitted that the Church of England, at the present time, does not possess for the general training of her non-graduate clergy, or for the special training of graduates, any institution which, in its extent and resources, can be compared to such well-equipped colleges as those of Ushaw, Stonyhurst, S. Beuno, or Belmont in the Roman Catholic communion. In that communion, the majority of candidates for the priesthood, bound by the law of domicile as to their dioceses, or else attached to the religious

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\* Report of the Leeds Church Congress, p. 305.

orders, are partially or wholly maintained during their training at the expense of the Church or of an Order. We have nothing to correspond either with the prolonged course of classical and mathematical education in the preparatory colleges, or "little seminaries," prior to the more strictly philosophical, ethical, theological, and pastoral course in the seminaries of clerics. To the most promising of our non-graduate students we cannot hold out any expectation of completing their education in the classes of teachers so distinguished, and amid traditions so venerable as those of the Gregorian University, and the Urban College de Propaganda Fide at Rome.

The conference of "the people called Methodists, in the Connexion established by the late Rev. John Wesley, A.M.," can resolve, "That, wherever it is practicable, two collections shall be made annually in each chapel throughout the Connexion on behalf of the funds of the Theological Institution," with its four colleges, designed to accommodate 236 students, and its three years' course, to which a course of four years during the period of probation as "Preachers on trial" is added, and exceptions are very rarely made. Out of £15,407 spent during 1891 on the "Theological Institution," the Connexion made itself responsible by collections, subscriptions, and invested funds, for more than £14,000. The students contributed only £1,076 of the whole.

Among the Congregationalists, who possess eleven colleges, varied in their method and adapted to the men who are trained in them, and to the work which they are trained to do, the tuition is free; all the colleges and institutes are supported by voluntary contributions, and by private endowments and benefactions, and, in nearly every case, help is given towards the board and lodging of the students. The particular congregation recommending a candidate will often subscribe the additional sum which the student would otherwise have to pay.

In the ten Baptist colleges about 230 students are under training. From the reports of the Pastors' College, Newington, founded in 1856 by Mr. Spurgeon, we find that (to use its own language), "The work of the college has for many years been adopted by the Church at the Tabernacle as its own." The "Deacons of the Metropolitan Tabernacle" are its trustees. The students, carefully selected as those "likely to be of most service to Christ's work," are, we are told, "cared for as to temporal needs, so as to be left unembarrassed in their course of training." During the present year seventy-three students have been in residence. In the "evening classes," with an attendance of about 120 pupils, through which many students pass into the college, we learn that "Christian young men can obtain an education free of charge, the only condition being that they wish to use it in the Lord's service." In 1891, no less than £8,499 was raised for this one college, through which about 860 students have passed, and the fact is not without its lesson for Churchmen.

For, when the reports of the Ordination Candidates' Exhibition Fund, and of various other societies, organizations, and scholarships are examined, we find that, on a liberal estimate, the sum of £10,400 represents the total amount on which the Church of England can at present rely, apart from private gifts for special cases and the payments of students, for the training of her clergy in this country, graduate or



non-graduate, whether for home or foreign work. Anything like a general collection throughout the Church for the purpose is entirely unknown, and the multiplicity of small funds makes any calculation of their amount, or any forecast of their continuance, exceedingly difficult.

(4) *Colleges for non-graduates.*—Passing from the question of pecuniary assistance to the colleges, there can be but little doubt that one cause of the difficulties which are experienced in the training of non-graduate candidates is due to the multiplication of small colleges, and to the unsuitable localities in which some of them are placed. The special training required by graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, and the training needed by non-graduates, are of a very distinct type, and attempts to combine the two have not been, and, indeed, are not likely to be, successful. In regard to the former, the right lines have been evidently struck, and the right places as evidently chosen. It may, perhaps, be permitted to one who has no longer any share in it to say that, in connexion with the colleges and societies for the special training of graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, a work is being done in varied methods, and by men of different gifts, which is simply invaluable to the cause of vital religion in the Church and country. But the latter is being conducted, in spite of much conscientious labour and very real self-sacrifice, under conditions which present extreme difficulty both to the teachers and the taught. These difficulties, due in part to the number and smallness of the colleges, are unfortunately being accentuated in the Colonial and Missionary Church, and are detrimental there, if not in England, to co-operation and discipline. Any attempt to establish a seminary in every English and Welsh diocese is therefore to be earnestly deprecated. On the contrary, if it were possible to amalgamate by degrees existing institutions into a few larger ones at important centres, securing at the same time scope sufficient for teaching distinctive of the different schools of thought within the Church of England, such a step would be distinctly beneficial to the efficiency of their work.

It would be beneficial to the teaching. In the hands of a very limited staff, often burdened with other duties and responsibilities which they are obliged to discharge, the teaching cannot be as comprehensive as is imperatively required by the dignity and sympathies of the ministry, and the demands of the Church and of the age. There is also the risk of the minds of men who are, in many cases, insufficiently educated, being unduly influenced by contact, during the whole period of preparation, with only two or three teachers.

It would be beneficial to the students. It has been said that although they have not a formal degree, they have "graduated in the University of the World." For the most part, they could only reply that, through no fault of their own, the scene of their graduation has been exceedingly narrow. In colleges of seventy or eighty students, officered by principals and tutors who were sufficient in number to be in constant touch with their pupils, and were ever careful to remember that a theological college is not merely an institution in which theological lectures have to be given, and theological examinations periodically held, but a well-ordered home of spiritual, moral, and intellectual training for the most difficult work which a human being can undertake

—that of teaching and feeding the souls of others,\* it would not be theology alone which would be more adequately dealt with.

Anyone who has investigated the methods of training men in other branches of the Catholic Church, and among the principal bodies of Christians which surround it, must be struck by the poverty and stereotyped character of the course of instruction in many of our theological colleges. The conditions under which the teaching is carried on account for a state of things which is not the fault of the teachers. And yet the whole tradition of the Church of England since the days when even the "claustral" schools of the Benedictines, and of the great Mendicant Orders, were established for a time at Oxford and Cambridge, since Walter de Merton and Hugh de Balsham founded Merton and Peterhouse, and the growth of the college-system in the universities saw the rise of the secular clergy fostered by William of Wykeham, and William of Waynflete, and Wolsey, and Laud, has been against what may be called the system of the seminary. The cleavage between belief and unbelief in Belgium, France, and Italy, is a warning of its possible consequences. Men like Rosmini, or the founders and restorers of the Oratory of France, and, indeed, many other intelligent Roman Catholic ecclesiastics and laymen, have been well aware of its serious deficiencies and dangers. English Nonconformity is wisely planting its training institutions in or near the great towns, and in close connexion with the new university colleges. At University College, London, at Owen's College, Manchester, at the University College, Nottingham, students in the Nonconformist colleges make considerable use of the educational advantages which are open to them. Elsewhere, and notably at the Pastors' College, organized with singular comprehensiveness by Mr. Spurgeon, the resident tutors give a considerable amount of instruction in classics, mathematics, and English literature, which, during a lengthened course, would add immeasurably to the interest of the principal theological studies, and develop the spiritual and moral, as well as the intellectual capacity of the students. Colleges of this kind would gather around them a lasting interest and steady enthusiasm. Educated laymen, feeling that they would be likely to be permanent, would be ready to contribute towards their endowment. Sympathies would be created by the number of the students, and by the greater breadth of their studies. The clergy so trained would, consequently, be able to do, in a far more comprehensive way, and in a larger spirit, the work of the ministry. "There is no question," writes one who has had much experience of the small diocesan seminary and the greater general college, "that teachers and taught are the better for the larger life of a general college, and it is cheering to see how . . . men, whilst holding fast to the traditions in which they have been educated, yet learn, through daily contact with others, sympathy with other sides of truth. The contrast between my work at ———, where I had some five men to train, and my present work is full of instruction."

It would be quite as possible as it would be desirable still to connect some of these general colleges with certain cathedral foundations in really important centres, but, if I venture to add that, under present

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\* See Dr. Liddon's noble sermon, "The Moral Groundwork of Clerical Training."

conditions, the true work of a cathedral body is, in most instances, to assist in organizing a *pastoral* training in which the graduate students, and, perhaps, even the deacons, may become acquainted with practical methods of teaching, and learn, through instruction in certain great principles, how to minister to the wants of individual men, I might appeal for sanction to the authority of Bishop Westcott.\* Should the growing restless activity of the age, its "tumult and bustle of religion,"† leave, at last, any space for quiet devotion, deep study, and solid thought in our cathedral foundations, there may be abundant opportunity for much fruitful work in this direction in years to come.

(5) *Need of an Institute for special training in special cases.*—Among the more important needs of the Church of England, some special facilities are required for the training of special candidates for Ordination. Among the Congregationalists, in whose body the tendency is towards a distinctly higher standard for their ministers, special provision is made "for men of approved spiritual gifts, who cannot aspire to scholarship," in "The Congregational Institute for Theological and Missionary Training," at Nottingham, of which, for nearly thirty years, Dr. Paton has been the principal. There are, here and there, men of some age, of marked spiritual power and force of character, who are clearly called to the work of the ministry, and have already *proved* their ability, but who cannot pass through an ordinary college, and for whom careful training, on certain strict conditions, is needed. Again, the number of Nonconformist ministers who desire to take Holy Orders is apparently increasing. To expect many of these men to enter a theological college, and to pass "the preliminary examination," is hardly reasonable; their age, education, and experience often render these requirements unnecessary; but, surely, they should not, either for the Church's sake or their own, be ordained without a really adequate period of preparation and instruction suited to their needs. Here it is that, without the anxiety of a special organization, some of the canons in any cathedral could render service far more useful to candidates of this particular class than would be possible in any theological college.

(6) *Examination and Study.*—In a theological college, studies must always be largely determined by examinations for Holy Orders, and the first questions, surely, in deciding on the subjects and methods of examination, in view of all classes of the Ordinandi, must be, What is likely to be of the most service to men in view of the actual life and work of the priesthood? What will probably implant in these men a healthy taste for such life-long study as is essential to any efficient discharge of the duties of the ministry, as they are laid down in our own English Ordinal? What will induce a young clergyman to say, "I learnt in college how to study, and I mean now to put it into practice?" Much has been done by the bishops and their chaplains, more than the vast majority of the laity are in the least aware of, to improve, not only examinations for Holy Orders, but the conduct of the Ordinations, and of the devotional exercises which precede them. But when Bishop Westcott said, as long ago as 1871,

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\* In a paper read at the Ely Diocesan Conference, 1871. See also the "Cathedral," etc., by the Archbishop of Canterbury, pp. 109 and 126.

† Bishop of Ripon. Report of the Rhyl Church Congress, p. 27.

that the "Episcopal examination would gain immeasurably, I must believe, in efficiency and solemnity if it were less scholastic, and of a narrower range," and pointed out how, during the college course, "a series of graduated examinations might take the place of the present duplicate or triplicate examinations," he indicated a method of testing the results of study which would be far more helpful than the one which is now almost universally pursued. It is too often forgotten that success in passing an examination, even of a strict character, is by no means equivalent to the completion of a satisfactory course of training, and that, if an examination becomes the be-all and the end-all of any kind of study, but especially of a study like Theology, which touches the deepest faculties of our spiritual and moral nature, the results may be very serious. It will hardly be denied that the present system does foster "cramming"; it leads men to regard extra work, which is really necessary, as so much time thrown away; in the case of many candidates it overloads the memory at the expense of the intelligence; it tends to a rapid multiplication of small books, of the kind which Rosmini characterizes as "thin and cold;" books in which "great truths are minced up and adapted to little minds," the use of which, as he acutely points out, is the secret of a downright dislike for study. It fails, again, to bring studies into vital connexion with the pastoral charge, and the too frequent result is that when the examination for the priesthood has been more feebly passed than that for the diaconate, any serious reading and self-cultivation are relinquished. The people, as well as the priest, experience the issues of this failure in every department of ministerial work, as many a parish knows only too well.

What is needed at the theological colleges, and certainly by non-graduates, is more time for oral teaching on Holy Scripture, inexhaustible in its application to every part of ministerial work; for the study of the history of the Church as a whole, at least in its great epochs; for a wider and more philosophic treatment of Christian doctrine, in connexion with principles of worship and Christian Ethics. Opportunity is also required for deeper education in Pastoral Theology, and surely some outlines of mental science should be given to men who must be teachers. In some dioceses instruction of this kind might be continued at intervals during the diaconate, and the examination for the priesthood should everywhere be far more thorough than is now common in subjects like Pastoral Theology, Homiletics, and Christian Ethics.

(7) *Possibilities of Improvement.*—Many improvements in the training of non-graduate candidates for Ordination, as, indeed, of other candidates, can only be the work of time and patient effort, prepared for many failures, and of devout study, both of the Divine revelations and of the age in which we live. The whole question is a complex one, and change must be gradual where change is needed. But there are improvements which can and ought to be made at once.

(a) The public observance of the Ember seasons might be far more careful than it is. If in every parish where it is practicable, each Embertide were marked by a special celebration of the Holy Communion, if the private as well as public prayers of communicants were invited, not only for the candidates at that particular Ordination,

but for an increase of men really qualified for the ministry, for the universities, and for theological colleges, and for the teachers and students in them; if, from time to time, the bishops and the clergy would speak of the glory and the joy of the ministry, and of the duty of the whole Church to make it thoroughly spiritual and effective, it is certain that, in answer to such intercessions, guided by such instruction, practical interest in the work of preparation for Holy Orders would be gradually aroused.

(b) The importance of providing funds sufficient to meet the Church's obligation of giving a training as complete as may be to the future clergy can, if pains are taken, be brought home to the laity. It is, indeed, difficult to see how anything can be more important than the supply in increased numbers of a fully trained and instructed ministry, or how any duty can be more binding than that of endeavouring to remove any merely pecuniary difficulties which stand in the way of this. A direction is sometimes needed for almsgiving and offerings. It is, indeed, a duty to surround the worship of Almighty God and the lives of the people with all that is beautiful and inspiring, but the living, educated priest is more important than the stained glass, or the organ, or the reredos, or the frontal which cost £200, or the chalice which, perhaps, cost £1,000. He is also more important than the People's Hall, or the Model Coffee Tavern, or the Workmen's Club.

And without the withdrawal of a single contribution from any special or local fund, a large central fund, thoroughly impartial in its treatment of all applicants for its aid, administered by clergymen and laymen of all schools of thought, is needed. But there is no need for anyone to wait for the development of such a fund, for which the Ordination Candidates' Exhibition Fund would seem to offer a nucleus. Every existing fund is most inadequately supported. There is not a diocese in which the bishop could not make immediate use of special gifts for special candidates.

(c) If the colleges for non-graduates cannot, as things are, be amalgamated into larger institutions, it is possible to stop the weakness of further multiplication; and it is possible also to provide for the more adequate instruction of the best of their students, and of the able men who occasionally come to them from the new University Colleges. Alike in the Roman Church, in the Russo-Greek Church, in the General Theological Seminary at New York, and among the largest Nonconformist bodies, provision is made for the further training of the best men. The plan is one which is well worthy of imitation among ourselves. To take from a man of real power "who gives promise of being a great preacher, or theologian, or pastor of souls, opportunities of a thorough training, is," in the words of the late Dr. Henry Allon, "a short-sighted selfishness to be paralleled only by that of sordid parents, who for a few pence of wages will deprive a child of all education. It is to condemn our ministry to hopeless mediocrity, and to rob the Church of Christ of services which only a few men in a generation are capable of rendering." If a Nonconformist could thus speak, what efforts ought not Churchmen to be willing to make to promote the efficiency of the priesthood? It would be well worth while, pending the adoption of more organized methods, to send such men,

when thoroughly tested, to one of the Universities for one or two years, not to pass examinations, but to be brought into active, living contact with recognized authorities and great traditions.

(d) The key to this question is really to be found in an enlarged idea of the office of the Church in the education of the whole man. It is only in the truth of religion taught by those in whom a clear belief rests on a moral and spiritual basis that *all* knowledge is brought into its right relation to the will and conscience of men, and every study is completed and perfected. Therefore it is that in every department and every sphere of ministerial work, the enlarged sympathy and keen apprehension of special needs produced by a real training are of the highest value. We have, indeed, to win the heart, but, as an eminent and practical layman once said, "there is a head also which requires a reason for its faith, and requires that reason to be based upon knowledge." If the Church of England is to draw into her ministry the flower of our English youth in every rank of life, the standard must be high, and the claims must be large; the high-toned culture demanded from an English clergyman must be upheld even amid the shadows of deepening poverty, and the varied gifts of the Holy Spirit must be evidently required and generously welcomed. The non-graduate as well as the graduate has a moral claim upon the best training which the Church can provide, and the most sympathetic welcome which the Episcopate can offer. And it is a circumstance of happy omen that the President of a Congress at which this subject has been more prominently considered than at any other, should have written words well fitted to assure every man who trusts that "he is inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost," to take upon himself the responsibilities of the sacred ministry, that neither training nor welcome shall be withheld.\* "The question is not, 'Will we create a new class of clergy?' but 'Will we cultivate by mutual association, will we ennoble by familiarizing with our oldest, grandest, most beautiful seats of religion, will we train in letters, will we exercise in theology, will we form . . . by penetrating study of the Apostles, the Prophets, the Psalmists, the words and acts of the Son of God, those men who will form an inevitable, large, and a most influential class of the clergy, whether we will or no? What is our choice? If we will not form them in the great way, they will form themselves in their little way."

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THE former papers have brought the candidate for Holy Orders through his acceptance of his vocation, his probation, his examination and ordination: I take him up from that point. He has been admitted a "Deacon in the Church of God." The bishop's blessing is upon him; he has left the holy roof which sheltered him during his examination,

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\* In a Paper at the Lincoln Diocesan Conference, 1876.

and the cathedral where he took on him the "office and ministration of a deacon;" and he is now among "the people assembled in the church where he is appointed to serve."

What sort of a man do the people and parson of the parish expect him to be?

What ought they to expect him to be if they read their Prayer-books?

The people expect him of course to be a "nice young man," and he generally is that. They expect him to read the service well, to preach moderately well, to play cricket and football, to be "a good hand with the boys," and to be quite capable of keeping them to the Church and all that is right, through the perilous years between confirmation and manhood. Clubs, reading-rooms, and kindred institutions are to be his forte; and generally he is expected to be thoroughly versed in all the modern requirements of the "Ecclesiastical administration."

And what does the parson expect of him?

He generally expects him to be in all things, except blessing, absolving, and consecrating, the *alter ego* of himself: to take his turn of preaching, for instance, and of all other parish duties. The rector will visit such or such a part of the parish; the "curate" (for he is at once the curate) the other. "I, or my new curate," will see so and so, or attend this or that meeting. Except within the walls of the church, the distinction between priest and deacon, the almost paternal and filial relation between the parson of the parish and the deacon of the same, is ignored to the point of practical invisibility.

It is much to be wished that the care bestowed on the deacons during their preparation for the priesthood in the diocese of Lichfield, and now in the diocese of York, were more generally observable. Every incumbent who has a deacon for an assistant curate should be solemnly reminded, by the bishop, of the grave responsibility he undertakes; and unless he consents to regulate the deacon's work, and especially his preaching, and allow him adequate time for a real preparation for the priesthood, permission to give a title should be refused.

The regulations with regard to deacons' sermons, in particular, received grateful acknowledgment from the deacons themselves, who felt the value of the care and guidance bestowed on them by their bishop.

We have seen what parson and people expect of the deacon nowadays. Shall we look to see what the Prayer-book expects of him? For if there be anything wrong or out of gear in our present methods, we shall never get it right unless we refer to the Prayer-book. That must be our standard. According to the Prayer-book, then, the deacon is to *assist* the priest in divine service, and especially when he ministereth the Holy Communion, and to help him in the distribution thereof; to *read* the Holy Scriptures and Homilies in the church, and to *instruct* the youth in the catechism; in the absence of the priest, to *baptize* infants; if admitted thereto by the bishop, to *preach*; to *search for the sick*, poor, and impotent people of the parish, to intimate their estates, names, and places where they dwell unto the curate, that by his exhortation they may be relieved with the alms of the parishioners and others.

All these things he is to do *gladly and willingly*.

As to his qualifications, he is to be "learned in the Latin tongue, and sufficiently instructed in Holy Scripture."

It is evident that the diaconate—the gate of the priesthood of the Most High God—is intended to be a "Gate of Humility"; like the entrance to the famous monastery of Monte Casino, a lowly passage cut in the rock.

The whole idea of the deacon's work, according to the Prayer-book, is "assisting" the priest, being by his side. He is to help the priest—not to take an independent part—in divine service, and in parochial visiting. He may take a subordinate part in teaching, by instructing the *youth* in the catechism; the instruction of the parishioners at large by preaching he is not to take part in, unless admitted thereto by the bishop. And he may baptize infants "in the absence of the priest," not otherwise.

Here is no cure of souls, no independent responsibility for the flock of Christ, but only an "assisting" of the priest in *his* work. The whole tone of the "Form and Manner of the Making of Deacons," points to the diaconate being an order of this assisting and subordinate nature.

But when we turn to the "Form and Manner of Ordering of Priests," we feel ourselves in a different atmosphere altogether. The candidates for the priesthood are reminded of the high dignity and the weightiness of the office and charge to which they are called: they are to be messengers, watchmen, and stewards of the Lord; "the sheep of Christ" are committed to their charge; the Church and congregation they must serve is the spouse and body of Christ; and they are warned that if the same Church or any member thereof take hurt or hindrance by reason of their negligence, their fault is great and they are responsible.

And when the bishop lays his hands on the head of everyone that receiveth the order of priesthood he uses these solemn words: "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and of His Holy Sacraments. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

All this may be quite familiar to the clergy. I have reason to think that it is not familiar to a large number of the laity. What I want to emphasize is the very great difference, in the eyes of the Church, between the orders of deacon and priest. Too many of the laity have never had this great difference sufficiently brought under their notice. Until people understand for what offices candidates for holy orders are being prepared, they can never form a right judgment as to the proper methods of securing an adequate and appropriate preparation.

I do not intend to enter on the vexed question of what is called the "Permanent Diaconate," except to say that in my opinion, in the face of the hopes held out to the deacon by the note at the end of the service, to the effect that it must be declared unto him that he must under ordinary circumstances, "continue in that office the space of a



whole year," and still more in the face of the use which the Church makes of S. Paul's words to Timothy, "They that have used the office of a deacon well purchase to themselves a good degree," it appears to me very difficult to close the door of the priesthood to any duly qualified deacon.

The true method of dealing with this question seems to be to recognize what the Church of England in her Prayer-book makes sufficiently plain, viz., the different scope of the orders of deacon and priest, the subordination of the one, the dignity and responsibility of the other. The real difference of the two orders being recognized, the differentiation of the preparation for them follows as a natural consequence. This is no doubt the case to some limited extent already; but I believe only to a very limited extent. I should not be far wrong if I said that the examination for deacon's and priest's orders only differed in being practically first and second examinations for the same thing.

As I have appealed to the authority of the Prayer-book on one point, I must not deprecate that authority on another. But I would, with great earnestness, submit to the judgment of the Church whether a longer probation than one year, for the priesthood, would not be a decided advantage, at any rate in the great majority of cases.

How does the matter actually stand? It is "declared" to the deacon at his ordination that he must ordinarily continue in that office for the space of a whole year. The wise, useful and cautious words "at the least" (*i.e.*, a whole year at the least) which appear in the earlier Ordinals were omitted in the revision of 1662. There was, no doubt, a great want of clergy after the troubles of the Commonwealth, and the urgency of bringing deacons forward to the priesthood was correspondingly felt; but our wants at the present day lie in a different direction. Quality rather than quantity is what we need in the clergy. The enlarged sense of the responsibility of all the baptized to take their share in the work of the Church, if fostered by a capable clergy, may be trusted to provide for those lower offices, that "serving of tables," in which so much of the time of our clergy has been hitherto engulphed. However, although these words are now omitted, there is no obligation on the bishop to promote a deacon to the priesthood at the end of the year, especially if he have not in that time become "perfect, and well expert in the things pertaining to the ecclesiastical administration." If he be found "faithful and diligent" in executing this, his diocesan "may" admit him to the priesthood, but even in that case is not obliged to do so. It may fairly be maintained that the learning and practice required for the very responsible office of the priesthood will in many cases—may I not say the majority?—require more than a year to attain.

"One thing at a time" is a very good motto: familiar to men of business, and often the secret of their success. I would apply the same principle to the preparation for Holy Orders. Let the layman who has a vocation prepare for the diaconate; let the deacon prepare for the priesthood. I do not think that the slight delay which this might involve in the promotion of some deacons to the priesthood would be otherwise than a great advantage to the Church. How often do laymen groan under the inexperience, and consequent necessary

inefficiency, of the young priest! And what chance has the young priest had of real preparation for his office? He has passed his examination for the diaconate, and during his year of probation—it really is practically nothing else, by whatever name it may be called—he has had no time to learn the duties either of deacon or priest. He has been rushed into the duties of a curate: sermons—not one, but often several a week—unsupervised parish visiting, alms distributing, mission-church preaching—have all crowded his time; his days have been given to the parish, and sometimes late hours of his nights, when mind and body are wearied out, to “reading for priest’s orders.” It is no wonder—it is really not his fault—if he be somewhat “raw” after his Ordination. Would it not be better in most cases to give him another year to “turn round” in: to learn his actual duties, to prepare for his future ones, to “master his soul” (*posséder son âme*), to know himself, before the irrevocable vows are upon him, and he takes on himself the office of a priest of the Most High God?

The very name of *πρεσβύτερος* suggests not youth but age—experience, and even ripe judgment.

The circumstances of our Church, too, suggest—if they do not require—this deliberation in the matter of ordaining to the priesthood. Most other Churches catch their candidates young; from early youth they are destined to the priesthood. In the seminary the vocation is tested, and if found to be insufficient or wanting, the intending candidate can be transferred to a secular calling. Consequently, candidates who present themselves at the age of twenty-two or twenty-three may be supposed to be fully fixed in their determination to undertake the clerical life, while their years of seminary training have given them a complete and intimate knowledge of the duties which will be required of them, so that a year’s diaconate before priesthood may in their case be sufficient.

How widely different is the preparation of our young men for Holy Orders! Before the taking of the B.A. degree at Oxford or Cambridge, no special training whatever; and then the “reading for Orders,” not very special either. I am not going into particulars; but all who know about it will acknowledge that this reading is largely of a general character; and that if “Pastoral Theology” be one subject in which examinations are inadequate, and do not touch principles, the study of the “Pastorate” itself is too often not attempted at all.

I will confess, however, that with all its abundant drawbacks, I prefer the latter to the former system in principle. I say, “with all its drawbacks”; I do not say with all its present deficiencies.

The bright side of our system is the frank cordiality towards every symptom of good—whether actual or potential—in human nature, which it leaves in the ordained. The drawback is the leaven of worldliness and want of definiteness in purpose which is apt to survive in them. On the other hand the professional expertness of the seminary-bred priest is a poor exchange for the real—if somewhat unprofessional—sympathy which is the characteristic of the English priesthood. It would be an evil day for the Church of England if, in the desire for improved preparation for Holy Orders, we abolished or abridged the healthy “mixed” education of clergy and laity, which is the strength of the Christian Faith among our race.

But this "mixed" education is not at present all that could be wished. Experience of the ordinary university man shows that the average result "leaves much to be desired." And it is not only with respect to special religious knowledge that serious deficiency exists. With respect also to ordinary Bible knowledge there is usually far less than there ought to be; and the same may be said even as to secular subjects of literary culture and business-like aptitude. Here is a vital point to which strenuous effort should be directed—effort which should be not only strenuous, but under good superintendence and supervision. And if the Bible be an almost unknown land to too many young men now, the structure and history of the Prayer-book are an absolute blank. How much of our late ritual controversies might have been spared if the clergy had been even moderately well informed on liturgical subjects! And not only is sacred learning needed by our clergy, but ordinary knowledge of secular subjects is really imperatively demanded. No one should expect the clergy to be scientific astronomers, geologists, Orientalists, biologists, or what not; but their knowledge should be up to the average on these subjects. The same may be said also of business-like aptitude. I am sometimes inclined to think that a year in a bank or in the army would be a very useful part of the preparation for Holy Orders.

The specialized education now so much in vogue fails to develop many of the intellectual and moral faculties. A "clerk" formerly meant a man who could read. Now that everyone can perform that almost mechanical mental operation, the "clerk" of the present day should be one who can read the inner meaning of all knowledge. He should still, if possible, be ahead of the laity in this truly spiritual science.

What hinders this desirable consummation? Many things hinder. Readers of former papers have stated some of the difficulties which stand in the way, and some means of overcoming them. They have left it to me to add some observations on the peculiarly lay subject of—money. Nothing can now be done without money. This is a difficulty which I believe has assumed a particularly aggravated form in modern—almost in our own—times. It is a growth of our modern complex civilization—of the extreme specialization of every department of our life.

And the Church is under another disadvantage: one which is the result of what passes with some people for progress. I mean that she is now practically deprived of all those means of helping poor lads and young men which she formerly possessed at the universities, under the names of sizarships, bible clerkships, exhibitions, etc., etc. Our poor students have been robbed of these in favour of young men who can afford to be "crammed" for them. The loss, not only to the Church, but to the nation, is great. There are, no doubt, some places where, under new schemes of re-constructed grammar schools and the like, "ladders of learning" have been re-erected. They are most useful, and we should be most thankful for them.

But what I want to impress upon the laity in this audience is that these new ladders of learning which have supplanted the old avenues by which the poor of our land were enabled to gain distinction in Church and State—then almost the same thing under different names—do not, like their predecessors, lead to the ministry of the Church. If the

laity wish for a competently educated ministry for the ever-expanding wants of our ever-increasing population, they must provide the means. This, ladies and gentlemen, is not charity; it is not generosity; it is duty.

Duty is a word which is said to appeal to Englishmen more than any other. It has done so in the past; if it still do so, here it calls aloud. The Church herself calls. She sows her spiritual things broadcast, but she, like her Master, is poor. Yes, whatever men say, she is poor in comparison with the work before her, and which she would fain do.

But why labour this point? Steady, systematic, adequate help is needed for getting this work done. It rests with us lay folk to say—"It shall be done."

## ADDRESSES.

The Rev. Prebendary GIBSON, Principal of Wells Theological College.

THE branch of the subject allotted to me is the special preparation of graduates, more especially in connection with theological colleges, and in the limited time at my disposal I shall touch on but a small part of this subject. The point which I am anxious to emphasize is this:—That the time has come when it is not only theoretically advisable, but also practically possible for the Church to insist on a course of special training for the Holy Orders from all graduates, over and above their University course for their degree.

(1) *It is theoretically advisable.* It is difficult to know whether it is necessary to spend time in endeavouring to establish this. But so long as the evidence of a degree and the certificate of formal attendance at two courses of Divinity lectures remain the sole requirements demanded by the bishops, there will always be a certain number of people who will doubt whether anything further is needed. It is well, therefore, that we should remind ourselves that, though we acknowledge with the warmest gratitude that much, very much, is done by resident tutors and Divinity professors at the Universities, yet we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that it is perfectly possible, under the present system, for a man to have had literally no training of any kind for the life and work of the Ordained minister of God. The possession of a degree gives no guarantee to the Church that its owner has made any study at all of theology. Why, he may have gone out with an *agrotat* in Botany! And as to the certificate of attendance at two courses of professor's lectures, after what has fallen from our chairman, I need not say much. I will only remind you that *attendance* does not necessarily mention *attention*, and that, probably, the experience of everyone here is that presence of body is perfectly compatible with absence of mind. It may, perhaps, be said that most of the professors have an examination at the end of their course of lectures, but it can, I think, hardly be seriously maintained that the ability to answer satisfactorily a few questions on two courses of lectures is any adequate evidence of study of theology. Still, if it was only the study of theology that we had to think about, it might, perhaps, be enough that the man was able to pass the bishop's examination. But it is *Ordination* rather than *examination* for which men have to be prepared. It is not only subjects for examination which have to be "got up," it is a life that they have to learn to live. And the really serious thing is, that under our present system there is no security

that the solemn character and responsibilities of the ministerial office have ever been brought before the man who is looking forward to Holy Orders, and that no attempts whatever may have been made to test his true vocation. Tutors and Divinity professors may do all that they can, but a certain proportion of the men will always slip through their fingers. Some will be restrained by shyness and reserve from seeking their help, while others, and those just the men who need this help most, will purposely keep out of their way because they don't want to be influenced by them. Moreover, in too many cases, it must be admitted that the conditions of university life are not favourable to that training in self-discipline and in habits of devotion which is absolutely necessary if the man's ministry is not to end in disaster and failure. These striking words were written by Dr. Liddon many years ago :—"They pass—a continuous stream of life and energy, from the lectures, the boats, the unions, the college chapels, the haunts and associations which are often too degrading to bear mention—to the pulpits, the death beds, the altars of the Church of Jesus Christ. They may have escaped, in its most repulsive form, 'The corruption that is in the world through lust.' They may, in better moments, have made a real effort to rise 'on eagles' wings,' and in renewed strength, to Him Who made the soul for Himself, and Who alone can unfold and satisfy its complex faculties and its mysterious instincts. But the atmosphere in which they move chills and repels the efforts of Divine grace; the well-pointed sarcasm, the suppressed look of pity of some intellectual acquaintance of whose society they are proud, no less than the rude joke of the boon companion to whom they defer without respecting him, all this does its work in counteracting influences which might help men at our Universities on the road to heaven, and even prepare them, in a measure, to acquire the temper and experience of the guide of souls."\*

Between twenty and thirty years have passed since these words were written, and yet they are still true. To this day, all that is required of graduates by our bishops is the evidence of degree and the formal certificate of attendance at two courses of Divinity lectures. To judge by their printed instructions to candidates for Holy Orders, anything more than this is, in the eyes of the authorities of the Church, a work of supererogation. I do not know of a single bishop who even goes so far as to give a gentle hint in his instructions that a course at a theological college is desirable where it can be obtained.

(2) But if special training is theoretically advisable, and I believe that in spite of their formal instructions our bishops and their examining chaplains, with scarcely an exception, would maintain that it is, is it *practically possible* for the Church to insist on it? I believe that it is, and that only one thing is necessary to this end, viz. :—to convert the bishops to this belief. It is, probably, not generally known how large a proportion of graduates now ordained, do, as a matter of fact, secure additional training for themselves, either at some recognized theological college, or under the guidance of the Dean of Llandaff, to whose devotion in this cause the whole Church owes a debt of gratitude. Statistics on this matter have, so far as I know, never been published. You won't find them in that store-house of statistics, the Official Year Book of the Church of England. Owing, however, to the kindness of the principals of the theological colleges, I am able to supply the following facts, which are, I think, of interest and importance. The number of graduates ordained deacon is, I believe, about 450 annually, certainly not above 500. Of this number, for the last three years, an average of from 210 to 220 annually have been to a theological college after taking their degree. To this number must in fairness be added, as an

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\* "The Priest in his Inner Life," p. 3.

unknown quantity, those men who stay up at the university to read theology after taking their degree, though without attaching themselves to any recognized institution, as well as those who secure some special training either as lay readers or by reading privately with some parish priest. With the addition of these to the numbers just quoted, I think that we shall be *under* rather than over the mark if we say that, as things are now, fully *one-half* of the total number of graduates ordained secure for themselves some training beyond that involved in the University course for the degree. This is surely an encouraging fact. If, without any pressure, one might almost say without any encouragement at all, from the authorities, so large a proportion can secure it, is it over-sanguine to believe that with a little pressure the other (and, as I believe, the smaller) half would secure it too? I know the familiar objection that will be urged. It will be said that the money difficulty is in the way, and that if you raise your requirements you will diminish the supply. I believe that the difficulty is greatly exaggerated, and that the obstacle is largely an imaginary one. It is overcome in the professions of the world; why cannot it be overcome in the Church as well? What medical man would dream of entering on his work without a course of special training, because he was possessed of a university degree? Again, the difficulty is largely overcome already. It is no uncommon case for a man to feel the need of training and to take a tutorship or mastership for a time, in order to raise funds to take him to a theological college. They are not always the richest men, or the men whose fathers can best afford it, who go to the theological colleges now. They are, as a rule, the men who are most in earnest. But so long as the bishops do not require anything more than a degree, of course the money difficulty will be a formidable one. So long as he thinks it a work of supererogation for his boy to go to a theological college, paterfamilias will button up his pocket, and say that he can't afford it. And you can scarcely blame him for it. He looks on it, as he sees that the ecclesiastical authorities look on it, as a luxury; and he has got no money to spare for luxuries. But let him find out that it is a *necessity*, and then he may grumble, he may complain, but in most cases he will find the money for it. There will, of course, always remain some cases where the difficulty will really be a formidable one. But these the Church ought to be able to help; and, after what has fallen from previous speakers, I need say less than I had intended on this point. One fact, however, I ought to mention; a beginning has already been made. This very year a devout layman has given £250 for an indefinite period, to help men to secure special training at the University of Cambridge or elsewhere. This sum has been met by others, so that the committee which has the disposal of it has already been able to grant exhibitions to ten men to enable them to secure this training. What has been done at Cambridge might surely be done at Oxford as well. Anyhow, with a little resolution and a little determination, the Church might roll away the reproach that she is the only body in Christendom which does not require some course of professional training before admission to the full ministry.\*

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\* See the "Report of the Second Conference upon the Training of Candidates for Holy Orders, held in the Chapter House of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, 1882," p. 2.

The Rev. PAUL PETIT, M.A. (Warden of the S.P.C.K.  
Training College for Lay Workers, Stepney; and Mission  
Chaplain to the Bishop of Bedford.)

“THE Preparation of Laymen for Evangelistic work” is the title of the special subject entrusted to me. It is a title which will, I am sure, have an encouraging sound for many ears.

I.—It reminds us that special evangelistic work is being done by the Church, and that the Church recognizes the importance of it. The Church is not content with simply ministering to her own members and those who of their own accord become such: she must do this, but she must go out into the highways and the byways of our land, and compel men to come in. She has a duty to seek to rouse the careless, and to reclaim the degraded. She has this duty, and is seeking to carry it out, and desires to improve her methods, so as, under God's blessing, to multiply her success. Of all this we are reminded by the subject now before us.

II.—But further, my title speaks of laymen being used for such work. When, in the eighteenth century, the piety of the Wesleys brought this plan into prominence, it seemed novel; so much had the methods of an earlier age been lost sight of. But, as the Church of the second and third centuries, in the face of growing work, added its readers and sub-deacons to the original threefold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons, so the Church of the present age is surely justified in licensing its readers and evangelists to meet the work of our own day. We now have these workers in hundreds, giving their whole time and being supported by Church funds; their efforts are fast becoming part of the Church's scheme of work, many of them acting with licence of the bishop of the diocese in which they are placed.

III.—Further, my title speaks of preparation for such men. The Church has for some years been offering, in one way or another, training and instruction to men willing to serve as lay workers. She can rejoice that in answer to her call many earnest men from all parts of the land are offering to devote their lives to God's work, and that in a spirit of proper humility they are willing to submit to a course of teaching and training. It would be a sad mistake to suppose that, because a man has an unfeigned love for God, and a zealous desire to work for the conversion of erring souls, any further preparation is superfluous. The best and most earnest men need mental preparation, and training of the character and disposition. It is a matter for rejoicing that the Church esteems this training of so much importance as to justify to-day's public consideration of the matter.

The work of training laymen is not entirely new. As I have said, it has been carried on for some years in more than one place, and in more than one way.

The diocese of Lichfield has for some years had a small Training Home at Hanley, where working-men were prepared to become evangelist brothers in the Black Country parishes, and other parts of that Midland diocese. Recently the home has been moved to Wolverhampton, and the working of it remodelled. A new rule requires the men either to remain unmarried, or to quit the brotherhood. This rule has doubtless been adopted after careful consideration, but one would think that the existence of it would lead to the loss of many a bright-spirited man, who might not feel able to remain unmarried.

The diocese of Durham has also for some years had its body of evangelists, with some arrangements for teaching the men, and testing their knowledge and capabilities. In this diocese the men are not encouraged to leave their secular callings, but to work as evangelists in such leisure as they have. Those who wish to become

evangelists are tested by periodical examination. A period has to be passed as probationers, then a further examination passed before a man can become a fully recognized evangelist. The scheme includes a course of lectures, to which the men are invited. It seems an excellent plan in many ways, but appears to lack the benefit of a period of quiet study; it must be very difficult for a man to gather much in evening study, after a day of hard toil. It lacks, also, an opportunity for a man to give his *whole* time to God's work.

The Church Army is probably too well known for its methods to need a long description. It is enough to say that its methods include a period of training and instruction for all who go out as captains. Much is done during their short course, but the time (seven weeks) is brief for such a purpose, and the teaching given can be but elementary and fragmentary.

A word should also be said about a recent effort by the Church of England Scripture Readers' Association. The society employs some 140 men of the working class to work in London parishes. These men have many opportunities of evangelistic work, and with proper training and instruction should prove of great service. A clerical secretary has recently been appointed to have special charge of the junior men, and during their first two years give them a weekly lecture on a theological subject. The Liverpool Scripture Readers' Society has also a clerical secretary with similar duties.

It is to be hoped that some representative of these training efforts may be present to-day, and may offer to speak and describe their views and methods.

In standing here to-day to set forth my own views on the training of laymen, it will be partly expected that I should illustrate those views by referring to the methods adopted at the S.P.C.K. College for lay workers in East London, which was committed to my care by that venerable society and the Bishop of Bedford three years ago. Let me give answers to a few important questions.

(1) Where should the place of training be? In a place where population is dense, where evangelistic work is needed and is being done. The Lichfield diocese had its first Home at Hanley, with its 48,000 pottery workers; it has now moved to Wolverhampton with its larger population of 83,000. The Church Army House is in West London, near to Lisson Grove, a district with a dense population, and needing much spiritual work. The S.P.C.K. Training College is in the East of London, in the Commercial Road, Stepney, the great road which leads from the city of London to most of the principal docks. There, in such a busy haunt, the surging crowds of human beings may well keep alive the thought which brings men to the place—the desire to seek and save wandering souls. Though placed in London, and under the presidency of the Bishop of Bedford, it is not merely a diocesan work. It is called the *Church* Training College, and it aims at receiving men from *all* parts of the Church, and, when trained, sending them out to any parish which desires their services.

(2) How is the training to be given? By men living in a home or college for a fixed period, with regular lectures, and continual opportunities of practical work. At Stepney, the men stay one year. They have two lectures daily. The subjects taken are Scripture exposition, Scripture history, the transmission of the Scriptures, the Prayer-book, Christian doctrine, Church history, and Christian evidences. Much attention is given to the Bible, not only in expository lectures, but also in teaching the men to understand the history of its transmission from age to age, and preparing them to meet some of the many modern superficial objections raised against it. The practical training includes almost everything which a lay worker will be required to do in a parish. In parochial work, a paid lay worker may be expected to read lessons



in church, and do it without stumbling or errors of pronunciation. He may be required to say prayers in a mission room, to give addresses there or in the open air to adults, to teach children in class, or catechize them in larger groups, to visit the sick, to visit the people from house to house, and to speak at temperance meetings. It is our aim to enable each man to do some of each sort of work. There are other experiences which are particularly valuable as training for special evangelistic efforts in the future : in the common lodging-houses services are held, and twice a week in the summer and early autumn there are open-air meetings. But training does not cease here. In the little chapel within the college frequent devotional services help to deepen the spiritual life of each student, and in the discipline of a life in common with others much personal training is gained. Mutual forbearance and self-restraint must necessarily be learned where many men have to live together from day to day, and certain angularities of habit and character will surely disappear.

(3) Who are the men who are received for this work and do well in it ? For the most part, superior working-men and assistants in shops, who have already in one way or another shown their zeal for Church work. At Stepney, the college has been recruited from the grocer's and draper's shop, the coal pit, the slate quarry, and the mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire. The leather worker, compositor, and railway servant have also found a place.

And at what age ? Between twenty-four and thirty as a rule ; in other words, not too young and timid, and, on the other hand, not too old and formed. Men younger than twenty-four have been received, and older than thirty ; but there is a strong preference for men within the stated limit.

(4) To what extent has the training proved a benefit ? In Lichfield and Durham dioceses the services of the evangelists are very highly esteemed. The Church Army has a wide field open to its men. The men trained at Stepney have had little difficulty in finding work ; the clergy appear to value the help of men who have been trained and taught.

But benefits must accrue to the Church at large. (1) The addition of a paid lay worker, drawn from the working-class, will enable a parish staff to be in more complete touch with the varied elements of the population. (2) Again, at a time when the Ordinations do not yield the number of junior clergy for whom curacies could be found, the use of well-trained lay workers may be a way of strengthening the staff of a parish, and at the same time leaving the newly-ordained clergy for parishes where the presence of a clergyman is indispensable. (3) Further, it is a gain to the Church to have a path ready and open for any zealous man who craves for active Christian work. (4) Again, such an opening may be a facility in reconciling Nonconformist workers to the Church. The college at Stepney has already been so in a few instances.

Some good men have in the past gone to the ranks of Nonconformity in the hope of finding an easy opening for active work. They are still eager to be up and doing, but are dissatisfied with one or another point about Nonconformity. The knowledge that the Church can use them and will first train them will encourage many to return.

The Stepney College is not for men who desire ultimately to offer themselves for Holy Orders. On entering, a declaration has to be signed that they do not intend to offer themselves for Holy Orders, and will not afterwards do so without consent from the college authorities. Some men find it difficult to sign this ; some decline to do so, although they see no immediate prospect of offering for Holy Orders. It is greatly to be desired that such a grave question in any man's career should be settled, not by individuals, but by some representative body whose voice would have weight and

authority. There is, I believe, to be a committee of heads of theological colleges and others to conduct a preliminary examination, and decide by a uniform standard whether a man may be permitted to enter a theological college at all; and, as I understand, without passing such examination it will be impossible to enter at any college. Could not such a committee extend its work, and, at an earlier stage, by testing a man's general culture, his use of the English language in speaking and writing, his power of thought in being able to answer questions on some historical or elementary evidential subject, and by receiving reports of clergy as to his personal religion and his ability of exercising influence over others, form a preliminary judgment whether a man could be allowed to proceed to the next examination, and so afterwards go to a college and eventually pass on to Holy Orders? Many a man might, by this means, be saved from struggling with the subjects of a Greek and Latin examination which he will never be able to pass, and from the responsibility of Holy Orders, for which he is not suited. Though unsuitable for Holy Orders, he may be a man of sterling character, and might, through the decision of the committee, prove a strong lay worker instead of an indifferent parson.

(5) But how about the cost of this training? In the Durham diocese it is practically *nil*, as the men do not leave their wage-earning. In the Lichfield diocese, the expense of the training home is a charge upon the funds of the Lichfield Church Mission. The Church Army training is a regular charge upon the general funds of the Army: the men pay nothing. At Stepney, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge bears all the standing expenses, such as tuition, rents, rates and taxes, repairs, and service, and the men who come are only asked to find £15, to cover their food and laundry expenses (*i.e.*, about 7s. 6d. a week, for the forty weeks of residence).

But working-men cannot often pay this sum themselves, small though it is. It would be a great advantage to mission work, to earnest men desiring life-long Christian work, and to a training home like mine, if each diocese would each year pick out its most suitable working-man and send him for training, and out of diocesan funds pay the cost of his course. By such a step as this the working-men of each diocese would feel that their efforts in mission work were indeed held to be important by the bishop and leading clergy. It would act as a stimulus to the zeal of many, and would result in the further advantage of picked men from all parts finding their way to a place of training. In the case of a very much valued worker, the diocese could pledge him to return after training to his own diocese. The Council of the Bishop of Bedford's East London Church Fund has already taken such a step. A man has been elected, is now at College, and is pledged, after training, to take up work in East London, the district whose funds have trained him. At Stepney, this scheme can be carried out for a yearly outlay of £15. It is, comparatively speaking, a small sum, but its effect would be great when laid out in this way.

Such is a brief account of attempts made to train the godly working-man, with some details of the new S.P.C.K. College.

In many ways good training work has been done in the past. But the evangelist is born, not made; it is of the utmost importance to have the right men sent up for training. It is under the eye and care of the parochial clergy that promising young men grow up and develop. Some further co-operation from them in this matter will enable our training homes to increase their efficiency, and by God's blessing greatly strengthen the evangelistic work that is being done throughout the country.

## DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. Bishop JOHN RICHARDSON SELWYN, D.D.,  
formerly Bishop of Melanesia.

I CAME here only as a listener, but after hearing the various speakers and readers discussing the supply of clergy for the Church of England, I have thought it might interest you if for one moment I speak of that supply from a missionary and colonial point of view. First of all, as to the supply of missionary clergy, I know that some of our great missionary societies undertake to a certain extent to supply those men, but my experience, which I believe to be that of all missionary bishops, is that a vast number of men come to us asking to be employed whom we have no possible means of sifting or testing in any way whatever. I have lately been on board a man-of-war to Gibraltar and back, and I have there seen the working of perhaps one of the most perfect systems in the world—the system of our own Navy. What does the Navy do? The Navy looks about for men at an early age, and trains them for its service, until they are fit to go under each individual captain. The Church ought to do the same. The Church ought to look for the men who are fitted for her service, test them and try them, and when they are fitly and properly trained, hand them over to each individual bishop as the seamen of the Navy are handed over to each individual captain. I have heard about sizarships and their loss. Who founded them? The Church. They are taken from the Church now, but the Church is just as strong as in the old days, and we could found them again. But where are we to find the men who are willing and competent to undertake the work of thoroughly training all our students? That brings me to the next point on which Canon Worlledge touched, and which I have felt very much in my colonial experience. These theological colleges do most admirable work. But how? By trying to find in one man, as the head of each of them, a sort of paragon who can successfully teach everything. There is, I think, a waste of power here. The men who are engaged in the theological colleges of England, if brought together, would form a magnificently influential and capable body. Now they are scattered over ten or twenty different little bodies, and each man is required to do the work of ten. That is a waste of power which we ought to try and get rid of. There is a desire to have men sent forth sometimes with the brand of this or that school. I say let us have but one brand—the Church of England brand. I know also how the bishops long to influence the men in these theological colleges. I know how my father sought with all his heart and soul to influence students. Yes, but you may gain that influence by a loss of strength. In my islands you will find on the reefs a thing called the sea urchin. These sea urchins are nice dove-like things with little spikes all over them. With their spikes worn off, as you see them in museums, they are pleasant enough to handle, but until their spikes are rubbed off they are very queer customers. Man is like that. He needs to rub off his spikes, and he rubs them off best by rubbing against other men, and therefore I want to see a large theological college attached to the Church of England, where we can put our non-graduate men. Let us have a large college of breadth and depth, and height and life, where men may learn to rub off all that is rough against one another, and go forth with a common spirit and determination to do their Master's work.

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The Rev. WM. INCE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity and  
Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

I RISE for one reason—that I think on such a public occasion as this we ought not to be allowed to forget that great improvement has really taken place in the method of preparation for Ordination during the last fifteen or eighteen years, and, whilst we lament deficiencies, we ought to be extremely thankful for the progress that has been made. Reference has been made by Canon Worlledge to a fact not so widely known amongst the laity as it should be—that there have been constant conferences held by the Divinity professors of the universities, by the principals and other representatives of the theological colleges, and by the different examining chaplains, at Oxford, Cambridge, and London. When these conferences first began, there were three points to which they specially addressed themselves as practical possibilities. Two of these have been accomplished; the third yet remains to be accomplished. The first was

the removal of the extreme inconvenience that arose from the multiplicity and diversity of the subjects for theological study and examination in the different dioceses under the direction of the different bishops. There was no kind of uniformity. By dint of perseverance in dwelling upon this inconvenience a system has now been arranged by which certain books of the Old and New Testament, the special period of Church history, and other special subjects are adopted uniformly throughout the whole of England. I believe every one of the bishops now insists upon this uniformity, though liberty and freedom are still left in the different dioceses for the exercise of different conditions and special preferences. The great hardship that fell upon young men by the absence of uniformity has been removed by the adoption of this plan. The second point to which the conferences addressed themselves was the miserable literary deficiency in a number of the non-graduate candidates. Complaints came widely from the clergy and from the intelligent laity that many of these young men had had no sort of preliminary literary general training, and were therefore hardly in a position to grapple with the social and intellectual difficulties that presented themselves to them when they came into their parishes. Happily, now, the bishops have agreed to the suggestions made to them, and this very next year they are going to begin enforcing the requirement of evidence of a certain amount of literary proficiency before the time spent by the non-graduates in theological colleges in the study of theological subjects shall be allowed to count. This requirement I hope will be worked with moderation and common-sense at first, but I think the happiest results may be expected from the adoption of such a system, and it would be a very great advantage further if such a plan could be adopted as Canon Worledge suggested, namely, that the number of theological colleges for non-graduates should be reduced. I believe it would be extremely beneficial if many of them could be planted, not in little out-of-the-way towns, but in those great centres where the new university colleges are springing up, and where a preliminary literary training could be most readily obtained. This leads me to hope that the third great want will be supplied. These conferences have been most anxious that the bishops should insist upon evidence of special study for at least one year at a theological college, or some equivalent to it, in the case of all graduates of the universities. It is as necessary for them as for the non-graduates. Whatever difficulties are in the way I hope will be removed. I have been very much struck by what Prebendary Gibson has said about the large extent to which this now takes place. I hope all the bishops will have the courage to make it a requirement, and if they do so men will be sure to rise up to the level which it is desirable to attain. I can mention a parallel case. Years ago there were dioceses which were famous for their inferior examinations. A new bishop and new examining chaplains came, and they determined to raise the standard. At first it was said, "You will never get any men to come." For a year or two candidates dropped off, but in a very short time those difficulties disappeared, and the standard was immeasurably raised all round. So it will be with this requirement for graduates as well as for non-graduates. If the bishops unitedly insist upon it, it will be met. It rests with the bishops to see that the thing is done.

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### The Right Rev. the Hon. AUGUSTUS LEGGE, Lord Bishop of Lichfield.

MR. PETIT has spoken of the lay evangelists in connection with the Lichfield Church Mission, and Mr. Spottiswoode reminded us that the Archbishop of York had been conspicuous amongst the bishops for the care he took in regard to the training of deacons. The Archbishop of York has been equally conspicuous for his desire to draw out the powers of the laity, and to recognize fully the fact that all who have been baptized into the Church of Christ, whether they are in Orders or not, have functions to perform in the body to which they belong, and he it was who established the body of lay evangelists to whom reference has been made. I wish to say a word or two upon the subject of these lay evangelists, in case any of those present here should go away with a false impression of the position they occupy in the diocese. In the first instance, the idea was this, that there should be in different parishes district evangelists, persons who were still occupied with their secular calling, but who were giving their services at the same time to evangelistic work in the parish; and that from these district evangelists who had had a certain amount of training, should be chosen those who would give up their secular calling altogether, and devote themselves entirely to evangelistic work in the diocese. District evangelists were never

so numerous as it was hoped they might become, and it was felt that the body of evangelists were not receiving the training they ought to receive. It was then that the Training Home was established at Hanley; but that training home was not a diocesan home in any sense. It was a noble private venture on the part of Mr. Ring, the rector. He received the men first into his own house; afterwards, when they outgrew that, they were established in a house close by, working in the parish, and receiving their practical training in his own mission hall. He raised the funds necessary for the support of this training home, but those funds, just at the time I was called to the diocese, came to an end, and the question arose, What was to be done in regard to the lay evangelists in the future? What was their work to be, and what was to be the responsibility of the diocese? I am thankful to say that I have been able, with the consent of the Diocesan Council, to place the responsibility for the training and maintenance of the evangelists on to the diocesan funds. But we had another difficulty to contend with. Many of these lay evangelists were married men, and when the diocese took them away from their calling and became responsible for them, it was found necessary to make the stipend received by the married men greater than that received by the single men, and when the married men's families increased, it became necessary to supplement their incomes still further. This made the financial outlook very serious. I took counsel with those who were able to give me the best advice on the subject, and it was decided, first of all, with the hearty approval of those interested in the training home, that the home should be moved from Hanley to Wolverhampton, there to be re-organized. It was felt that it would be impossible for the diocese to undertake the responsibility of increasing to an unlimited number the married evangelists, and taking the responsibility of their maintenance so long as they should live. It was thought, too, that there were some who might feel that there was a call to them to give themselves wholly in the unmarried state to the work of evangelization. Another difficulty was this: that while the original idea had rather been that these evangelists should be moved from place to place, only remaining for a short period in one parish, chiefly in connection with some mission hall there, in the first instance, and should then pass on to another, it was found that the expense of moving them when married, along with their families, was a very heavy one. It was also found that, in the case of the married evangelists, they preferred to remain permanently in the places in which they were working, and there was room for them too. But with regard to the future, we came to the conclusion that the best training we could give them would be in some form of community life, and that a whole year should be given to their training. That noble lay evangelist, Mr. H. A. Colville, was ready to be placed at their head, and it was further agreed that there should be appointed a chaplain to give them the religious instruction they needed. Living thus in community, they would have opportunities for devotion and opportunities for study; and, being established in the centre of a large population, they would have opportunities, also, of being trained practically in mission work. (Chairman's bell rings.) I am afraid I cannot finish all that I wished to say, but I hope I may have removed any misapprehensions which may have arisen with regard to this work.

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The Rev. AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D., Rector of Scarning,  
East Dereham.

I DESIRE to say one word before this meeting closes, because there is one point of view which we have almost lost sight of—the preparation of the deacon for the priesthood. We have heard a great deal about our theological colleges, and the information which has been afforded to us has been exceedingly valuable, but we have stopped there. As soon as ever a man is admitted to the diaconate—that moment the work of your college stops. When you hand over the deacon to us, the beneficed clergy (whether the parish be in the country or in the town), you hand him over to another teacher, and that teacher is, or ought to be, the rector of the parish, and here the responsibility of the rector begins. How is that responsibility met? Unhappily, it is too often the case that the newly-ordained deacon is turned loose into a parish with the least possible instruction offered him by his rector, while he is regarded as a convenient auxiliary, whose simple duty it is to relieve his senior of the most troublesome part of his work. That work is, of course, partly educational and hortatory, partly pastoral. Take the pastoral work first. In this, the young man needs almost more instruction than in the other. He has the conduct of the schools for the most

part committed to him ; and as far as the oversight of the day schools and the giving of instruction in the Sunday schools goes, it seems to me that in many cases the young man is just as qualified as his leader. He has come fresh from his college, where he has learnt something at any rate, and he is at least one lesson in advance of those co-operating with him in the Sunday school or in other educational work. The more carefully he does this class of work, the more he will be qualifying himself to be a teacher in his parish. Take the next stage. I conceive that preparing boys for Confirmation might be done just as well by a careful, conscientious, devout young man, as by an elder one, but when it comes to preparing young girls for confirmation, I do not think you are acting fairly to the young curate to give him that work to do ; and I do not think you are acting fairly towards the young girls either. It is a critical time in young people's lives when they are looking forward to their Confirmation, and when their emotional side is very liable to be in a condition of serious disturbance, and when even the strong and experienced, the wise and the wary, may find themselves in circumstances requiring all their tact and all their self-restraint. I do not think you should put on young shoulders the work which should be left in practised older hands. Then, with regard to visitation in pastoral work, a young man of twenty-three or twenty-four goes into a parish, having, perhaps, hardly spoken to a poor person before. In some cases, he has been a district visitor, but in many cases he may never have spoken in his life on religious matters with young or old. It is too often the case, nevertheless, that he receives the least possible instruction and the least possible companionship from the priest with whom he is associated during the time of his diaconate. Yet surely the duty of the elder man is to hold the younger by the hand and go with him as he carries through his visitation in the parish, teaching him by example as well as precept, and conferring with him after the visits have come to an end, taking counsel and giving it. With regard to preaching, I am told that in the large towns (about the work in which I know little or nothing) we have scores of these young men "serving tables," and serving them so diligently that they have no time to read or improve themselves. That is a very great evil, but you will never persuade me that if a young man were properly overlooked, properly advised and encouraged, he would not find time for two hours solid reading every day ; and you never will persuade me that a young man who, the moment he is ordained a deacon, throws up his books, and only studies with reference to the examination at the end of the twelvemonths, that such an one will ever be able to revert to studious habits again. That first year of his diaconate must needs be the critical year of his life. It may prove to him his greatest blessing, or it may ruin his career. [Time called.]

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### Rev. W. CARLILE, Founder of the Church Army Training Institution.

I WOULD ask to be allowed to make an explanation in reference to the shortness of the training referred to by Mr. Petit. The real training of our men begins under the clergy with whom we work, and where our evangelists labour. In the early part of the movement we were obliged to receive large numbers of men from Nonconformity, but I am thankful to say that many local preachers who, ten years ago, were Nonconformists, are amongst the most loyal and convinced Churchmen that we have in our ranks to-day. It is a long time to wait, but we are now just beginning to reap the converts of five, six, seven, eight, and nine years ago ; and they are now coming forward for training as evangelists. Before they come to us they usually work as, what we call, Church Army soldiers, who are communicants, abstainers, and humble workers and speakers under the guidance of the vicar, working by the side of our evangelists. Many that we have in our training home to-day have sprung from this class. Yesterday we received twenty-three fresh men, and we sent out nineteen trained evangelists last week. Many of them have had three, four, and five years' experience in parochial work with a warm, sympathetic vicar, who understands the art of how to shake hands with a working-man and develop him ; a thing which every vicar, alas, does not understand, and which he will not always learn, even in a theological college. He works under this good man, and along with several evangelists, some of whom may, perhaps, be of fair culture, who have formerly been in some business shops ; or he may work next to some evangelist who, although a poor, ignorant man, knows how to lift a wretched, drunken brother out of the gutter, and lead him to the foot of the Cross, and also to living communion with our dear old

Church. When these men have had this training beforehand, it fits them for our work, which is not lay-readers' work, but the work of an itinerant evangelist, going from place to place, in the old method of Apostolic days. Shall we, in these days, utterly ignore the principle of itineration which has worked such wonders in the past? Our student learns from the superior working-man as well as from the more ignorant ones, and then he comes to us. We have the Bishop of Marlborough for our "visitor," the Archdeacon of London as our examiner; and now that our course is longer, that our preparation beforehand lasts sometimes months and years, and that we place our evangelists in the hands of a vicar for a probationary period of six months when they first go out, we do, therefore, appeal to you to give us your full sympathy and hearty welcome into your parishes, and I believe you will find our men loyal, good, earnest fellows. Our honorary evangelistic secretary, Mr. Edward Clifford, at the Centre, in Edgware Road, will gladly furnish any details. We not only teach them to study their Bibles, to preach, and to go into public-houses and undertake rescue work there, but we also train them in our labour homes, where they come into touch with tramps and criminals who are with us for about three months at a time. In these labour homes we take men fresh from the casual ward and the gaol, seeking to restore them to society. If there be such characters in your parishes at any time, our evangelists will then try and do their very best to help them.

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### The Very Rev. R. W. RANDALL, Dean of Chichester.

IT is natural enough that anyone who has been for some time the pastor of a parish, whether in the country or in a town, should watch with peculiar interest a discussion of this kind; but I am certain that one thing will have gladdened your lordship's heart, and that is to see such a large number of laity as well as clergy in this hall listening with such intense attention, and showing by their manner how deeply this subject touches them this afternoon. Perhaps it will have occurred to the bishops on the platform that their own attention has been specially invited once or twice this afternoon. I want to say a word about the training for Holy Orders during the period of preparation for the diaconate. Of all the important things that have been mentioned, it does seem to me that the strengthening and deepening of the devotional life, a life of prayer and close and earnest communion with God, must be placed in the very front rank. It occurred to me early in life to lay to heart two sentences, written by a friend, which have hung in my room ever since. One was "When we pray we speak to God," and the other was, "When we read God speaks to us." It would be well to work these two sentences very fast and very deep into the spirits of those who are preparing for Holy Orders, and further to point out to them what kind of books they can use, for there is a glorious inheritance which the Church of England has entered upon in the long line of her devotional writers specially suited to the English mind, specially suited to the practical character of the teaching of the Church of England. It may be well to take those great addresses of Bishop Wilberforce's, and the hardly less great addresses of the late Bishop Woodford, and to read them during meals, on the subjects of prayer and the study of the Holy Scriptures. Specially also, perhaps, ought to be studied those Ordination sermons of Bishop Woodford's, which touch upon many of the acknowledged difficulties of the day, and guide young men into very sound ways of dealing with those difficulties. I do not believe any man reads to waste. Everything he reads will come out with great utility, and even with surprising force where he least expected it in his later ministry, but many a man might be guided into useful subjects for reading if he left his theological college with some short list of books which he might get and study. I do not want a very long list. A very great professor during my time at Oxford gave one of his students such a list. It was a very long one. The student counted up the books and their price, and said to the professor, "This will cost £250. Am I to get them all?" The professor, being a merciful man, said, "No, I do not intend you should get them all." But, without doubt, it is a very great guide to have a well-chosen list of books. To pass to another point, I think the words which fell from Dr. Jessopp were very wise words. Certainly the preparation of a deacon for the priesthood, when he passes, so to speak, under the care of the incumbent of the parish, is most important, and where it could be done I would even carry out Dr. Jessopp's suggestions a little further, and say that it is the greatest possible help to take a young man and let him go round from house to house in cases of

chronic sickness, and see how the incumbent of a parish deals with men and women who need his pastoral care. I learnt very, very much from being allowed to do this in the place where I began my work. There is one very important thing which this leads me to touch upon. Might it not be found possible, certainly in towns, but also in our country parishes, for the incumbent and the curate to meet together on some settled day of the week, read one of those very addresses of Bishop Wilberforce's or Bishop Woodford's, sketch out sermons, help one another as to the books that can be read, study cases of difficulty arising in connection with pastoral duties, and so become more bound to one another in the bond of love that never is stronger than when it exists between the incumbent and his curate, if they are men worth their salt. One of the greatest of all the difficulties for a young man entering upon his priesthood is that of dealing with consciences, and I should be glad, my lord, when you have those gatherings of your younger clergy, of which you have told us, if you could take them by the hand and tell them how to deal with consciences. A dear friend of mine—William Scudamore, one of the most deeply religious men amongst our clergy, whose name must still be known and honoured by many—told me that directly after he was Ordained he received a message imploring him to come and hear the confession of a dying woman, and he had never been instructed as to how he should deal with the soul of a person on the verge of death. We need in our theological colleges, and on occasions like the gatherings you have mentioned, some kind of instruction as to how to help the consciences of those souls that are in an agony to get to God; and, therefore, there should be in every theological college a professor of moral theology.

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The Rev. R. B. GIRDLESTONE, Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, Incumbent of S. John's, Hampstead, N.W.

THERE must be two impressions stamped upon your hearts this afternoon. You must have got a deepened conviction of the high position and serious work of the ministry, and also a deep conviction that great efforts are being honestly taken to improve and develop its course of training. This training lies in three directions: the formation of character, exercise in practical work, and study. No one man can form another man's character; and yet a man may do something for his younger brother by personal influence, and by a system of rules—not too many—whereby something of self-discipline may be taught. If by friendly help character is developed, and a man learns to bear the Cross for Christ's sake, he is doing the very best of all things. Every minister has to deal with human character, and, if his own character has been developed the right way, he will be enabled to influence others. With regard to practical teaching, what was spoken by Mr. Petit will not lightly be forgotten. I have often thought that the first thing to be done for one who is to be a clergyman is to introduce him when he is a youth into a Sunday school, and make him a teacher there. By Sunday school teaching you learn to be simple, persevering, and sympathetic, and in these respects Sunday school teaching is the very first step towards a successful ministry. Very often it may be the lot of a clergyman to begin his work without ever having visited the cottages and the houses of the poor. That ought not to be the case. There always ought to be some such method of visiting as has been touched upon by several speakers this afternoon. It is far harder, I think, to visit effectively than to preach effectively. When you visit, you have to deal with individuals who can answer you upon the spot, and who can put their objections, which is not the habit in church. Then I come to the last and important subject of study, and here I should just like to say a word about that great Book—the Word of God. I often say to a young clergyman, "Do you stick to your Greek Testament?" Now and then I have a faltering reply, and I find that the difficulty generally arises from the amount of work he has to do. But I am always inclined to say, "Surely you had better cut an hour off your functions in the parish and give that hour to sharpening your sword, for all your work will be better done by a diligent study of your Greek Testament." There you are brought into contact with the best writers that ever lived upon earth. You are brought to the original materials which stand in the foreground of our Christian history. You are brought to the *ipsissima verba* of Christ himself. It would be indeed a bad day for our Church if the clergy were so occupied with pastoral work as to be unable to give those precious hours which they ought to give to the study of the Word. No one can read our Ordination services without seeing



what is demanded in this direction. But, of course, the Bible is a very big book, and it is asked : How can a man thoroughly master his Bible before he is Ordained ? He cannot, but he can take a few of the books and master them to some extent, and he can get—what is exceedingly useful—an outline of the contents of the Bible as a whole in their chronological order. I think outline lectures are as helpful to a man as anything else, because they enable him to put what he has learnt into proper position, and so to become the more systematic as a teacher of others. We do not teach systems, but we must teach on a system ; and, if you do not use clear language yourself, it is impossible to put things clearly to others. But after all our efforts, after all our influence and methods, we are compelled to fall back—and we delight to do it—on the Great Teacher—the Holy Ghost, Who first calls us into the ministry, and supplies us with all which is needful from day to day for our own personal life and our work as watchers for the souls of men. The more we lean upon Him, the more we shall be enabled to present every man perfect in Christ Jesus.

The Rev. HENRY J. WATTERS, Lecturer to the Readers, and  
Clerical Organizing Secretary of the Church of England  
Scripture Readers' Association.

I SHOULD not have ventured to occupy your time after the speeches to which you have just listened, but for the fact that I represent one of the societies alluded to by Mr. Petit, viz., the Church of England Scripture Readers' Association, and that he expressed the wish that some information should be given as to the methods employed by us in giving instruction to our Scripture readers. I do not think it is known as much as it ought to be, and I am glad to have the opportunity of explaining to this meeting, that there exists a society which at present sends no fewer than 150 men—and we hope the number will soon be considerably increased—to work as loyal Churchmen under the vicars of the poorest parishes of London. Although this is not a diocesan society, yet it may be justly said to partake of the character of a diocesan society, for the agents whom it employs receive individually the direct license of the bishop of the diocese in which they work, and they are therefore able to go into their various parishes feeling that they are duly authorized to undertake whatever work is given them to do. Although the society has been in existence nearly fifty years, it has only recently taken steps to give definite and systematic instruction to those whom it employs, so that I am not in a position to explain to you as fully as I should wish the result of the methods which have been adopted. The duty of instructing the readers, which has been committed to my care, is a humble one, but I do not think it is unimportant. The men are first of all appointed to their various parishes, where practical knowledge of parochial work can be gained, and they are then required to come for two or three hours each week to me for the first two years after appointment, in order that they may be instructed carefully in the Bible and in subjects of a doctrinal character which we hope may be helpful to them in the fulfilment of their duties. On one occasion, after I had been giving a lecture on the subject of holy baptism, I was very much struck with the way in which they spoke after the lecture was over of the great need that existed for instruction in such subjects as that, because, as they informed me, the majority of those amongst whom they laboured were profoundly ignorant of any relationship existing between the baptism of infants and practical religious life. They thought of it as perhaps a ceremony that it was right and proper to have performed, but which was of no practical importance in life, and the readers declared their wish that more opportunities could be afforded by which the people amongst whom they laboured—the working-men and women of the poorest parts of their parishes—might be instructed in some sort of systematic way in the knowledge of such subjects as baptism as taught in the Church of England. Then, as to the historic position of the Church, and her relation to Dissent. It must be remembered that many of these lay evangelists are earnest-minded men who have come from Dissenting bodies and have become members of the Church through the influence of some clergyman or other friend for whom they had respect, and whose advice was helpful to them ; and it is accordingly of the utmost importance that they should receive definite and systematic teaching as to the meaning of the Church to which they now belong, so that they may not only be able to give an intelligible and satisfactory answer to the question, "Why am I a Churchman?" but also be able to go to the people amongst whom they labour, a large number of whom are either Dissenters

or Roman Catholics, and give to them a reason for the faith and the hope that is in them. It is through men like these that the working-classes may be led within the fold of the Church, because they are in a better position than more highly-educated persons, and understand their needs and appreciate their temptations, and can sympathize with the difficulties against which they have to struggle.

### EXHIBITION THEATRE.

THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 6TH.

The Right Rev. Bishop BARRY in the Chair.

## FOREIGN MISSIONS: VARIETIES OF METHOD IN MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE.

### PAPERS.

The Right Rev. EDWARD HENRY BICKERSTETH, D.D.,  
Lord Bishop of Exeter.

My subject is "Varieties of Method in Missionary Enterprise." Now we shall all admit the fountain spring of missionary enterprise must well up in a man's own heart. It is the gift of God—Divine love working on the human will. For when once the student and the suppliant has reverently pondered the prayer which Christ Himself has taught us, "Our Father, Thy will be done on earth as in heaven," when these words have touched and quickened him with their fathomless meaning and limitless issues, when he begins to love men because God loves them, when under the breathing of the Holy Ghost, the question, perhaps inarticulate and unexpressed, but most real, has stirred the very depths of his being, "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do in humblest furtherance of this the good pleasure of Thy goodness towards mankind?" the missionary impulse is planted in the soul. That man may never be called to the lofty dignity of an ambassador of the Gospel in foreign lands, his path of duty may be clearly marked out for him in his native country; but if he is true to that heaven-born inspiration, he is a missionary at heart henceforth, and by prayer and self-sacrifice will bear his allotted part in fulfilment of the Master's command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature."

If that man is the head of a family, the love of missions will probably ere long animate his wife, his children, his servants. An ever deepening interest will spring up in missionary literature. There will be the careful study of the periodicals of our great societies, and perhaps the thorough mastery of one missionary province, the first planting of the Gospel there, its growth, its fruitfulness, the labours there of apostles and prophets and evangelists and pastors and teachers, for our nineteenth century, prosaic as some deem it, has all these. Then

how warm will be the welcome which the Gaius of that home will accord to those heralds of the Cross, who from time to time return to tell what God has wrought by them in heathen or Moslem lands. The drawing-room, the library, the school-room, the servants' hall, of that house will be all awake and responsive. Missionary enterprise is the Christian chivalry of our age.

And further, if that man be the parish priest, I need not say how quickly the impulse spreads from house to house. It is no longer the one annual sermon only; but the schools of all grades, the children's bible classes, the guilds of communicants and Church workers, are ere long enlisted in the work. The services of intercession will not be confined to, though culminating in, the octave of S. Andrew; and the seasons of Advent and Epiphany will bear their witness to this primary duty of the Church militant.

From the parish we naturally pass on to the rural deanery. Ruridecanal influence is becoming a vast power in our Church. Fifty years ago it was very feeble, but with the great Evangelical and Church revivals it is now making itself felt in every diocese. Hereby the whole country is marked out into ecclesiastical districts of manageable size, and the voice of one ardent lover of the missionary cause tells on his brethren. These rural deaneries are grouped in archdeaconries; and I believe in most dioceses the rural deans and archdeacons meet once a year for conference under the presidency of their bishop. We, as Churchmen, should do the missionary cause great wrong if the keynote of foreign missions is not often struck in ruridecanal chapters and in archidiaconal and episcopal visitations.

We have thus reached the limits of the diocese; but before I pass beyond them, may I mention two methods which are working successfully in my own, and refer to one recently started in the Diocese of Durham? I require every candidate for Holy Orders, both deacons and priests, to pass an examination respecting his knowledge of a given missionary field, as much, for example, as in Church history. So the present warfare of the Church is linked with the past. And the warm thanks I have received from many young men, who have thus, perhaps for the first time, been drawn to the study of missions, forbids me to think that the burden is greater than they can bear; and when they go forth to their ministry they speak to others of that which has touched their own hearts. And then I have been permitted to appoint, not only a Canon Missioner for parochial missions, who I am glad to say is taking part in this Congress, but also a Missionary Canon who consecrates himself to foster the love of foreign missions throughout Devonshire. I may mention that in one year Canon Trefusis was able to plead for the Gospel Propagation or Church Missionary Societies in no less than fifty parishes which previously had no Missionary Association. Most heartily do I wish there was a like minded Missionary Canon in every diocese; and if the Church calls for it, whether the patronage rests with the Crown or the Ordinary, public opinion will have its way, and the right men will be found and appointed.

In the diocese of Durham a Missionary Union has been successfully formed, of which Dr. Westcott thus sketched the outline last year: "My general idea is that the members of the Union, whether clergymen or laymen, should, after careful conference, divide the mission field

among them, and severally undertake to master and follow the history and circumstances of some particular mission, so as to secure in the whole body an adequate knowledge of the various needs and opportunities which are brought before the Church from year to year, and to enable home-workers to measure the relative importance of different claims." We shall all watch the progress of the Durham Missionary Union with brotherly sympathy, and, speaking for myself, I cannot but hope that Durham will kindle Exeter.

But from dioceses we pass on to the Church of England and her twin sister the Church of Ireland, "one in faith and doctrine, one in charity," inseparably one by God's grace for ever. Can any new methods be suggested which would touch more closely the hearts of English and Irish Churchmen? I hope I am not wrong in repeating a desire which fell from the lips of our revered and beloved President a few months since. I cannot quote the exact words, but they were to this effect: "If there is one subject which more than any other is foremost with Churchmen now, it is the cause of foreign missions. It is so to-day, it was not so when our Prayer-book was last revised; and, alas, we have no distinctly missionary collect in our daily offices: we ought to have one." Will not this Congress respond to his Grace's desire, and will not Convocation prepare and Parliament sanction (perhaps we are too shy of Parliament) this much-needed addition to our Prayer-book, which would come in so naturally and harmoniously after the Prayer for the Clergy and People, and before the Prayer of S. Chrysostom? And then I venture to suggest that on Days of Intercession for Foreign Missions, when with hearts kindled and attuned we are about to gather round the Holy Table, we want a distinctly Missionary Communion Hymn, and will you forgive me if I repeat one founded on those four comfortable words of our Office, which all of them breathe the world-wide love of God to man:—

1. O Father, who hast given Thine only Son  
To ransom the whole world from Satan's thrall,  
For all the perfect sacrifice of One,  
And life through One Who died made free for all.  
Oh, hear us now, while we, Thy children, plead  
Thy boundless mercy and our brethren's need.
2. O Saviour, dost Thou bid the weary come  
And lean their weariness upon Thy breast,  
Not only the sick souls of Christendom,  
But all who crave and have not found Thy rest?  
Hear Thou our prayer in this memorial feast,  
Who art for all the Offering and the Priest.
3. O Spirit of the living God, by Whom  
The spirits of all flesh alone can live,  
Souls cry to Thee in anguish through the gloom:  
Lord, when Thou hearest their dumb cry, forgive;  
And draw them to the wounded feet and side  
Of Him Who lives for all, for all Who died.
4. O Father, Saviour, Comforter Divine,  
All hearts are open to Thy searching glance;  
Lift up on this our darken'd world of sin  
The light and glory of Thy countenance,  
Till Love its final victory hath won,  
And, as in heaven, on earth Thy will be done. Amen.

I have spoken of missionary enterprise at home chiefly in its ministerial aspects among ourselves, but we can never forget the vast influence of the emigrants who are pouring forth by tens of thousands from our shores every year; nor the influence of our sailors in foreign ports, at one time too often a source of weakness and reproach, but now, through the labours of that noble society, "The Missions to Seamen," and many other kindred efforts, for the most part a witness for Christ and our holy faith; nor the influence of our military men and civilians, who are in many lands the warmest supporters of the heralds of the Gospel. What our emigrants, sailors, soldiers, officers, civilians are in their life and conversation is a testimony throughout the world for or against the truth. We cannot shake off the responsibility. God grant we may be worthy of it. And God also, in His great mercy, grant that we never withdraw the protecting ægis of England's name, and England's voice, and England's hand from regions once shielded by it, as was so disastrously done in Khartoum, and as is now threatened in Uganda.

But now let me turn to methods of missionary enterprise abroad. There are two great departments of the work: the first, preaching of the Gospel in non-Christian lands; and then the building up of the native Church by the instruction of catechumens and neophytes, the nurture of children in the faith, and the shepherding of communicants, which things generally require the life-time of a generation, some thirty years or more, before the European oversight can be safely withdrawn, and the field be altogether handed over to native evangelists and pastors. A native Episcopate will probably be of still slower development in most lands. Now to these two great departments of the work, two methods of missionary enterprise seem naturally, if somewhat roughly, to correspond: the community life of first heralds of the Cross; the settled domestic life of missionary pastors. One supplements the other: both are invaluable. The ideal of a missionary band, say of six or eight men, whose hearts God has touched, unfettered by domestic cares, and yet not oppressed by that sense of isolation which hangs over the solitary messenger, going forth under a trusted leader, if possible a bishop, but if not a true ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν, who will soon claim a bishop from the Church at home, able to live under one roof at far less expense, building up each other by daily united worship and by mutual converse and study—such an ideal is a very noble and true one. And if their mission is strengthened by some Christian matron like S. Hilda of old, who with her band of deaconesses can win access to the native mothers and maidens, it supplies many of the most essential elements for the first evangelizing of a non-Christian race. And some are so fascinated by it, they would fain have all missions begun, continued, and ended on this model.

But surely in this they err. S. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, was a widower; but S. Peter, the Apostle of the Jews, was a married man. And S. Paul, writing of deacons and elders or bishops (themselves converts, but as living in Ephesus and Crete, called to evangelize unbelievers), requires that they should be the husbands of one wife. His words are at least equivalent to the indicative mood, if not the imperative. And the native Christians need above all things the pattern of a Christian family, where the wife is as the fruitful vine on the walls of the

house, and the children like the olive branches round about the table. Nothing can compensate for the loss of such an example in fashioning the lives and homes of converts. It is true, the support of married missionaries makes larger demands upon the military chest of the Church ; but shall England spend thirty-three millions every year upon the Army and Navy (and ungrudgingly, for we are a nation of free men, and free men must be warriors), and will our Church, embracing far more than half the population of England and Wales, grudge the funds requisite for setting forth the Gospel in all its symmetrical proportion before the heathen? It would often be well for a missionary on first going out to join a community ; but if, when he has become acclimatized and learned the language and proved his obedience to those set over him in the Lord, and his skill in winning and shepherding souls, he believes it would be for the glory of God and for the furtherance of his own soul in the Divine life, surely he ought to marry. At least, I am no advocate for vows of celibacy, nor am I a believer in the dispensing power of a bishop from such vows when made. Such dispensation, which is quite possible, lies, as it seems to me, betwixt the soul and God alone *in foro conscientia*. Herein let us stand fast in the freedom wherewith Christ hath made us free.

Community missions and pastoral missions thus mutually aiding one another, their work lies before them—

First and foremost to preach and teach the everlasting Gospel ; to tell that story of the Cross, which is the power and wisdom of God unto salvation, and to work on the lines of Scriptural and Apostolic doctrine and discipline—not like the Salvation Army, and too many others, substituting man's devices for God's designs, but receiving those who believe and their children into the fold of Christ by baptism, and instructing them to seek the seal of the Holy Spirit through the laying on of hands, and to feed by faith on the Body and Blood of Christ in the heavenly food of the Lord's Supper for sustenance and refreshment in their walk with God.

Then freely to impart to those whom they evangelize the written word of God. In a recent article by Dr. Griffis, the author of "The Mikado's Empire," he quotes and fully endorses the words, "The publication of the Bible in Japanese was like building a railway through the national intellect." I need not remind this Congress what a debt we owe to the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and on a far larger scale to the British and Foreign Bible Society, for this. A missionary field without the living oracles of God in the hands of the people is only half won.

Then to give them our Prayer-book in their own tongue ; for, as Sir William Muir wrote forty years ago, when advocating an Indian liturgy, "Sound doctrine may, no doubt, as in Scotland, be preserved by an unliturgical confession of faith ; but the actual embodiment of doctrine in the devotional services of the Church performs this office in a warmer and more influentially pervading manner. An evangelical liturgy becomes a living creed." These last words seem to me worthy of being written in letters of gold—*An evangelical liturgy becomes a living creed*. Nor can I, as a lover of hymns, forbear to mention the captivating and enduring power of psalms and hymns and spiritual songs. The words and music are twin handmaids of the Gospel.

After worship comes education. The principal of the Robert Noble School at Masulipatam said, at the annual meeting of the Church Missionary Society last May, "I am the representative of the least popular branch of the service—an educational missionary, with an emphasis on the word missionary." Few, however, who listened to his earnest, weighty words but would feel and confess that the patient seed-sowing of the teacher will perhaps reap the largest harvest of all. And when we rise from the lower grades to divinity schools, those nursery gardens of a native ministry, in them lie the maturest hopes of the watchers for the morning. If the vast populations of heathen and Mohammedan lands are to be won for Christ in our day, it must probably be through native evangelists and pastors.

When my son was sent out as a missionary bishop to Japan six years ago, he found fourteen European and one native clergyman as his band of ordained fellow-labourers. There are now thirty-seven European and thirteen Japanese clergymen working with him—that is fifty where there were fifteen; but I cannot doubt that in a few years the native ministers will far outnumber the European. Perhaps the Acts of the Apostles indicate that ordination to the diaconate has been too long delayed in some mission fields, for the Apostles seemed content to enlist unlearned and unschooled officers rather than leave the cities they visited without ordaining some ministers. And if the prayer of our sainted brother, Dr. French, the late Bishop of Lahore, is fulfilled, and God raises up native Apostles among the converts from Brahminism and Buddhism and Islam, there will not lack a following of native missionaries in the footsteps of each apostle.

In what I have said of workers generally, I include saintly women as well as men. In the Zenanas of the East, and among the mothers and girls of all lands, they are doing a work which women only can do. The missing link has been found and bears the severe strain already put upon it.

And last, not least, among the varieties of method I must not omit to name medical missions, wherein we only follow Him who always went about doing good to the bodies and souls of men. The gifts of healing have proved the opening of the door to ten thousands of homes, which would otherwise have been barred and locked against us. Every mission ought to have its "Luke, the beloved physician," attached to it, with a band of nurses and native apprentices.

But whatever the diversities of operations, concentration of effort is essential. The Rev. Robert Clark, in his most interesting tractate recently published, "Forty years of Missionary Work in the Punjab and Sindh," says, "One strong and efficient mission or institution is worth fifty weak ones: the weak ones, which only barely exist, will have but little influence, and will do but little good; the strong ones will make their influence felt, and will give a healthy tone to everything around them far and wide." And Mr. Clark goes on to quote the words of Mrs. Guinness in her book, "The New World of Central Africa": "One of the leading principles governing the policy and practice of our union is that of concentration and radiation from a centre. The experience in Burmah and in India has proved that the best plan is to make a strong station in a good strategical position, and to furnish it with a

III.—*The Middle Ages.* With the close of the Imperial period, the era of individual efforts came to an end. A very different work was now proposed to the energies of the Church. Herself scarcely recovering from the shock of the barbarian invasions, she was called to deal with uncultured peoples, of strange speech and strange customs, fierce and war-loving, and needing to learn almost the first elements of civilized life.\* The story of the transition of these wild races from barbarism to culture, from heathenism to the Christian faith, is one of the most wonderful things on record, and the methods employed differed in some respects from those of the preceding period. Whatever may have been done at first by individuals was now accomplished by *communities*.† The Celtic pioneers, who laid the foundations, and the Teutons, who came after them to raise the superstructure of European Christendom, knew nothing of isolated efforts. The principle of *associated labour* asserted itself and became predominant, as compared with individual efforts, which represented a temporary and provisional stage of missionary enterprise. The heralds of the Cross of this epoch never worked alone, always in bodies. What her military colonies were to ancient Rome, that these missionary colonies were to the advance of the Church in Central and Northern Europe. Their number, their union, their singular habits, their constant services, their lives of poverty and self-sacrifice, made an irresistible impression. On some suitable spot the trees were felled, the forest cleared, the church and the school erected. Here, while some of the brethren educated the young; others copied manuscripts or illuminated the service books; others cultivated the soil, guided the plough, planted the apple-tree and the vine,‡ arranged the bee-hives, erected the watermill, opened the mine, and thus presented the kingdom of Christ to the eyes of men as that of One Who had redeemed the bodies no less than the souls of His creatures. What were their methods? They were practical and marked by common sense.

(i.) *Their teaching* was simple and elementary, and based on the great facts of the Gospel story, and the Articles of the Creed.

(ii.) *In dealing with heathen errors* they showed wisdom and patience, and, as we see from the correspondence § of Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, with S. Boniface,|| they avoided the language of indiscriminate denunciation.

(iii.) They gave great attention to training a *native ministry*, and it is remarkable with what celerity Celtic and Teutonic missionaries were alike able to send forth from their schools native priests and deacons.

(iv.) They imparted all they knew of *agriculture*, introduced fruit trees, flowers, vegetables, and taught the first principles of civilized life.

(v.) After their missionary work had passed a certain stage, they grappled in diocesan and provincial synods with the Teutonic and

\* See Guizot's "Lectures on Civilization," Dean Church's "Gifts of Civilization," p. 306.

† See Bishop Lightfoot's "Leaders in the Northern Church," p. 10.

‡ See the Excursus "de cultu soli Germanici per Benedictinos," in Mabillon—"Acta SS. Bened." Pref.

§ Migne's "Patrologia," Sæc. viii., p. 707.

|| The rude tribes of Northern Europe presented to the early and mediæval missionaries no philosophy, no book religion—simply a form of nature-worship.



Scandinavian custom of exposing weak and deformed children ; with the sacrifices of men and animals in honour of the gods ; with witch-craft and sorcery of all kinds ; and inculcated a due regard for the sacredness of human life ; determined the relations of master and slave, and strove to elevate the peasant class.

Their methods may have had their defects, for they were wrought out by human agents ; but we cannot deny that they displayed genius and originality, and that for countless numbers these mediæval missions were an everlasting blessing. They who directed them won over "the nations of the future," the fathers of a grander and a nobler world than history had yet known.\* They did not despise "the day of small things." They "bought up" their opportunities. They trusted their converts, and they reaped their reward.

IV.—But various as has been the methods of missionary enterprise from the seventh to the fifteenth century, they were destined to a still further expansion and a still wider arena. The discovery of the New World marked an epoch of new interests, new hopes, new zeal,† and introduced us to the era of modern missions. Here varieties of method at once confront us, for with the exceptions of the missions of the great Latin church, the era is the era of *independent associations*, which work under the most diverse conditions on (a) our Colonies, (b) uncultured and barbarous races, (c) cultivated peoples with their time-honoured religions and philosophies, and their own sacred books.

(a) *Our Colonies*. The expansion of England has been described as the great factor in the recent history of the world,‡ and the English Church is called to inherit the opportunities of the English nation, with its numerous Colonies and Dependencies. The story of the Colonial Church and the Colonial Episcopate marks how far in advance we have gone since the question was proposed at a meeting of the "Eclectic Society," one of the precursors of the Church Missionary Society, on October 30th, 1786, "What is the best method of planting and propagating the Gospel in Botany Bay?"§ But if the advent of our Colonists is to be a real blessing to their new settlements, there is room still for all the agencies which have for their object to follow up our emigrants|| when they embark on board ship, to follow them to their new homes, and supply them there with the ministrations of the Church. If it was the examples of Christian colonists, Christian soldiers, Christian sailors, which effected so much for the spread of the Gospel in the earliest age, it is clear that we must not forget the claims of our own countrymen, and that too much cannot be done for the colonists, the soldiers, the sailors,¶ who represent us abroad.

(b) *Missions amongst uncultured races*, though they may differ in other respects, have one feature in common—they are patriarchal, and must

\* Dean Church's "Gifts of Civilization," p. 325.

† The early missionary work of the Church of this period, largely carried on under the banners of Spain, Portugal, and France, partook too much of the crusading spirit of the age, and recalled the coercive methods of "the Knights of the Sword," and "the Teutonic Knights" in Poland, Prussia, and Lithuania.

‡ By Professor Seeley, "Expansion of England," p. 176.

§ See Overton's "Evangelical Movement in the English Church."

|| As those of the S.P.C.K. for emigrant vessels.

¶ All Missions to Seamen have a special claim on the sympathy of every member of the Church.

aim at inculcating, first of all, the simplest lessons of civilized life.\* As with Bishop Wilfrid on the coast of Sussex, as with the mediæval missions in the forests of Germany, so now amongst the aboriginal tribes of India and North America, the natives of Guiana and Central Africa, and the islanders of the Southern Seas, the laying the foundation of civilized habits is of primary and essential importance; and if we wish for examples of the missionary teaching everything, and setting the example of doing everything, we have it in the labours of John Eliot and David Brainerd amongst their Indian converts; we have it in Bishop Patteson sailing from island to island of his Melanesian Diocese, bringing up children for his schools,† nursing them, clothing them, teaching them, convinced of the truth of Bishop Selwyn's words, that a native ministry was an imperative necessity, that "the white corks were only to float the black net;" we have it in Bishop Steere, now busy translating S. John's Gospel, now, by way of varying his task, working for several hours together with bundles of grass around him to show his people how to improve their thatching;‡ we have it in the aged Metropolitan of Guiana dropping down the rapid river in his canoe, though eighty-three years of age, spending days and nights in the forest, visiting and confirming his native converts.

(c) And then we come to *the cultured races*, with their philosophical systems and their sacred books. Here the task is far higher, more spiritual, more internal, and the work is more exhausting in its requirements, for it has to deal with the most abstruse problems that Hinduism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism can present for solution to the human mind. Can we say that our modern methods promise as much as those made in the early and middle ages? The success, indeed, of our missions among the rude aboriginal or non-Aryan tribes will not be disputed; they seem "to fall like ripe fruit before the first breath of the Gospel."§ But what has Christianity achieved when confronted with these old historic religions just mentioned? To this it may be replied that if the results appear to be won with painful slowness, this is only in keeping with the past history of the Church's triumphs, when she was confronted with the time-honoured religion of ancient Rome, where she had worked her way for a long time, in the literal sense of the word, "underground, under camp and palace, under senate and forum, as unknown and yet well known, as dying, and behold, she lived."|| Still, though the progress achieved has been slow and gradual, it has been steady and distinct, and the Oxford mission at Calcutta, and the Cambridge mission at Delhi, mark an epoch in modern methods from which much may be expected in God's good time.¶

\* Warneck's "Missions and Culture."

† See "Life of Bishop Patteson." ‡ "Life of Bishop Steere."

§ See Bishop Lightfoot's "Comparative Progress of Ancient and Modern Missions," page 9.

|| Dean Stanley's "Introductory Lecture on Ecclesiastical History," p. xxxviii.

¶ "I speak simply," said Sir Bartle Frere in 1872, "as to matters of experience and observation, and not of opinion, just as a Roman prefect might have reported to Trojan, or the Antonines, and I assure you that the teaching of Christianity among 160 millions of civilized, industrious Hindus and Mohammedans in India, is effecting changes, moral, social, and political, which are far more extraordinary than anything that you or your fathers have witnessed in modern Europe."—Lecture delivered July 9th, 1872.

But there are two methods which seem to me to have a special importance of their own :—

(i.) *Medical Missions*.—When we reflect how prominent a place the healing of the body occupied in the mission of our Lord, and in the Apostolic age, it is somewhat surprising that, except among the Roman missionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is not till a comparatively recent period \* that medical missions have received the attention they deserve. In all the heathen world the practice of medicine is marked by the deepest superstition, and the most extreme cruelties. Wherever we go, to China or Corea, to India or Arabia, to Central Africa or New Guinea, we find a total absence of any reliable knowledge of anatomy, or physiology, chemistry, or surgery, and in time of sickness we see men and women resorting with the greatest confidence to the most ridiculous, severe, and sometimes revolting remedies. † Now the medical mission may be said to be one of the most striking of the methods of modern missionary enterprise, and few have bestowed greater benefits. Testimony to this fact comes in ever-increasing volume from Syria and Persia, from China and Corea, from Japan and Siam, from Zanzibar and Honolulu. When a young man goes out as a medical missionary, the field is almost boundless as regards the influence he may exert. What the ordinary missionary, it has been said, can do in five or ten years, the medical man can do in one, and the records of what has been accomplished by medical missions in lessening the feelings against foreigners, ‡ in helping to break down caste, § in diminishing the power of superstition, which always connects diseases with evil spirits, are some of the most encouraging features of modern missionary efforts.

(ii.) And the next method to which I allude is *woman's work for woman*. Few things are more significant in the history of modern times than the uprising of the women of the West in behalf of their Eastern sisters. The tale of the degradation and suffering of Asiatic women, || the pictures of the latticed window, the zenana and the harem, have roused the women of Christendom to attempt an errand of mercy to these Oriental abodes. The experience of the past teaches us that no nation can be really elevated till its women are regenerated, and if any agency is needed more than another in Eastern climes, it is the agency of those, who women themselves, can go where no clerical missionary or even physician can go, within the jealously-guarded quarters of their sister women. It is a matter, therefore, of true thankfulness, that whereas there was only one society in 1834 \* which could

\* It is to the Roman missionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that we owe the use of cinchona, which has rendered mission work possible in fever-stricken lands, as well as ipecacuanha, and many other remedies.

† Warneck's "Missions and Culture," p. 176.

‡ See the "Encyclopædia of Missions," Vol. II., p. 49.

§ Of the Rev. Peter Parker, M.D., who arrived at Canton in 1834, it was said, "He opened China to the Gospel at the point of his lancet." A hospital in China is not troubled with any of the caste difficulties of India.

|| A thousand years B.C., Hindu women appear to have been as free as Trojan dames, or the daughters of Judæa. Hymns in the Rig-Veda mention them with respect and affection, comparing the goodness of the god Agni to that of a "brother for his sisters," and the brightness of this god to the shining of a woman in her home. Wm. Spiers' "Life in Ancient India;" C. L. Brooke's Essay, I., p. 70. . . . .

be called a "ladies' association," as we term it here in England, or as the phrase is in America, a "woman's board," now there are in Great Britain, Canada, and America sixty such boards or societies, each under its own management; † that no less than 1,468 English-speaking women, of whom fifty are physicians, were maintained in the missionary field in 1889-90 by women's societies; that more than a million and a half of dollars were gathered and disbursed by them; and that in the latest edition of the "Encyclopædia of Missions," published in America, the subject of "woman's work for woman," occupies no less than fifty-one double-columned pages, ‡ and amongst the many societies there-mentioned "the ladies' association" of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel§ occupies no mean place. The education|| of our Eastern sisters may indeed seem sometimes to be halting and standing still, but there is never a day when there is not progress somewhere along the line.

But to conclude. The retrospect of past efforts to promote missionary enterprise is full of teaching and encouragement as regards the present. From the missions of the middle ages we learn—(i.) the immense value of the principle of community life in the working of missions, of carrying on the fight with great battalions; ¶ and (ii.) the importance of setting on foot and fostering all possible civilizing agencies. From the missions of the early age of the Church we learn to appreciate the immense effect of individual influence, individual energy, and individual zeal, and from both we learn that, while on the one hand we are bound to avoid everything that savours of arrogance, or an over-bearing spirit, or a contempt of lower races, we are equally bound, on the other, to regard the most benighted of mankind as those who are feeling after God amidst all their superstitions,\*\* and even ignorantly worshipping Him Whom we desire to declare unto them.

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Major-General Sir F. J. GOLDSMID, K.C.S.I., C.B

THE history of the Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Christians has long since been made known, in pamphlet or more permanent form of print, to readers who have cared to receive and apprehend it. Such persons as may not hitherto have had the opportunity of mastering the subject are referred to Mr. Athelstan Riley's reports on his two journeys to Kurdistan in 1886 and 1888, together with his able paper on the Assyrian Mission read at the Wolverhampton Church Congress of 1887; also to Dean Maclean's recently published volume entitled "The Catholicos," and the several publications of

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\* Founded by David Abell, Missionary of the American Board.

† See "Encyclopædia of Missions," Vol. II., p. 479; Warneck's "Mission and Culture," p. 183.

‡ "Encyclopædia of Missions," Vol. II., pp. 479-522.

§ See the very interesting report for 1891.

|| "The prejudice of our native Christians," writes Dr. Caldwell, "against female education has disappeared, and even in our day schools the number of girls bears now the natural proportion to the number of boys."—"Tinnevely Mission," p. 105.

¶ See Encyclopædia by Dr. Cust on "Methods of Evangelization," p. 107.

\*\* Paper of Dr. Codrington at the Manchester Congress in 1888.

which it is the summary, or to which it refers. Few, if any, will regret the time or attention thus applied, for the printed papers present a somewhat exceptional missionary literature; and stand apart, as it were, from those conventional reports, the style and statistics of which, however essential and appropriate, have become perhaps too familiar to the reader to arouse what may be called literary interest.

As to what are the direct objects of the Mission, here is the authoritative exposition of the matter contained in one of the Quarterly Papers:—"The principles on which the missionaries are instructed to work are to raise up the old 'Nestorian' Church, without any proselytism, the ancient organizations and customs to be respected, and no Anglican congregation to be set up, the people to be taught to lead good lives after the manner of the East, rather than of the West." In this aspect the work was taken up in 1886, in continuation of a mission which, inaugurated five years previously in the person of a single and hardly successful agent, had practically ceased in 1885.

Canon Maclean and the Rev. W. H. Browne were the first to go out. They were received, we are told, with enthusiasm by the whole Assyrian Church and nation; bishops and clergy rode out at the head of their people to welcome them, and the Patriarch placed the whole education of the flock in their hands. In 1887 the Rev. A. H. Lang joined the Mission staff. He was followed, the next year, by the Rev. A. R. Edington, and the year after by the Rev. J. N. Nisan, a native of Assyria, who came as representative, and at the cost of the American Church. In 1890 four sisters of the community of the Sisters of Bethany joined the Mission for work amongst the girls and women; they were accompanied by the Rev. Arthur S. Jervis, whose death, in October, 1891, was a severe loss, and removed a zealous and efficient worker. As a proof of the estimation in which he was held may be cited the report of the native Bishop of Urmi, that some seven hundred persons attended the funeral, amongst them American Presbyterian missionaries, and Mohammedans representing the Shah's Government. The prelate further wrote:—"There was felt to be in the death of this English priest a great loss and sorrow, and, indeed, nearly every eye was shedding tears." In the current year, the Mission was strengthened by the Rev. D. Jenks and the Rev. S. J. Daltry, but it had at this time ceased to number amongst its members Canon Maclean and the Rev. A. H. Lang, whose respective terms of service had expired. The Rev. W. H. Browne, one of the original organizers, is still at his post. He returned to Urmi on the 18th December last, after a short leave of absence in England.

My object to-day is to draw attention to the surroundings of this Mission—surroundings due to geographical position; surroundings in connection with its legitimate work, and the people with whom it is likely to be thrown in contact; surroundings which, if actively apprehended as they are tacitly acknowledged, may be found to extend its area of usefulness, and become, under Providence, a means of reinforcement for the good cause. I am sensible that these words are suggestive of a very wide field of discussion, into which it would be impossible on an occasion like the present to do more than glance; but the glance may comprehend much that is worth noting.

If we take from 44° to 46° longitude E., and 37° to 38° latitude N.,

we get the figures within which the Mission chiefly carries on its work ; *i.e.*, the Western or Persian half, in the villages of the plains, and bordering the Lake of Urmi ; the Eastern or Turko-Persian half, among the mountaineers of Turkish Kurdistan and Hakkari. Beside these, however, there is a Nestorian population extending westward to Mosul and northward to Van and Dilman, among whom may be included the Roman Catholic section at Khosrova, in the Plain of Salmás, and many in the same neighbourhood who have joined the American Presbyterian community.

According to the latest authority on these parts, "the Nestorian Christians of the Turko-Persian highlands have been variously estimated at figures between 100,000 and 200,000, the higher being, in all probability, the more correct calculation."\* Taking, then, for present purposes, a maximum of 200,000, these may be divided into—

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|---|-----------|
| 1. Old Nestorians, under Már Shimûn, who resides<br>himself in Turkish territory ... .. | } 100,000 |
| 2. Old Chaldæan Uniat Church of Rome, under<br>Patriarch of Babylon, and ... ..         |           |
| 3. New Chaldæan, or secession from Rome, under<br>Már Elia Mellus ... ..                | } 100,000 |
|   |           |

Of the first-named—to whom and their Patriarch the English missionaries are accredited—40,000† are given to Persia, and 60,000 to Turkey; but as the Persian figures are, on closer analysis, raised to 44,000,‡ we may suppose that among these are included the Roman Catholics and American Presbyterians originally forming part of the old Nestorians of Azarbarján. In this large province—the westernmost in the Shah's dominions, and the Media of ancient history—are situated the lake, and town, and plain of Urmiya, or Urmi, the headquarters of the Archbishop's Assyrian Mission, a locality of which I will now briefly trace the surroundings.

The Chaldæan Uniates of the French Mission have their stations at Urmi (where the Monseigneur or Bishop resides), and on the plain of Salmas in the north. Their establishment, which had its origin about forty years ago, consists of seven priests and a nunnery of the Sisters of S. Vincent de Paul ; the missionaries are Lazarists, in contradistinction to their brethren in Turkey, who belong to the Dominican Order. On the other hand, the American Presbyterian Mission dates back for more than half a century, and is part of a more extended and liberally supported establishment which has one of its branch stations in the capital of Persia. I regret inability to give even an approximate number for either Roman Chaldæans or American Nestorians in these parts, but when the latter seceded from their parent Church, in 1868, they are said to have consisted of 2,400 persons.

Mr. Athelstan Riley, on the occasion of his visit to the locality in

\* "Persia and the Persian Question," by the Hon. G. Curzon, M.P., Vol. I., (Longmans, 1892).

† Mr. Curzon's estimate would show at Urmi, 28,800 souls ; Salmas, 5,600 ; Suldúz, 3,200 ; Tergavar, 4,000 ; at Somai, Baradost, Mergavar, each 800 ; total, 44,000.

‡ Mr. Curzon, by adding to these, 28,900 Armenians, estimates the total number of Christians in Azarbarján at 72,900.

1886, or shortly after the English Mission had fairly commenced work, found its members on "terms of the most friendly social intercourse" with those of the French and American Missions at Urmi. On his later visit, in the autumn of 1888, this happy state of things was recognized as in full continuance in respect of the French Mission, "who had enough to do to look after their existing flock to abstain from direct proselytism, and with whom there were no rival interests." Unfortunately, however, it is an undoubted fact that, even among spiritually-minded men, these outward amenities are not incompatible with inner differences, and that, as in the days of the son of Sirach, while "a fair-speaking tongue will increase kindly greetings," the heart does not always beat in harmony with "sweet language."\* The Roman Press, in its references to the Eastern Churches, has more than once shown its hostility to the members of the Anglo-Assyrian Mission; and this more particularly in recent years, when the charge has been put upon it of working with political objects. With the American Presbyterians, Mr. Riley noticed, in 1888, that a certain antagonism had openly arisen, owing to the active proselytism which characterized their work; but before closing his report he "saw reason to hope for better things in the future," and mentioned the gratifying circumstance that social visits and friendly relations, which had been temporarily suspended, were happily renewed. How little was it at one time anticipated that the original conciliatory American Mission would have developed into its present aggressive form, may be judged from the following brief extracts of a volume of *Travels*, published in 1840, by the Rev. Horatio Southgate, of the Episcopal Church of America. He had then quite recently returned from Persia and Asia Minor, visiting, among other places of interest, the town and lake of Urmi:—

"I had a full opportunity to become acquainted with the policy and prospects of the Mission. . . . It aims not at the overthrow of the Nestorian Church, to which its labours are almost exclusively directed. The missionaries do not interfere, in the least degree, with the religious practices of the Nestorians. . . . The Episcopal ministry and the liturgy of the Nestorian Church are no part of its corruptions. . . . With such institutions it were worse than impolitic, it were, in our view, sin to interfere. A blow struck at either would be more disastrous to the Mission than to the Church. We do not fear that it will be struck in the plain of Ourmiah. We firmly believe that the missionaries will ever, as now, refrain from all interference with the constitution and government of the Nestorian Church."†

The blow, however, *was* struck; and, in about thirty years later, a Confession of Faith and rules of discipline were drawn up for the seceders, who became a separate body of so-called "Protestant Nestorians."

Let us now turn our attention to surroundings of another kind—the Mohammedan inhabitants. This province of Azarbarján, of which I have already spoken, is not only a frontier province between Turkey

\* Ecclesiasticus vi. 6.

† "Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia," by the Rev. Horatio Southgate, in two volumes. Vol. I., pp. 295, 296. London: Tilt and Bogue, 86, Fleet Street: 1840.

and Persia, but it separates the two great Moslem religious divisions of Súnni and Shíah. Members of the former, called *Sunniyán*, or, more literally, *ahli's-sunnah*, "people of the faith," are those who adhere to certain authoritative traditions, and notably to the succession to Mohammed in the person of four *Khalifas*. On the other hand, the *Shi-ites* are followers of Ali, cousin, son-in-law, and, according to their belief, only legitimate successor of the prophet. Practically, and to all intents and purposes, the Turk represents the former, and the Persian the latter persuasion; and this distinction—as marked as between Roman Catholic and ultra-Protestant—is illustrated by continuous feuds and hostility. Missionaries from Europe to the Assyrian Christians will be brought into contact with both forms of belief, and I venture to suggest that their time will not be misapplied if, in addition to the acquirement of local language or dialect, a sufficiently close study be made of the two great divisions of Islam, that a fair type of each will be graven in the memory of the student. It would be well, indeed, if he could understand the particular influence exercised by each upon the general character and tone of thought of the persons avowing them.

But the distinction between Súnni and Shíah is not the sole lesson to be learned by the European missionary in the pages of the book of Islam, ever open to inspection in Mohammedan countries. Persia is, *par excellence*, a land abounding in schools of thought, which are classed under the heads of religion or philosophy, as may be found most befitting. Moreover, at less than forty miles from the north-east shore of Lake Urmi, is situated Tabriz, the capital of Azarbarján and residence of the Crown Prince—a city of some 180,000 inhabitants, and only in very late years second in respect of population to Tehran. Here should be found grouped together disciples of all the offshoots of and divergencies from the national faith. Time would fail me to attempt a catalogue of these, but I will venture to speak very briefly on two of the most important—*Súfi-ism* and *Bábi-ism*.

Of the first, the late Professor Palmer defined the key-note of the system to be that the human soul is an emanation from the Deity, and that "it is always seeking and yearning to rejoin the source from whence it sprung. Ecstasy is the means by which a nearer intercourse is obtained, total absorption in the Divinity the ultimate object to be attained." The practical aim is to escape from Self; and there are three degrees of progress towards the desired end. These are designated the Law, the Way, and the Truth; the third being held to be the most blessed state of all. Mohammedans imbued with these ideas do not necessarily abjure Mohammedanism, but their orthodoxy is undoubtedly affected by them. Henry Martyn, writing of the sect at Shiraz, in 1811, says: "These Súfis are quite the Methodists of the East. They delight in everything Christian, except in being exclusive. They consider that all will finally return to God, from whom they are emanated, or rather of whom they are only different forms. . . . From these . . . you will perceive the first Persian Church will be formed, judging after the manner of men." One of Martyn's treatises, written at Shiraz, contained an examination of the doctrine of the Súfis, and pointed out that their object was attainable by the Gospel only. This, he has assured us in a letter from Tabriz, dated the year of his lamented death, "was read with interest and convinced many."



Bâbi-ism is of comparatively modern date. Its founder, Mirza Ali Mohammed, was born in A.D. 1820, and his so-called "Manifestation" took place in 1844. From that date he and his followers were placed in open antagonism with the Government, and two years after the present Shah's accession (in A.D. 1850) he was condemned to be shot publicly at Tabriz. The sentence was carried out, but the whole procedure was of that sensational character that it rather enhanced than destroyed the *prestige* of the sufferer. Since then the Bâbis have been proscribed and treated with great vindictiveness and cruelty. Mr. Granville Browne, Persian Reader at Cambridge, has described their tenets very fully, and given a very interesting and instructive account of their trials and persecutions, as well as of their internal divisions and present condition. The sentiments which he credits to Bahá'ullah, the usually accepted head of the sect at the present day, are certainly such as would seem to invite the attention of the Christian thinker. "Ye are all the fruit of one tree," he is understood to say, "and the leaves of one branch. Walk, then, with perfect charity, concord, affection, and agreement; for I swear by the Sun of Truth that the light of agreement shall brighten and illumine the horizons." Mr. Browne adds, of his own knowledge of the doctrine, that "people of all creeds are to be associated with in a fair and friendly spirit, not shunned as unclean or treated as foes. Persuasion may be used to gain converts, but the employment of force is hateful to God." Elsewhere he further writes, "Bâbi-ism, in spite of the mystic enthusiasm which pervades it, differs from Sûfi-ism in the essentially practical objects which it has in view." Its notions are certainly strange, but its search after truth and aspirations after moral regeneration appear intelligible, while the endurance unto death of its followers is remarkable—many would say marvellous.

Much more might be said of these and other schools of thought in Persia, which possess a surprisingly large number of adherents, not always openly declared, or easy to be distinguished. My own acquaintance with the subject, and especially with the writings of the Sûfi authors, whose aspirations find expression in a poetical imagery of rare charm and power, leads to the conclusion that the higher mysticism professed may be interpreted as the craving for a better religion than that in which its professors have been educated. In such light, need it be suggested that, even amid the Mohammedan surroundings of Western Persia, are many individuals whose companionship, if only for occasional interchange of ideas, might be full of interest and profit, and would readily fall within the category of "varieties of method in missionary enterprise."

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## ADDRESSES.

The Right Rev. CHARLES ALAN SMYTHIES, D.D., Bishop of Central Africa.

I HAVE to speak on the methods of missionary work, and I suppose that it is intended that I should confine myself especially to the methods with which I am acquainted in the missionary work in tropical East Africa. First of all, I would say that missionaries have to beware of two dangers. It is necessary first, if they would do their work healthily and well, that they should avoid degenerating into traders,

and acquiring large estates in the country in which they are missionaries, if that country be an uncivilized, and what we are pleased to call a savage, country. I say "degenerating," because it is a degeneration from their spiritual office. I remember well that when I first went to East Africa I was requested by the chiefs of the country in which I happened to be, to go and interview a chief who threatened to come down upon that country. I went, accompanied by a deputation, to the fort on the mountain in which he was. Already the smoke of the burning villages was seen in the neighbouring valley by the inhabitants among whom we worked. Among the questions that that chief asked me in that interview was how much land we had acquired in that country, and what possessions we had there. And I was glad to be able to answer him, "We have one little shamba" (as we call the small farm), "which was granted to us by your grandfather, Kimweri, who was former king of the country." That was calculated to allay any jealousy which he might feel, and any jealousy which might rightly be felt by natives, of the foreign white man, so strange, so different from them in all his customs, who should come and settle in their midst, and be acquiring property or land. We know what degeneracy has overtaken missionaries in many directions when they have begun to trade, and have gradually changed their characters and become mere traders. The second danger which has to be avoided in an uncivilized country by a missionary is the danger of becoming a chief. People will gradually gather round him, and it may be that in time of difficulty they would gladly welcome him in such a position. But surely that will be fatal to his spiritual power. Every missionary has clearly to discern between the two powers which God has placed in the world, that which we call the power of the keys, and the power of the sword, and he has always to take care that in all he does he confines himself to the use of the power of the keys—those means of advancing the Gospel by persuasion and by the spiritual powers granted to him by our Lord; never snatching, under whatever temptation, to gain a temporary advantage—never snatching at political power, or the power of force, for this will be sure to recoil upon him hereafter and spoil all his work, if he goes out of his own sphere and snatches a power which God has not committed to him. We are careful to teach our people that even heathen chiefs have their power from God, and that they are to be obeyed as holding a power from God. It is not our place as missionaries to usurp that power, but it is rather to persuade the chiefs to use that power by the light of the principles of justice and righteousness.

Then with regard to the constitution of the mission, I cannot help saying that I feel sure that our mission is right in giving the sole responsibility of work and action on the spot to the bishop, and not allowing that responsibility to rest upon a committee sitting in London. I say "bishop"—not that I want a bishop to have autocratic and irresponsible power, because as soon as the mission is large enough, and as soon as there is any opportunity of doing so, the bishop will form his synod, and the power of all action on the spot will really reside in the bishop sitting at the head of his synod. If it is to be referred from such a place as the country about Lake Nyasa to a committee sitting at home, before the message can be sent home and the answer can be sent back, the occasion will have passed by, and the advice will have become obsolete.

Then with regard to a practice in which we are peculiar. We offer no salaries to our missionaries. We offer to pay their expenses only. You may think it a strange thing, and if our mission rested on natural and not supernatural principles, it would be a strange thing for me to come to this country and travel about and to appeal to masses of people, and ask for missionaries to come out to a dangerous country, where we lose every year some of our number by disease and death (and this year we have

lost four already), and to tell them that we have no advantage to offer, and no inducement but the love of God and the love of souls. We have to tell them, "You will have no emolument. You will get £20 a year for your expenses. Whether you are a priest, or a carpenter, or a blacksmith, or whatever you are, we all get the same. We live together; we share altogether. I have nothing more to offer you." Yes, but upon the supernatural ground on which we rest, it is not unreasonable, and the method is a very sifting one. Only those are likely to come and work in such a mission who are moved by the Holy Ghost to come and give themselves to the work. Then it must be remembered that we are all missionaries—not only the priests, but the carpenter and the blacksmith and the printer. The printer is a very valuable missionary. Whether it is the ladies who nurse, or the ladies who teach, or the schoolmaster, or the mechanic, the captain of the vessel or the engineer—all are on the same footing, recognizing one another as missionaries. All are communicants of the Church of England, and they have come because they have a missionary vocation to carry out that particular work which God has taught them, and they do it only for the good of the heathen whom Jesus loves and has died to save. When first we formed the plan of having a missionary steamer on Lake Nyassa, it was said by common-sense and business-like men that the plan would certainly fail. It was said that the officers would get drunk, or get out of temper with the natives, and it would be a failure. I knew that the experiment had not been tried before on these lines—on the lines that each person on the steamer should come out as a missionary, with a missionary vocation. And I have had the satisfaction of late years to hear these very men get up in our committee and say, "I acknowledge that I have entirely changed my opinion. At first I thought that it must be a failure. I acknowledge that the steamer has been a great missionary success." Then, with regard to the way in which we think it right to teach our natives. Our desire is to distinguish very clearly between Christianizing and Europeanizing. It is not our wish to make the Africans bad caricatures of the Englishmen. What we want is to Christianize them in their own civil and political conditions; to help them to develop a Christian civilization suited to their own climate and to their own circumstances. For instance, we do not allow any of the boys in our schools to wear any European clothing. It is not our business to encourage the trade in boots by spoiling the feet of the Africans for their own climate. That seems to be what has caused, in the minds of many Englishmen, a sort of feeling against missions, because they see so many people of our poor country whose sole idea of perfection with regard to the things of this life is that they must be as much like Europeans as possible. Very often it only ends in a sort of bad caricature. Then I would also say that it is very important that the missionary should not wish to draw people around him away from the legitimate authority which is exercised over them. That is the way, surely, to manufacture hypocrites. Everybody who has a grievance against his chief, everybody who has some hope of getting free from rendering feudal service, will gather round the missionary if he thinks he can be protected, and play off his Christianity against the power of the chiefs who exercise legitimate authority over him. What we want to do is to go to the people living, as I have said, under their own civil and political conditions, and teach them in the midst of those conditions, and Christianize, so far as we can, all classes of the people, from the chiefs downward, beginning, of course, if we can, with the chiefs, as being the persons who have the greatest influence in the country.

It is said sometimes, "Why do you not try to teach more trades?" Well, you must remember that if we teach the natives trades which are of no use in the particular country in which they live, it will only end in the mission afterwards, instead of

making them independent, and letting them get their living for themselves, having to find them work, and keeping them always in a dependent position. When we teach the boys trades, our object is to teach them such trades as shall enable them to live in entire independence of the mission hereafter, and to get their own living in their own country.

And then to turn to deeper things. I am certain that the people of Africa need not so much to be taught an emotional as a disciplining religion. It is not difficult to work upon the emotions of the inhabitants of a tropical country. We may produce, I dare say, a great appearance of outward devotion. I think that some people in England would be surprised if they came to our large school at Zanzibar and saw the devotion of the boys at the time of service ; but the fact is, that it does not mean nearly so much as it would mean in this country. It is no trouble to an African boy to sit still ; it is no trouble to an African to show an appearance of reverence. African boys have not the fidgets like English boys have, and they have not so strong a will to be controlled. What we want is to teach them a religion which will lead them to discipline their lives.

Sometimes when I have heard warmth of expression on the part of those natives who have been brought up differently, I have felt a little sad, as if there was something wanting amongst us ; but my common sense and my experience have always brought me back to this—that we must teach them a religion which will lead them to discipline themselves in the midst of this vast mass of impurity—in the midst of this terrible atmosphere of evil in which their battle lies. Yes, I do not suppose that anybody here in this protected country knows what a battle it is to anyone there in Africa to live a really holy and noble life. We hear of the virtues of the “noble savage.” Let anybody who talks about the virtues of the noble savage come and stay in our country, and I think then that he will have to correct those theoretical impressions of his. I think that he would soon have to acknowledge that for anyone to live a really Christian life in that country means a much greater battle than most people have to fight amid that Christianized social opinion and those surroundings of protected life which most of us have here. Therefore, we have to keep people a long time waiting before we admit them to Christianity. It has generally been supposed that Roman Catholics are very easy in baptizing people, but a French missionary told me the other day that Cardinal Lavigerie, the great head of African missions, had sent out a message that no native was to be baptized under two years preparation as a catechumen. Well, I have tried something of that kind, and I acknowledge that it is too long ; but still there must be a long preparation first to test their earnestness and sincerity, and then there must be the deepest dealing with individual souls. Call it confession or what you like, we must deal with each individual soul. The spiritual pastor must put his arm round each individual African, and he must fight side by side with him the battle of life.

The Church must not be depressed to a lower level to meet half way the heathenism of Africa. The Church must embrace the African, and raise him up by means of her sacraments and means of grace, and spread a network around him, and raise him up to her high level, not abating one jot in morality or spirituality of what she requires of her children here at home. Only so, I believe, will there be a truly healthy, living Church in Africa. Then only she will dare, as we are daring, to try to form a native ministry, and to put before each boy who has intellectual capacity, and is leading a high moral life, that that is the life he is to look forward to out of gratitude to God ; that as our Lord Jesus Christ has chosen him out of the millions of heathen who are still in darkness to be His son, and has poured down so many blessings upon him,

so it should be the highest ambition of his life to take the message of the holy gospel to his brethren, and to spend his life in sharing those great blessings which he has received with his brethren, who will remain in heathen darkness if he does not go to teach them. That is what I believe many of our young men have in their hearts, and one day I am quite sure that we shall see an enthusiastic and able ministry extending the work of the Church far and wide in Africa.

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The Right Rev. JOHN RICHARDSON SELWYN, D.D., late  
Bishop of Melanesia.

WE are, each one of us, asked to speak of the system of our mission work. In speaking of what, alas, I have to call my late diocese of Melanesia, I speak of a work which has partly grown and partly been devised. The system on which we work now was partly devised by my father, and it partly grew up. My father was bidden to try and carry the light from New Zealand—as if that colony was not work enough—to the islands lying to the north-west of New Zealand, on the western border of the Pacific. He found there a multitude of islands and a great multitude of languages. He had a little vessel of twenty-one tons, and four hands. He had no clergy at all to speak of, and he looked forward in faith and earnestness to training men, not perhaps in such a high way as Bishop Smythies has just been describing, but he believed that God has made His Gospel for us all, and that black men, wild races, noble savages, or whatever you like to call them, are capable of being reached by the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and are capable of handing that Gospel on. And surely, dear friends, that is the Apostolic method. The Archbishop spoke of our not quite following the Apostolic methods, but what was the method of the first missionary journey of S. Paul? We find that he ordained elders in every city; and so, among the liars of Crete, those “slow bellies and evil beasts,” Titus was told to ordain him elders in every city. Sir Herbert Edwardes, than whom no man ever knew native races better, tells us as the result of his long experience, that at the end of it he thought that no European could ever thoroughly understand the native mind; and you will find that a humble native, working among his own people, understanding them, understanding their ways, understanding where the shoe pinches, will, if he is filled with the Spirit of Christ—as I have seen them filled—win souls to Christ, and lead men by his influence in a way that puts you utterly to shame. Therefore, we work on the system of what my father called “black nets with white corks.” The first principle of that position is to weave the net. We weave that net at our central school, or rather, the school of our headquarters in Norfolk Island, and there we all live on the community principle. We are not, it is true, all unmarried, but married and unmarried alike have most meals of the day together. We meet together in our common hall with our students; and the boys and the girls who are there in training live like children in our houses. Those of us who have read Bishop Patteson’s life will remember how those people ran in and out of his room, and how he knew them all intimately. So with us. Our boys live in the houses of the unmarried tutors, as we may call them, and go in and out of their rooms freely and unreservedly; and our girls live with our married clergy, and they, too, are trained almost as daughters of the house. And so this black net is being woven under our hands, with the most intimate knowledge, and the most intimate love. And then our clergy, having thus gained a knowledge of the people, which they renew from time to time as they come back to our headquarters’ school, and as the old and young scholars come back, the old to be “filled up,” as a native said, and the young to be

further taught, these white clergymen go down, each to his own district. Now these districts have been, all through my Episcopacy, much too large. I could not get sufficient men, though I got as noble a band of clergy as any man ever worked with; but with these white corks we have managed to keep up the net. The principle on which the clergy work down in these wild islands, amidst all the multiplicity of tongues and wide distances between island and island, is what I may call the prophet-chamber principle; that is to say, in all the villages where we have enough teachers, there also we have a little house built. It costs us, perhaps, a pound to have it built. It is built for the clergyman as his own chamber, and there, as the clergyman goes his rounds, in that house there is renewed, in some form or another, the very self-same system which we have at Norfolk Island. The boys run in and out in intimate intercourse with the clergyman. The people of the village are close in touch with him, and again and again I have entertained old heathen chiefs at meals. I remember entertaining a chief of the great island of Santa Cruz, where Commodore Goodenough was killed. This gentleman was mightily careful to be served with all due formality, albeit, he had to lift up his nose ring to drink from the cup that I presented him. But then what about the black net? I find that the Archbishop in his opening speech, which, unfortunately, I did not hear, made use of these words. It is reported thus:—"The Archbishop then spoke of the collegiate and cathedral centres with which all missionary work in old days was started, as distinguished from the isolated chains of work which we now set down at once where all is darkest." And again he said, "Our present method makes us extremely distrustful of our own leaders and our own disciples, afraid to trust the former with power, and to brace the latter with responsibility." Bishop Smythies has said that in his opinion—and I heartily agree with him—you must trust a missionary bishop with power, if he is to do anything at all; and what I want to show you in the last part of my speech is, that you can brace your disciples with responsibility, your black disciples drawn from wild islands. It is the very life-blood, the very heart of our mission, that we do trust our native teachers and our native clergy with enormous responsibility. And what do I find? I find, first of all, that this does brace them; these men who are so weak, apparently, in their own islands, so little to be trusted apparently, on whom some look down with such disdain, are braced with responsibility when they have been filled with the Spirit of God, and have got something with which to go forth to their fellow-men. I find, first of all, that drudgery is done; and my brethren of the clergy know that it is not in the pulpit, it is not in the place of notoriety, it is not in, perhaps, the "glory" of mission work as some people call it, that the real work is done; but it is done in the drudgery of our daily lives. And what these people hate more than anything else, and what is the hardest thing for a native to bear, is drudgery. Well, I find that the drudgery is done. I find men teaching schools where there is no one else to teach them. I find the children brought together and kept together and taught, and well taught in very many instances. I find bands of catechumens gathered together when I go my yearly rounds, and I know that work is being done. I come ashore late of an evening at some island where they have not seen my ship approaching, and I hear the bell ringing for evening prayer, and I find all the people assembled just as if there were some white man there to look after them. (2) I find men doing uphill work. There is in my islands a man whom I ordained about two years ago, who is as thorough a missionary as ever went forth in the world, and he is working 700 miles away. That man worked for seven years in the midst of threat of death, and in the midst of every depreciation and every jealousy; and now he has got his church built in their midst. It is the best house in the island. He opened that Church with twenty-five souls whom

he brought to us for baptism, and after his seven years of work, he sees, like Jacob, his Rachel the Church delivered into his hands. There is a young man on an island which he went to on a visit that he might help a friend whom he met at Norfolk Island, and that island is the most dangerous one in the Pacific. And I see men daring death again and again, and forcing their way into places from which I try to hold them back. One in particular went bravely to beard the chief of his island in his den when he had refused to receive him, and now that chief and all his followers are Christians. I see men doing this, and somehow or other the black net is sweeping in men, and somehow or other there is peace reigning where before was division; and infanticide is dying down; and I believe that God can and does work by the aid of those native teachers and that native ministry. But what of the failures? Are you not afraid of them? Yes, there are failures. Our Lord had failures; S. Paul had failures; there must be failures. I have never hidden one. I have told every failure in the bitterness of my soul, and I have felt them more than any man could possibly feel them who read my story. I have felt the bitterness of the shame on myself. I have seen a man who worked with me for seventeen years, who brought the armed inhabitants of two heathen villages to make peace at the feet of my wife and myself when we went ashore, falling away; and I have seen such an one repent and endure hardness and open shame, and humbly and quietly strive to do some more work for the Church of God.

One word more about the method of dealing with missionary bodies outside our own pale. In the Southern Seas, from the very earliest times, we have agreed to differ. We have divided the land between us, lest we should clash with one another's work. "Oh, that is cowardly," some say. Yes, we do not quite like it. We would rather see Christ preached in our own way. Every man, be he Roman Catholic or Churchman, or Presbyterian or Wesleyan, if he honestly believes that his own system is the best, feels that same thought in his heart. But there is one thing that is far worse than our dividing the land between us, and that is that the heathen should see our unhappy divisions. It is far worse that a man should say, as a Maori chief said to my father, "I am sitting on the cross roads. The Roman Catholics say that that is the way to heaven; and the Wesleyan says, 'There, that is the way to heaven;' and you, the bishop, say that the other is the way to heaven; and I am waiting to find out which is the way to heaven." And the man sat there till he died. Roman Catholics and Protestants fighting in the streets of Uganda—do they show the unity of the Church of Christ? Is not the answer to that question written fair and large for all men to read in the early history of the Church? Yes, it is better to agree to separate, so that Christ is preached, even though it be of our divisions. And Christ is preached. The Christ whom men like Chalmers and Lawes preach in New Guinea, whom Père Montizier, Bishop Patteson's friend, preached in New Caledonia, whom Robertson and Paton preached in the New Hebrides, whom the Wesleyan missionaries, than whom no braver men ever did battle for the cross of Christ, preached in the island of Fiji, is the same Christ whom Bishop Patteson died for, and the same Christ in whose name we meet to-day. And as I leave the missionary work with all its inspirations, this is my feeling towards all those men who are not of my persuasion, but whom I love and reverence so truly. This I abundantly believe and fondly hope—that from the missionary life which is burning round us, there will come back in God's own time a heat that will melt and weld our scattered Christendom into one united whole again. It is not by academic consultation in some Alpine valley that that will be done; but from the heart of Africa, from the dense masses of India and China, from the Southern Seas, there comes back a cry as of men who stand face to face with the hosts of heathendom; they see each

other do and dare and die in the name of their common Master ; they feel the needs of their common brotherhood, which, in some way or other, will find out the path of unity, and as they face all that dark mass of heathendom, they feel that they must be one, and *they* will teach us how we may be one.

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Sir A. GORDON, 164, Cromwell Road, London, S.W.

I MUST employ two or three moments of my time in expressing the delight and pleasure with which I have heard the sentiments which I have long entertained, and the opinions which I have often expressed, repeated before you to-night by so eminent an authority as Bishop Smythies. Everything that he has said as to the hindrances in the way of mission work among the heathen, as to the undesirability of certain courses and the desirability of others, not from an opposite point of view, but from the same point of view, I can confirm to the utmost. The right rev. prelates who have addressed you have spoken with special reference to the work of missions as conducted in dioceses over which they preside, or have presided. I cannot give you the result of any such experience, but it would have been difficult to have chosen two fields better to lay before you than those which have been reported to you from East Africa. But the terms of the question before us admit of another view. The question as to the modes, the variety of modes, of missionary work and action, leads one to consider what are the practical modes most in use to bring together those who really care for the work they are employed in, and, among those modes, which are likely to be the best. I have never lost an opportunity, when it has been afforded me, of insisting upon the great necessity in mission work of having fitting instruments and the right men in the right places, and I have endeavoured to show how a very able man, successful in one place, might, however excellent, be a complete failure in another place, the circumstances of which were entirely different. Missionary modes of action that suit one place will not, perhaps, suit another. There are places in the world in which, perhaps, the solitary missionary may do the work best. I can conceive such cases, but there are others, and much more numerous, when work done in community, or at least in pairs, will be far more effectual. There are places in the world where the missionary's wife, be she ever so humble a woman, is of the greatest aid and assistance to him in his work. There are other places where the missionary's wife would be nothing but a direct hindrance to him or his work. We cannot lay down any rule which will have universal application to all missions alike, but, various as these methods are, I think they admit of reduction into three classes. There is a class of mission work which has been reprobated, and I think most properly, by Bishop Smythies, though it is a work carried on by excellent men, that which is as much concerned with the progress of European civilization as it is with Christianity. There is, again, that which seeks to place the whole doctrine, discipline, and peculiarities of the Church of England, or any other Church, before the heathen mind, and endeavours to get them to grasp the whole of that in their minds. There is, again, the third mode in which the great truths of Christianity are taught, and a considerable time is allowed to elapse before what has been learned is drawn out and worked upon. Well, I must say that so far as I have seen, that third system is the one which is most solid, and most likely to produce lasting fruit. But the first system is objectionable to my mind in every way. I cannot agree with the excellent clergyman who once said to me that he had seen with astonishment that I had made some remark such as I have just now uttered, for he said, "Surely every English custom is much better than any native custom." And I am afraid he was dreadfully shocked when I said, "A good many English customs are much better in England ; but there



are many native customs which are much better here." And, for my part, I cannot see that a man is any the better a Christian because he has the comfort of wearing short hair and a white hat, than a man who has a top-knot with a comb in it. On the highest and purely missionary ground, I hold anything contrary to that to be most objectionable.

In the first place, it seems to me to be a species of Judaizing, to be the same principle which influenced the Judaizing of the early Church. They had been accustomed to peculiar customs and rites, and they could say for those customs and rites what we cannot say for our European customs, that they had Divine sanction, and that they wished to bless and follow that model. Nowadays that is the spirit which animates all who think everything European so much better than anything native. Again, it makes Christianity a foreigner—a thing which is associated with foreigners. Not only is the religion a foreign religion; but I have heard people in the Parsee language speak of the French God and the English God. And I believe in their own hearts many of those half-educated men, while they believe in the existence and power of the English God, believe also in the French God; that their own gods, though inferior, have some existence, but that the foreign God is the far more powerful of any.

Again, what hold can you expect religion to take upon a nation if its people themselves are not concerned in it? What would be the case in England if all the bishops and a great number of the clergy were foreigners; I will not say Italians, for that brings in the question of Popery, but Germans or Russians? Would there be any hope of such a Church having a hold on the people if all the bishops came from a foreign country? I do not know that there has ever been a native Indian bishop, but this I will say, you will never have a great national Christian Church in India without them. Then, again, the system of which I have been speaking raises obstacles which never need to be raised. Suppose a Fijian were to come here to give a lecture and to teach us English, accompanied by his wife, a most excellent and respectable lady, no doubt, with all the virtues and qualities, and following the customs of her native island. If he, accompanied by his wife, made a peregrination through the streets of London, the lady would probably be taken up by the police, and, if he attempted to address the people on any high moral or religious subject, nobody would listen to him when accompanied by any such shameless female. That is precisely the case if you take a missionary into a Mohammedan town having an unveiled wife with him. The people would not look at him.

The second system is objectionable also, for it lays a heavy burden on those who are not yet ready to bear it. As to the third, and most efficient method, there again it is less easy to work. It requires self-restraint on the one hand, and tact on the other; but, if you get the heathen to understand the two precepts of our Lord—duty to God and duty to man—if you get them thoroughly to believe in the unity of God and in the mission of the Saviour, you may leave all other things for a long time.

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### The Very Rev. THOMAS WILLIAM JEX-BLAKE, D.D., Dean of Wells.

AFTER the speakers you have heard, with their great and varied experience of mission work and its methods, I have no claim on your attention; but in executing my commission I must crave your indulgent patience.

Of all the methods of mission work, one only is undesirable: I mean the solitary missionary. None but a man of the deepest spirituality, with singular self-control, can stand alone amidst a heathen race, a single-handed Christian missionary,

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in absolute isolation. Not only is the strain upon perseverance and courage very great, but—as I have heard from a bishop and an archdeacon with experience in India, Canada, and Africa—the strain upon morals, without any European standard before the eyes, without any Christian companionship near—has at times proved to be intolerable.

In some districts—where, for instance, women are jealously secluded, and are unapproachable by any clergyman—a married couple have exceptional facilities. Yet an unmarried woman would have access as easy, and could give her whole time to work among native women; witness, among other instances, the success of *Zenana* and Medical Missions at Delhi and Peshawur. You cannot expect continuous and undivided energy from any mother of a family, however elevating the example of the gentle, unselfish life of a Christian family may be. Much less can you expect continuous and undivided energy in the enervating atmosphere of the plains of India; least of all amid the irrigation, steam, malaria, and miasma of the rice fields of Patna or Hyderabad.

Again, you may have, as at Agra, a married Principal of S. John's College, who is also Incumbent of S. John's Church, with assistant native clergy; and you may obtain, as at Agra, from the days of French downwards, through the mutiny, excellent results.

At any rate, no native Church can be considered permanently established or perfectly equipped that has not a native clergy—has not within herself the means of an endless succession of ministry by her own sons. This also must be remembered: you cannot in a few years reasonably expect to efface the polytheism of three thousand years. You must sow the seed, and leave God to ripen it. There was much that was noble in the conception of Mohammed with the central truth—God is One; but practically the Mohammedan, in many parts of India, is engulfed in Hinduism, is no Monotheist, is a believer in caste; and even the Hindu Christian will say, "We are the Christian caste."

Again, you may have, as at Peshawur, machinery more complex and more effective; a joint residence-house, healthily placed outside the city, furnishing home to a married couple, as well as to two or three celibate English clergy, one of them in charge of the large schools, and guest-houses for native chiefs and others; and a church in the thick of the city, with an assistant native clergyman. But at Peshawur we found the married clergyman absent through the ill-health of his wife. His energy and great command of languages were sorely missed, though his splendid library of books was still there, and the two English clergymen were strong and active and enthusiastic men.

Or you may have, as in the Cambridge Mission in Delhi, a brotherhood without vows, devoted to their work, and with the cheerfulness that comes from spirituality, devotion, and liberty. Such a brotherhood without vows is really solving the question of brotherhoods, and the freedom is proved by the recent marriage of one of my two old pupils engaged in that Cambridge Mission, and now working as a married missionary not far from Delhi. To an English traveller the Cambridge Delhi Mission was quite the most interesting piece of mission work we saw; and nothing could be more satisfactory in method, though results are slow amid a people of civilization and philosophy older than our own. Even with the support that four or five spiritually-minded men give to each other, it must be unspeakably depressing to breathe, year after year, a native atmosphere of vices, natural and unnatural, and unverity, absolute and universal. But besides the real self-sacrifice and devotion of men so spiritual, so cultivated, so manly, so simple, so heroic, and besides the success that in the long run always crowns self-sacrifice and devotion, there is the unmistakable

affinity and attraction that the religious life of the celibate has for the Asiatic mind. The Hindu, especially, finds it hard to conceive of personal holiness and devotion to God, and to things of another world, in the midst of family life. Harder still is the conception if the family life seems to be luxurious; and to a native living well upon a penny a day, in raiment that costs fourpence, those things seem extravagant luxuries which, to Europeans, sorely tried by all the physical conditions of existence, are really necessities of life.

The Roman Catholics have long presented celibate mission life in a form "easily understood of the people" of India; and without disparaging other forms of mission work, the value of which has been proved over and over again, not only by ourselves, but by other English and Scotch organizers of missions, I urge the establishment in India, wherever circumstances of place and time seem fitting, of Anglican brotherhoods without vows. With five or six men of such high quality as those at work four years ago at Peshawur and Delhi, genuine and great results could not fail to come in the good time of One with Whom a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years.

One thing upon Zenana or Medical Missions; for whether you consider the women of England—capable, cultivated, and devout, who long to be usefully employed—or the women of India—victims of the most cruel practices, maltreatment, and neglect—an illimitable vista of usefulness lies open. "You are as Jesus Christ to me," said a poor woman to Miss Müller at Delhi; not that the woman was a Christian, but she had an impression of the wonderful character of Christ for compassion, love, pity, and power of healing, and she saw a reflection of Christ in the lady medical missionary. "Miss White is a god" was the testimony of a poor woman at Hyderabad whom the English lady had cured after she had wasted her means on vain sacrifices to idols. The depths of ignorance regarding both surgery and medicine are unfathomable. At one native city an English surgeon of great repute was expected to prescribe by merely holding a string tied round the wrist of an unseen female patient, while at the same time native astrologers from all parts of India were consulted as to the outcome of her illness. In the same city, the same surgeon told me that 40 per cent. of the confinements among the poorer classes—the bulk of the population—ended fatally. "More than 40 per cent. end fatally," said the very skilful lady doctor: "and of those who survive many are maimed for life by ill-treatment, proceeding from ignorance and superstition." Nothing may be given to the women to eat for three days and three nights, and if she survives that, she is kept thirty-seven days longer in one dark, unventilated room, with warm water only to drink and the coarsest rice only to eat. This was in Southern India, and the evidence given me by the head of a Zenana Mission in the Punjab was hardly less horrible. Native women—Parsees with especial success—were being trained for medical work even four years ago; but the door stands wide open for our sisters and our daughters, as highly-trained medical women, and no woman can desire finer work.

Whatever our missionary agents may be—male or female, European or native, clerical or lay, or all combined—we should concentrate our forces, rather than scatter them. We should use freely brotherhoods and sisterhoods, always without vows of perpetual celibacy. We should speedily subdivide the enormous dioceses by which that vast congeries of distinct nationalities, which we call India, is now inadequately administered.

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## DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D., Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

*The MS. of this Speech was not received in time for insertion here, and appears in Appendix A.*

The Rev. FREDERICK REICHARDT.

I THOUGHT you would like to know what I can tell you from my own experience of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in this particular work. The society sent me out to Madras about six years ago. They wanted a native ministry to be trained for the south of India, and I went there and found a college already flourishing. It had been raised to a very high standard by my predecessor, Dr. Kennett, and I found there a number of young men studying for the ministry, whom, I venture to say, even before so large and critical a company as the present, were in every way, morally as well as intellectually, worthy of sitting as brethren, and of going forth as missionaries, of our Church. Whilst holding the office of president of the college, there were twelve men sent from it to the Cambridge examinations for Holy Orders. Out of the twelve, seven were returned in the first place, four were returned in the second place, and only one did not succeed in passing. I say that sets at once at rest the fact that Indians are capable, so far as intellectual power goes, of managing their own spiritual affairs. I say this because we want you to help us to give the people a greater interest in their own Church than they possess at present. It is not fair for us to go and train those pastors for the native congregations, and place them altogether in a subordinate position. If they are worthy of being ordained to the priesthood of our Church, let them be the leaders of their congregations. This is a very crucial point in the missions in India. I know native priests, and have sat side by side with them, and talked over their difficulties, and I know this is a sore point in their hearts—that you do not trust them sufficiently in the matter of being leaders of their own people. We have been told there is no missionary bishop in India. Now, I should not advocate native missionary bishops, for I do not know a man whom I would like to see a native bishop, because the Church in India is simply at a starting-point. It is a parochial Church. The natives are starting to look after their own people, and it is wrong for the Church in India to fritter away its energy in mere organization. When India gets hold of Christianity, she will appreciate it far more than any other people. When India is once moved, it will rapidly settle down and enjoy the Gospel for itself.

The Right Rev. E. J. INGHAM, Bishop of Sierra Leone.

I HAVE the great advantage of saying the last word to a very much more select audience than was present at an earlier part of the evening. I take my name from a colony which will always be associated in history with the beginning of an attempt to right a great wrong, and also with the revival of missionary zeal in our Church of England. It was the scene also of the labours of the first missionaries that the Church Missionary Society ever sent into heathendom. I am, I regret to say, the sixth bishop in only forty years. Sierra Leone is consequently spoken of as being the “forlorn hope” of the Church. Experience has proved to me that it is not a forlorn hope, that it is a great hope of the Church, that it is a great centre for the work of the Church, that it is a great centre for work among heathens, Mohammedans, and the scene of a self-supporting native church. You hear of open doors. Let us never forget that behind all the developments now being witnessed in Africa, were either Church of England missionaries themselves on the East Coast fifty years ago, or

founders of such a society as the Church Missionary Society about one hundred years ago. These men were honoured to give the first impetus. And I cannot think that a door has been opened in Uganda simply to be closed again. I cannot believe that the four Crown colonies that I superintend on the West Coast of Africa will be allowed to be doors merely to let into the pitiable interior Hamburg rum, gin, and gunpowder. As to the Church there, Christianity has at least sufficiently taken root on the West Coast that our fellow native Churchmen there do value their ministries, and support them out of their own pockets extremely well. Yes, and we maintain discipline in these churches. You have heard a great deal about our alleged immorality. Yes, we have a great deal of immorality, but if you people in England lived in closest contact with aboriginal conditions as the people out there do, you would find the struggle to rise far greater than you think. But we do maintain discipline. For instance, we safe-guard Communion in a capital way. We issue cards a week before the monthly Communion, and no one is allowed to approach the holy table in the native churches unless they present the card to the wardens. Thus we fulfil the Rubric better than you do at home! The native pastorate is being rapidly developed. These men occupy parishes that white men have vacated for them, and they do the work very fairly well. The great point up to which we are working is for native clergymen to be ready and fitted to take the Gospel and carry it to the dark interior. But whilst waiting for those native agents, we are establishing some of those brotherhoods without vows, and sisterhoods without vows, of which the Dean of Wells spoke, in the form of the excellent educational work of Church Missionary Society ladies amongst our women and girls, in the form of hospital nursing and training of African women thereto, and in the form of small bands of Christian artisans for technical education, by which we are aiming to meet the needs of the moment.

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#### The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

We have heard to-night how God has blessed our work, let us sing to Him our hymn of thanksgiving.

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*NEW HALL.*

THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 6TH, 1892.

LORD WILLIAM SEYMOUR in the Chair.

THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS  
SOLDIERS.

## PAPERS.

Field-Marshal Sir LINTORN SIMMONS, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

ALTHOUGH quite unequal to the task of doing justice to so important a subject, I have undertaken to read this paper at the earnest request of my friend the Chaplain-General, and in obedience to his orders as the spiritual chief of the Church of England in the Army. In considering the question of "The Duty of the Church towards the Army," it is necessary, in order to establish its importance, that the magnitude of the Army and the peculiarities of its constitution should be clearly understood.

I have been very much shocked by reading an extract from a speech made not very long ago by the secretary of a society, the object of which is to promote the love and knowledge of Jesus Christ among soldiers, in which he says "that the majority of men in the Army are godless and graceless, living only for time, and ignoring the claims of the Gospel." This reminds me of an episode which happened many years ago. Some dear old ladies, who had passed the greater part of their lives in a village of one of our agricultural counties, were quite shocked that I should take my family to Aldershot, where I was then quartered, because of the notoriously vicious nature of camp life, and the scenes to which they would be exposed. I induced them, however, to come and witness for themselves the life we were leading amidst these dreadful surroundings. The result was, that they returned to their home so deeply impressed that they compared the order, regularity, and quiet of the camp favourably with the state of their own village.

I have brought these opinions prominently to your notice because I believe they are not uncommon, and I wish you to understand at the outset that I do not think it necessary to paint the Army black, in order to induce you to take an interest in it; and, moreover, although it is with sorrow that it must be acknowledged that soldiers, like all other men, are prone to evil, and very many, far too many, are guilty of heinous sins, they are not, so far as my experience goes, worse than their fellow-men, and can certainly not be denounced, as a body, as godless.

With a view to giving some idea of the vast importance of the subject, I would wish you to realize the fact that the number of enlisted men serving in the Army, according to the last published returns, was 203,976, and of officers 7,614, giving a total of 211,590 men, who are accompanied by probably not less than 30,000 women and children. Of this number, 137,764 enlisted men, or 678 per 1,000, with about 20,000 women and children, are members of the Church of England; of the remainder, 63,539, or 313 per 1,000, are either Roman Catholics

or Protestants of other denominations than the Church of England, while a small contingent of 2,673, or 13 per 1,000, are either Moham-medans, Hindoos, or not accounted for. It is probable also that not less than 6,000 officers are members of the Church of England. Considering that all this large body of Christians, whatever may be their persuasion, are compelled to attend Divine service every Sunday, unless prevented by their military duties, by sickness, or by being on leave visiting their friends, I think it must be acknowledged that the term godless cannot be applied to the regular Army; and although there can be no doubt that far too many are great sinners, it would have been more consistent with the teaching of the Master not to pass judgment on the majority as graceless.

To maintain this large Army under the present system of short service, which has been in operation since 1870, and is, therefore, now fully developed, the number of men enlisted in 1891, the last year for which complete returns have been published, was 36,003, while the number who returned to civil life was 32,853. If it be assumed, which may fairly be done, that the proportion of the different denominations among these men was the same as among the Army at large, we find that 24,336 members of the Church of England joined the Army, while 22,208 returned to civil occupations.

The general result, then, is that the Army contains upwards of 137,000 enlisted men and 6,000 officers, who are professed members of the Church of England, with probably not less than 20,000 women and children; that it receives from the masses about 24,000, and sends back to civil life about 22,000 professing Churchmen every year, as to whom the Church may well ask herself whether their life in the Army has tended to their moral and religious advancement, or the reverse, and what she has done, or is doing, for their spiritual edification and care.

This question is one of increasing importance, because, chiefly owing to the diminution in the numbers of Irish who enter the ranks, Churchmen in the Army have increased nearly 4 per cent. during the last ten years, and appear to be steadily increasing.

In dealing with the question of the duty of the Church towards the Army, it is well to consider the class of men who enlist:—

(1) There are a limited number of young men of what may be described as the middle class, who, having failed in their examinations to enter the Army as officers, or not having had a favourable opening in some other walk of life, enter the Army as private soldiers, in the hope, that by steady conduct and attention to duty, they may speedily attain non-commissioned rank, and eventually become commissioned officers. These are few in number, but they have such trials to go through in their training, and in the rough society and surroundings to which they are exposed, that many after a few weeks induce their friends to purchase their discharges; those, however, who struggle on and remain, form a valuable element, and must influence their comrades by softening their manners, if in no other way. As an example of the influence of comrades, I remember well, when swearing was more common than it is now-a-days, and was even thought manly by many, the effect of the quiet reproach of an officer of a few years standing, who had learnt better things, and whenever he heard an oath, used quietly to seek an

opportunity and observe, "Could you not have expressed yourself equally to the point, but with a little less emphasis?" The consistent Christian character of this young officer was so thoroughly respected that bad language entirely ceased in his presence, and except on very rare occasions was never heard among the officers at any other time.

(2) There are also young men of the artisan class, and of the better educated among the agricultural classes, who enlist for a limited period with the intention of making a career in the Army, if upon experience they find it suits them, with the prospect of returning to civil life at the age of forty or thereabouts with a pension, which will not only supplement their earnings so long as they are able to work, but will support them in comparative independence in old age. These are some of the most valuable recruits that enter the Army, many of them having been well brought up, and having probably received religious instruction in Sunday Schools.

(3) A considerable number of recruits also come from the agricultural classes, possessed of little education, but honest, and for the most part more or less instructed in the principles of their religion. These make good and reliable soldiers, but are frequently not sufficiently educated for promotion to non-commissioned rank.

(4) There are also a certain number of ne'er-do-wells, who are a most mischievous lot, to whom discipline is irksome, who are constantly in trouble or under punishment, and eventually desert or are discharged for misconduct. These are the enemies of all religion and morality, and by their bold and ribald jeers, put to a severe test the courage of the right-minded, well-behaved lad, who, in many instances, would be thankful for a quiet secluded corner, secure from their presence, if such could be found, where he might recall his home, commune with himself, and bend his knees in prayer to God.

(5) And lastly, a mass of recruits come from the large towns, many of them having migrated from rural districts in the hope of bettering themselves; the superabundance of labour renders it difficult for them to obtain a living; they enlist, rather than sink into criminal acts, for the supply of the means of existence. Many of these are very fairly instructed; the hardships they have undergone have given them knowledge of the world under unfavourable conditions, and it is much to their credit that, although they may not have refined principles of morality, they still possess such a sense of moral right, that they have not brought themselves under the clutches of the law. Many, no doubt, have left their homes because of offences, which have made them feel shame in the presence of parents and relatives, whose feelings they may have outraged, but with regard to whom, the very fact of their shame is a proof that they have a perception of right and wrong, in very many cases based upon the knowledge they have been taught at their mother's knee, or in the Sunday school.

It is of this heterogeneous material that the army is composed. Every recruit being separated from his old associations, loses the restraint due to the presence of parents, or to the society of relations or friends, and enters upon an entirely new life, which he lives in common with other recruits, some twenty of whom occupy the same room, in which they take their meals, sleep and dress, and where alone they can draw near to God morning and evening in prayer. It is this common life which



is the great obstacle in the way of the soldier leading a religious life. It may so happen that in the same room there are men of all the classes above enumerated. At the first, probably no one lad has any knowledge of any other, so that his isolated position preys upon him, and he naturally fears the gibes and jeers of those around him, and the pious youth, if there should be such an one among them, would require an amount of courage very rarely to be found even among the more educated classes, before asserting his religious principles by kneeling down to worship his Lord and Master. It is only the power and grace of God which can enable him to overcome this first assault of the devil in this new career on which he has entered. All honour to him that overcometh; but who is there amongst us who would dare to cast the first stone at him who has failed in this contest with evil?

How, then, can the young soldier be assisted when exposed in this furnace of trial, which, unless vigorously combated, must tend to extinguish all religion among men of all creeds?

The first step, I think, is one which may be illustrated by the case of a lad I remember, as to whom the clergyman of his parish had written to his commanding officer; and here I would observe that it would be most kind and thoroughly consistent with their duty, if clergymen or any other Churchmen would write to the commanding officer of the dépôt or regiment into which any young man may enlist, recommending him to his notice, and asking him to keep a friendly eye upon him. Commanding officers would only be too glad of such a recommendation, as it would give them a hold upon a youth, which would tend to check him before giving way to temptation and forming bad habits. If this communication were followed up by an occasional enquiry as to how the youth was getting on, and in case of his being transferred to another command, by a letter to his new commanding officer, very much would be done to keep lads straight, and to make them look forward to their return to their homes in a far different spirit from that of the young soldier whom the Archbishop of Canterbury met in a train many years ago, and who poured out in a torrent of words, which the Archbishop said he should never forget, broken by a good deal of sobbing, that he was very unhappy; "For," said he, "I do not know how it is, but when I go home now people are afraid of me; I never supposed it would be so. They think that I have been passing through a deal of mischief, and been in a deal of sin."

Such would seldom be the case if, besides writing to his commanding officer, the clergyman of his parish were also to recommend any lad he knew to the chaplain at the station, who would thankfully receive his recommendation, to whom, also, it would be a great help in assisting him to influence the youth for good.

This shows one way in which the Church outside the Army may help the Church within the Army, and if this were generally done, a nucleus of steady, reliable young Churchmen might be formed, who would afford each other mutual support, and whose influence would be felt more or less by their comrades at large.

It points out also that the Church, in its efforts to improve the inner life of soldiers, must endeavour to work with and through the officers, all of whom, if they are worthy of the trust confided to them, and have really the best interests of their men at heart, will willingly

co-operate in the efforts which are made to impress upon their men a sense of responsibility, not merely limited to the narrow sphere of their military duties, but extending to all their actions, involving the great principles of truth, honour, self-denial, and justice, for the exercise of which their calling as members of the Church of Christ renders them individually responsible.

The importance of sound religious principles among soldiers may be brought home to the Church and to the nation, by considerations which cannot fail to influence all those who have a regard for the Church of Christ, and a patriotic and earnest desire for the peace and prosperity of their country. There is no law more firmly established than the moral law under which the nations of the earth are governed. This law has been especially illustrated by the history of the Jews, and is confirmed by that of other people; it may be regarded as established that a nation which is rebellious against, and forsakes God, cannot stand. Now, I would ask, who, under God, are the defenders of this great empire, and at the same time, the pioneers and chief representatives of this nation throughout the greatest part of the empire, under the dominion of our Queen?

In India we have 70,000 soldiers, detachments of whom are constantly pushing on into, and therefore represent this Christian country in, populous districts inhabited for the most part by heathens. Considering that all the British-born subjects of Her Majesty in India, exclusive of the Army, do not probably exceed 100,000 in number, it is evident that the Army is the chief representative of our national life among the 286 millions of people included within the British Indian Empire. Of this apparently insignificant force, relatively to the vast population of India, about 47,000 men belong to the Church of England, which is responsible for the witness they give of their faith to the millions of various forms of religion, among whom they live. Great Britain, no doubt, owes her dominion in the East in great measure to the justice, truth, and courage of those to whom her interests are entrusted, many of whom act upon sound religious principles, having the love of God in their hearts: while others, even without acknowledging, and some even denying, God, are imbued with the same principles of action, from the fact of having been born and brought up in a country in which the great truths of Christianity are acknowledged, surrounding them, as it were, with an atmosphere of Christian morality.

Much has been done to promote the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour by missionaries, and already the number of professing Christians among natives in India exceeds 2,000,000; but I venture to suggest that one of the most, if not the most, effectual means of extending the Kingdom of Christ among those who know Him not, is the "Epistle," as S. Paul calls it, of those who know Him, as written in their lives and actions. If you accept this theory, you will at once recognize the grave necessity which rests upon our old National Church that she should use every effort in her power that the 47,000 soldiers in India and the 22,000 in other countries, in all 69,000 professing members abroad, should bear witness by their lives and conduct to their faith in her doctrines. Although British soldiers do in many respects fall far, very far, short of what they ought to be, still, thank God, the leaven of Christianity which is

among them not only restrains them from many excesses of cruelty, debauchery, and plunder which are openly practised by non-Christian peoples, and are with them the rewards of success in war, but induces noble actions of charity to enemies, whose sufferings they are always ready to relieve when the heat of action has passed. To this extent, the witness of the British soldier is in favour of Christianity, but this is as nothing compared with what it would be if all were actuated by the same motives which govern the actions of those among them—officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers—who are true servants of Christ, and who, I venture to believe are far more numerous than is generally supposed by persons not intimately acquainted with the Army. For my part, I believe that our great Empire in India, in Africa, and in other countries is given to us, not merely for the advancement of our material interests, for the support of our manufactures, the employment of our excessive population, and the growth of our wealth, but that these countries may be opened to the civilizing influences of Christianity, and eventually brought within the fold of Christ's Church; and if we neglect and fall short of our opportunities as a nation in this respect, we cannot expect that the Almighty Creator of this great empire will maintain it in its grandeur and extent, and will not raise up some other agency by which the nations we now govern may be brought to the knowledge of His love vouchsafed unto mankind in His Son Jesus Christ.

Another important matter which I would venture to submit to your consideration arises from the great fact above stated, that 24,000 members of the Church of England are passing into the army annually, while 22,000 after serving for various periods return to their homes. It has been urged by the Chaplain-General that the Church should regard the Army as a great missionary institution, in which, if the men who enter it were thoroughly instructed in, and deeply impressed with, the great truths of her doctrines, they would on returning to their villages, live as examples and bear witness for the Church throughout the United Kingdom, proving themselves most useful aids to the clergy in the responsible duties of their sacred office.

This is a grand thought, and one which might well induce Church people to consider in what way they may assist in making it a reality. The Home Government and that of India contribute towards it by the appointment of a certain number of chaplains, whose duties are exclusively connected with the Army, who, I am happy to say, are, as a rule, conscientious, hard-working men, full of zeal, and earnestly desirous to advance the kingdom of Christ within their respective spheres of influence; also by subsidizing others, where the local churches are availed of by soldiers; but the officiating clergy of these latter have generally other duties in their special cures, which are more than sufficient to occupy their full time, and as a consequence they cannot give much attention to strangers who are constantly changing. In many cases they cannot even give them a separate Church service, and as a consequence their ministrations among them are very frequently limited to finding them places in their churches at their ordinary services, which often are not well adapted for soldiers. It is desirable, therefore, that more chaplains should be appointed, and were it not for our miserable religious differences, which are so perplexing to soldiers, we might hope for a restoration of the state of things which existed in the army

under the great Marlborough, when every regiment had its chaplain, and Divine service was performed regularly in all his fixed camps, both morning and evening. Previous to a battle, prayers were offered up at the head of each regiment, and the first act after a victory was a solemn thanksgiving. By these means, aided by his own example, "his camp," to use the words of his biographer, who served under him, "resembled a quiet, well-governed city; cursing and swearing were seldom heard among the officers; a drunkard was an object of scorn; and the poor soldiers, many of them the dregs and refuse of the nation, became at the close of one or two campaigns, tractable, civil, sensible, and clean, and had an air and spirit above the vulgar."

Is it to be wondered at that the God of battles should have given victory to the British arms at Blenheim, when their leader, Marlborough, on the morning of the battle, received the Holy Communion, with the officers who could be spared from duty, and afterwards, when the troops were formed for action, ordered the chaplains to perform the usual service at the head of each regiment, and implore the favour of Heaven? Just one hundred years after this, one of Lord Hill's staff was regretting the prevalence of Methodism in his division. "Poor fellows," said the General, "I am glad of it; it is the only chance of religion they have." This was true; there was not a chaplain in the division. The prevalence of Methodism, as it was called at that time, was a proof that there was then, as there is still, a longing among soldiers for the services of the Church, which, to her discredit, neglected them during a long period of lethargy. With Lord Hill, who was the son of a clergyman and a good Churchman, all true sons of the Church may be grateful to those who kept religion alive amongst soldiers during that sad period, and although they regret that many of their successors have left the Church, they may hope and pray for the day when our dissensions will cease, and all may be re-united in One National Church, and among other benefits obtain for the Army the blessing of a great increase of her chaplains.

The life lived in common by soldiers in barracks, which, if true religion prevailed among the majority, might perhaps not be an un-mixed evil, is now the great hindrance to chaplains and others who are inclined to work among soldiers obtaining an influence, and inducing men to lead godly lives.

Chaplains have a great opportunity in the compulsory attendance of soldiers at parade services, when by short, stirring, manly addresses, following a bright and cheerful rendering of the service, they may strengthen the faith of the earnest, and stir up the hearts of the careless, but they also require opportunities for private intercourse when they might follow up the effects of their preaching, but which it is almost impossible for them to obtain in barracks. Even if a chaplain had a room in barracks, in which he could see the men, although it might be most useful for those who are strong in the faith, it would not fully answer the purpose, as the fear of jeering comrades would prevent many a youth from seeking his friendly counsel.

In a few of the large garrisons there are churches, consecrated to the use of our National Church; and the Queen lately laid the foundation stone of another church in course of erection at Aldershot, but these are exceptions. Other garrison churches are used by more

than one denomination of Christians ; in many, even very large, garrisons, there is no building set apart for Divine service, which, therefore, is commonly performed in schoolrooms not well adapted for the purpose, and occasionally in riding schools. It is therefore, in general, difficult, if not impossible, for chaplains in very many stations to have week-day services, and still more to keep their places of worship open at certain fixed times as is most desirable, when men might go and see them in private.

Under existing circumstances, therefore, it is suggested that the Church should adopt the principle of what she has done at Aldershot in the establishment of a "Church of England Soldiers' Institute." A few of these institutes have been established in other garrisons, but as that at Aldershot is the oldest and largest, it may be well to state briefly what it is.

The buildings stand on freehold property, and comprise : a coffee room, where food, tea, coffee, and non-alcoholic drinks can be procured at moderate rates, with a private room for small parties, in which soldiers can meet their friends and relations ; handsome reading rooms comfortably furnished, and supplied with books, papers, and tables, at which men can read, or write to their friends in peace and quiet, writing materials being gratuitously supplied. There are also—a building containing numerous baths, and a corrugated iron hall, where concerts and other entertainments, as also lectures, some of them illustrated by magic lanterns, are given, and a certain number of rooms which are let to married men, who often arrive in the garrison with their families, not unfrequently late at night, and are only too thankful to find clean and comfortable quarters where they can not only lodge, but find good food at almost cost price, until they can make their more permanent arrangements. The distinctive feature of the Institute, however, is that its doors are open to all denominations. No question whatever is asked, but every soldier is free to enter and enjoy its comforts. There is no attempt at proselytizing, and so thoroughly is this known and appreciated, that men of all denominations frequent it, even Roman Catholics, as was lately proved by a non-commissioned officer having attended a meeting, where he spoke in support of the Institute, and it was only afterwards discovered that he was a Roman Catholic. Men of other denominations have given some of the pictures, with which the walls of the principal rooms are covered, thus showing their appreciation of, and gratitude for, the benefit they had received in the Institute.

It will be asked then, What interest has the Church in this Institute ?

It originated in the remark made by Sergeant-Major Clisham to Lieut.-Colonel Walker, while walking back from the early Communion in one of the camp churches : "I wish that we soldiers had some place where we could go, where our religion was not interfered with." From this beginning, which set these two earnest Churchmen to work, the Church of England Soldiers' Institute was started ; and if any of my hearers had the time and would take the trouble to visit this Institute at Aldershot, they would find a small private room, in which a chaplain is very generally to be found, also a large, bright, cheerful room on an upper floor, fitted as a chapel, and having tables, with Bibles, prayer and hymn books upon them, which has been built as a memorial and contains some interesting relics of General Gordon.

The Institute is generally crowded of an evening; men enjoying themselves in various ways—reading, writing letters, smoking, singing songs or hymns accompanied by a piano, playing chess and other games, when at a certain hour, which is so fixed as to allow them time to return to their barracks before roll call, a bell is rung, and such men as feel inclined assemble in the Gordon Room, and short prayers are offered up, and a hymn sung. Chaplains also, and officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers, whose hearts are in the work, are, as a rule, to be found in the Institute at all times, ready to extend a warm welcome to all, and anxious to assist those who may desire it, by a private and friendly talk with them; and thus the personal element is introduced which causes the men to feel that they are personally cared for, and not merely unrecognized atoms in the concrete mass of the Army.

All ranks meet in the Institute as friends; the knowledge that this is so, and its other attractions, constitute very effectual counter attractions to public-houses and other places of resort calculated to lead men into sinful acts and vicious habits.

As a proof of the benefit to be derived from these institutes, it may be stated that a small corrugated iron building was lately erected as a branch of the Aldershot Institute, near the standing camp of the Guards at Pirbright. It contains a refreshment room, a reading room, a devotional room, and a pavilion, in which there is a piano. It was so thoroughly appreciated, that it was crowded every evening by soldiers, who on week days amused themselves with impromptu concerts and in other ways, and on Sundays by hymn-singing. Lord Arthur Wellesley, commanding a battalion at the camp, says its effect has been wonderful in reducing the crime of absence; the military police testify to the few cases they have had to deal with this year, and a neighbouring publican complained that he was £60 out of pocket through the Institute before it had been opened a couple of months.

Letters are constantly received from soldiers in India and other parts of the world, recalling the benefits they have received from having taken advantage of the Aldershot Institute.

Institutes like this supply what the soldiers want. They want help to resist the fierce temptations which surround them; they want the interest and sympathy of friends; they want help to enable them to refute the arguments, often atheistic, of comrades; they want the means of spending their leisure well, with opportunities for improvement, recreation, and amusement; they want to be reminded of their homes; and many of them want the opportunity, which all should have, of talking to chaplains about the things that trouble them in heart and spirit; they want to speak to them of troubles, doubts, and hopes. It is by the supply of these wants that, through grace, men are led to value and enjoy the great privileges of the Church.

"These are the things," the Archbishop of Canterbury lately said, after inspecting the Institute at Aldershot, "that have stirred you to the creation of this place, where there is to be found that which is cheerful, domestic, civilizing, and social;" and "that have set you to work to develop the dormant self-respect which is in the men." Epitomizing the results of his visit, the Archbishop said, "I thought

you had sent for me to make me a missionary for Soldiers' Institutes. Well, whether you have sent for me with that view or not, of course it is not for me to say; but I can only say that you have effectually done it."

I venture to think that many parishes in this country might be much benefited by a study of the liberal principles and wise management of the Church of England Soldiers' Institute at Aldershot. A Suffolk militiaman, on leaving this Institute, which he had used while at Aldershot, said to one of the chaplains, "I came in, and I smoked my pipe and I read my paper, and no one interfered with me; and I tell you what, if the Church of England wants to keep her working-men, she must give them places like this in every parish."

One of the ways in which the Church can acknowledge her duty to soldiers is, by the establishment of similar Institutes in every garrison in the United Kingdom, and throughout the world, as an antidote to vice, and a place where soldiers can not only find rational instruction and amusement, but where "they may go, and their religion be not interfered with."

Soldiers who have once acquired the habit at one of these Institutes of looking upon chaplains as friends, will probably not hesitate to have recourse to the clergy at any other stations to which they may be sent. There is no other organization besides the Church of England which can so fully secure to the soldier the almost constant presence of a spiritual adviser. The responsibility, therefore, of those good people is very great, who attempt to attract soldiers by their personal influence away from their appointed ministers, the commissioned chaplains of Her Majesty's Forces, instead of working with them.

Much has been done by various Governments during the last thirty years, and more especially during the last five years under the auspices of the late Secretary of State for War, Mr. E. Stanhope, to ameliorate the condition of soldiers, by improving their barracks, and by the provision of reading and recreation rooms and coffee bars; but the Government is powerless to prevent the mixture of all sorts of men in the soldiers' rooms, and therefore the necessity for these Institutes is as strong as ever. They may be made almost self-supporting when once started—as is the case with the Aldershot Institute—but funds are required for the erection of buildings. Is it too much to hope that the members of the Church of England outside the Army will, of their abundance, help those who are in it, in the hope that the soldiers who return in such numbers to their native homes may be examples to be followed, instead of men to be shunned; and that whilst in active employment they may be fitting representatives of our National Church, and "epistles" to be read of the heathen, among whom they may be called on to serve?

General Gordon was a very remarkable instance of such an "epistle." By his consistent life and reprobation of evil when Governor-General of the Soudan, he so won the esteem of the leading Mohammedans of Khartoum, that they caused prayers to be raised at Mecca for his conversion. I have heard that he is the only Christian for whom prayers have ever been offered up in Mecca. These Mohammedans must have acquired some idea of better things, and adopted in some measure the

morality and purity they so admired in him, and have thus already taken a great step towards a better faith.

I will now add a few words as to the effects of military training on the moral life of soldiers. The kindly feeling of officers for their men, the example shown by them in the performance of their daily duties, and the justice with which they treat them, coupled with the desire to add to their comforts and amusements, cause soldiers to regard their superiors, whether officers or non-commissioned officers, with respect, and in very many cases with sincere affection, and thus to render to them cheerful obedience. The confidence and good feeling that exist between soldiers and officers of all ranks is, under God, one of the mainsprings of that success which has attended the operations of our Army. All feel, or should feel, perfect mutual reliance, which will induce a firm belief that every man will stand by his comrade in the hour of danger, and that the honour and sense of duty of the lonely sentry on an exposed outpost will prevent him from causing unnecessary alarm, or abandoning his post unless compelled by superior force. Discipline, intelligently and kindly enforced, has produced these results among all good soldiers since the formation of armies, and has formed characters like the good centurion, who, being "under authority" himself, sought the welfare of those under him, and caused our Lord to marvel and say, "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel."

Harsh discipline, with severe punishments, is only used towards men for gross offences, who are the characters who bring the Army into disrepute, and cause objections to be raised against soldiers being admitted to many respectable places of entertainment. If it were not for certain inconveniences, it might be advisable to turn all such men out of the Army, where their bad examples can only do harm. Happily, this has been recognized of late years, and there are greater facilities for getting rid of bad men, and, as a result, good influences have greater sway, and offences are far more rare among soldiers than they were a few years ago. Soldiers, being peculiarly susceptible to kindness themselves, are generally of a very kindly nature, which shows itself especially in their fondness for children and animals, and in their being ever ready liberally to assist in their distress the widows and families of their comrades. They are also very sensitive of neglect, injustice, or ill-treatment, and as a rule are truthful, and thoroughly honest.

Discipline and its results, as here described, have helped to produce a highly superior class of non-commissioned officers, among whom a large number are like Sergeant-Major Clisham, who is now a commissioned officer, and will, I understand, give his views this evening as to the "Duty of the Church to Soldiers."

I will conclude by thanking you for your attention, and by assuring you that the Church, the Queen, and the Country, have reason to be thankful that there exist a vast number of men—many thousands—in the Army who have a deep sense of their responsibility as members of the Church of England, who would do honour to any society, and with whose aid, if their efforts were well-directed, great progress may be made in furthering the true interests of the Church of Christ and of this Empire.



## The Rev. J. C. EDGHILL, D.D., Chaplain-General.

VARIOUS conjectures have been made as to the relative strength of the Church and other religious bodies in England. In the Army we have the advantage, or disadvantage, of a religious census, since every recruit on joining has to place on record the religious denomination to which he belongs; and every soldier has the right to change that denomination whenever he desires to do so. Every year a report is presented to the Houses of Parliament, which contains, among other particulars, the religion and the nationality of every soldier in the Army.

We are not dealing, then, with conjectures, but with facts. In the army, according to this official return just issued, there are 203,163 non-commissioned officers and men, and of this total number 137,764 are members of the Church of England, *i.e.*, sixty-eight per cent. of the whole army, drawn from the whole United Kingdom, claim our care as Churchmen. But these numbers include not only Englishmen, but Scotchmen and Irishmen. The large majority of the Scottish regiments are Presbyterians, and of the Irish regiments, Roman Catholics. If we deal with Englishmen alone, the proportion of Churchmen is much greater. There are 153,107 Englishmen in the army, and there are 137,764 English Churchmen, *i.e.*, ninety per cent. of our English soldiers belong to the National Church. This does not include the officers, of whom certainly nine-tenths are nominally Churchmen. Taking the whole army, seventeen per cent. are Roman Catholics; seven per cent. are Presbyterians; five per cent. are Wesleyans. Taking Englishmen, the Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Wesleyans only amount to ten per cent.

With reference to these startling facts, I may add that there is no advantage to the soldier in being or remaining a Churchman. I am prepared to show that there are disadvantages, and that very material inducements exist to draw the men away to other religious bodies.

Again, this large proportion is an increasing one. Every year we have a greater percentage of the men. Last year the Church of England was the only body which increased its percentage.

The duty of the Church to soldiers is clearer and more pressing when we go beyond mere numbers, and consider the position and character of the men who make up this charge.

(1) They are *young* men, the majority of them being between eighteen and twenty-five years of age. That is an age of special danger; it is a time during which many noble lives are wrecked. Passions that burn, and appetites that crave, are powerful in the man, and opportunities to indulge them abound. There is a freedom, a sense of irresponsibility, in garrison towns which tempts men to plunge into a vortex of vice, since they are unobserved. Hence, intemperance slays its thousands, and impurity its tens of thousands. It is not the soldier, but the man that is tempted and falls. If you placed the same number of young men together under similar conditions, without the soldier's discipline, you would have far worse results.

(2) Our soldiers come upon this scene of special temptation badly equipped for the fight. The Gospel of Jesus Christ has had but little chance with them. Do not all our earnest clergy acknowledge the grievous failure of the Church generally to reach this class of men at

this age? It is not that the Church specially fails; other religious bodies do not touch them. All Christians agree in bewailing this failure. A very large number of our men are not confirmed; that personal preparation for the reception of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, which has changed the current of so many lives, has never been given to them. We have not supplied them with the panoply of God before we place them in the thickest fight. Soldiers mainly come from that part of our population over which religion in any form has the least power. In some depôts, like Caterham, Winchester, and Canterbury, we have commissioned chaplains, good, devout men, who see every recruit as he joins, and learn from him something about his past career, something also about the care the Church has bestowed on him, and his own present relationship to Jesus Christ. The reports which these chaplains send to me are deeply disquieting and alarming; the number of the unconfirmed reaching to more than fifty per cent., while the number of communicants is almost *nil*. Soldiers, then, certainly appeal to the Church to take up, not only a duty, but a *neglected* duty.

(3) Soldiers are only soldiers for a time—they were civilians before, and they will be civilians again. Their military service is but a parenthesis in their lives. I know how commonly it is supposed that the influence which surrounds the young soldier is an entirely evil one, and that he cannot possibly escape from becoming a worse man. I do not believe this; the discipline, the religious influences, even the companionship, may, in many cases do, influence for good, and they return to civil life better, stronger, more religious men. The best men, the grandest church helpers I have ever met, have been converted and built up in the Army. The duty the Church owes to the Army, then, is one which brings with it repayment. The Church has no other position of such advantage for moulding the democracy of England as it has in the Army. Every soldier won to God returns to be a tower of strength in his village, a strong centre of all that is orderly and good, a standing witness to the living power of Christianity.

(4) Our soldiers go everywhere. Wherever our flag is unfurled, soldiers are present to protect it. They are scattered abroad, missionaries of evil or good, and not of evil only or chiefly. I know a Colonial diocese where the simple, hearty worship of our soldiers did much; where soldiers, by their prayer meetings and Bible readings, and their consistent lives, affected for good souls not touched before. So religious work done at a home garrison may be fruitful in blessed results in the uttermost parts of the earth.

The duty before the Church is one of great magnitude, if you look at the number who may be influenced by it. It is a neglected one; it is owed to those mainly as yet untouched. It is a repaying one, for it brings back untold helps and ministries. It is a far-reaching one, for its limit is this mighty Empire.

How is the Church fulfilling this duty? What is being done? The subject before us limits us to the Church of England. It is her duty we have to consider. There may be many agencies and ministries which appeal to soldiers, undenominational in their teaching—as far as that can ever be—but with them here we have nothing to do. Our subject is "The Duty of the Church." That duty she cannot delegate

or allow to be taken out of her hands by others, save at the risk of great loss to herself.

The State, in taking soldiers from their homes and parishes, and placing them wherever they are needed, doubtless has the responsibility of providing for their temporal and spiritual necessities. The State is responsible to the Church and to all religious bodies for providing a ministry, and places for exercising that ministry, among our soldiers. The State recognizes this duty. She pays, not only clergy of the Established Church, but Presbyterians of all kinds, Roman Catholics, and Wesleyans. It is a noticeable fact that the Wesleyans are State paid, just as much as we are. At the present moment the Wesleyan minister at Aldershot is paid £300, at Portsmouth £120, in London £150. I think, in some cases, the pay is higher, in proportion to numbers, than in the case of our own clergy. But I merely call attention to the principle. Any other body of Nonconformists—Congregationalists, Baptists, Primitive Methodists, have a perfect right to demand payment from the State. If they demand it they undoubtedly ought to be paid, should their numbers justify it. The clergy of the National Church stand in no position of advantage, save that which the large numerical majority of their flocks give them.

The special provisions made by the State for 137,764 Church of England troops are—(1) By appointing a Chaplain-General and sixty-one commissioned chaplains in large stations. Generally it is considered that such chaplains should have at least 1,000 souls to care for. The success or failure of the Church in the Army depends very much on these chaplains—they give their whole time and power to this work; they are selected with special reference to their fitness for it. No political, personal, or party influences come in. Since I have been Chaplain-General I have had to recommend about thirty men for appointment; I did not know anyone of them personally—special fitness was the one thing borne in mind. They fairly represent, as indeed the whole department does, the Church of England, in all her geographical, doctrinal, and ritual wideness. We try to gather, oftentimes with much labour and difficulty, from the past work of the candidate his suitability for a chaplain's duties. They serve each one year on probation; no man has been finally appointed without the concurrence of the general officer commanding the district, and other officers interested, as well as the senior chaplain. I have always recognized to the full the right of the laity to have some voice in the selection of those who shall minister to them. Generally men on probation are sent to Aldershot, and both Sir Archibald Alison and Sir Evelyn Wood have given the highest testimony to the chaplains that have been commissioned.

Men of great tact are needed. Men spurred at heart with fiercest energy; above all these, men of wide sympathies, who can have compassion on the ignorant, and on those that are out of the way. There are among the chaplains a large number of men who give up their lives enthusiastically for our soldiers' good. I have made some mistakes, for I am not infallible—neither are testimonials or recommendations, either from clergy or laity; but on the whole I am quite willing that the Church and the Army should judge me and my administration of the chaplains' department by the chaplains I have recommended.

What helps have these chaplains to carry out their ministries?

(a) *Parade services.*—They start with this advantage, that all the souls committed to their charge must hear the Word of God from their mouths. These parade services are in most places reverently and decently rendered; the singing of the hymns is thoroughly congregational and inspiring. There are diversities of opinions among good men as to the value of these services, but the more I see of our soldiers, the more convinced I am of their usefulness to them, putting aside the view that they are the nation's recognition of the Lord of Hosts, the God and Father of us all. They afford an unique opportunity of proclaiming God's pardoning love, of pleading with men by the mercies of God. Many a soul at them has been awakened and converted by the power of the Blessed Spirit.

Soldiers object to the parade before the service, or after it; but it is the parade, not the Church, that irritates them. One distinguished general officer once called the commanding officers of regiments together and said: "It is a Church parade; the end is not drill, but the Church service; the parade is simply to take the men to Church in due order." It is the duty of the Church to see that her children do not suffer in this particular in comparison with other bodies.

(b) *Voluntary Services.*—I remember the time when such services were almost unknown; when the only voluntary service at Aldershot had to be at half-past five on Sunday evening. Now in all well-worked garrisons these services are most important and most successful. Brightness and heartiness characterize them, and eagerness and attention is seen on every face. Few things are more delightful than these services, to which soldiers go if they wish, but with no compulsion, in our large garrisons. I wish the Church would see it to be a duty, as it certainly is a privilege, to send some of her most able pleaders for God to preach for our chaplains at these services.

(c) *Holy Communion.*—We have at least a weekly celebration in all our garrisons. It is true the numbers that gather round the Table of the Lord are not so large as we ought to expect. We are disappointed because so few, comparatively speaking, "draw near and take the Holy Sacrament to their comfort." But each soldier-communicant is a real gain; he has been drawn out of evil surroundings, and he has been kept safe in the midst of them. Go to any ordinary parish church—where are the men from whom our soldiers come? It is not that we lose communicants, it is that we have to deal with men who need conversion, to be brought into a right relation to Christ before they are fitted to be so built up in our most holy faith.

I believe it is by acting on the Divine plan that we can alone guard our evangelistic work from failure. We who have had any experience of such work, have seen sad relapses and breakdowns. Where is the adequate result of so much evangelistic work? Why are the results so evanescent? Soldier-converts, more than others, from their very position and temperament, need the Divine help. Mere emotion will not stand the fire of the barrack room; the man must be led through the other services, through after meetings, Bible classes, and the personal direct influence of soul upon soul, to the Holy Communion, if he is to gain the grace of perseverance.

The work of the Church among our soldiers is essentially a mission work. Soldiers need educating before they can enter into our Prayer-book services—hence I welcome most heartily simple mission services, meetings for prayer, and for simple, earnest pleading with men in the name of Christ, through the power of the Holy Spirit. We are all so apt to measure the spiritual needs of others by our own, that we fail oftentimes to realize the position and the powers of reception of others. And in these mission services—provided we have a suitable place for meeting—we can utilize the gifts of laymen. In our Church institutes and Church rooms there should be ample opportunities for them to help and comfort struggling souls by the comfort with which they themselves, in the same battle, have been comforted of God. It is through men that Christ finds His way to men. Soldiers are won to God by the Word and love of God when it comes from the hearts and lives of their fellow-men.

I think, then, that chaplains have the fullest liberty in this work to carry out all its details. I have tried my utmost to secure for them this freedom. Their position is simply this: they are clergy of the National Church working among soldiers; the restrictions that bind them do not affect their spiritual work. I sometimes hear it said that the relation between a chaplain and soldiers can never be a free and unrestrained one, because the chaplain ranks as an officer. That is all nonsense; the relations between most chaplains and their men are most intimate and informal. I have never scrupled to say that chaplains who attempt to be officers are fatal mistakes. I desire publicly to express my grateful recognition of the zeal, the loving sympathy, the true brotherliness which most chaplains are displaying, and the real, good work they are doing for the Church in winning the democracy to truer thoughts regarding God and the Church, and the clergy. I know we are but touching the fringe of our work, but we are touching it. God is showing us light, and, in spite of our failures, Churchpeople in the Army were never so well cared for as to-day, were never so attached to their chaplains.

(2) But the work of our commissioned chaplains is only carried on in the large garrison towns and camps. We employ parochial clergy. We do not select these acting-chaplains, we simply take the parish priest and require him to do certain duties, for the doing of which the State pays him. One service on Sunday, one hour's religious instruction to the children, and visiting the hospitals and barracks, is all that is required. This work, as you will see at once, is very different indeed to that we require from chaplains. In some cases it is splendidly done, in others, where parish duties are onerous and pressing, our soldiers cannot but suffer. It is, I think, the duty of the Church to see that all such work is thoroughly done. The dépôts are very important, for at them a man's religion is first recorded, and it is most desirable that all clergy in charge of them should carefully investigate any abnormal proportion of Dissenters from the Church. The difference between the proportions of Churchmen coming from different dépôts is very great, and demands attention.

So far I have spoken of what is accomplished, of what the State regards as her responsibility, and of the manner in which the duty is

done by those appointed to fulfil it. What special duty has the Church to soldiers?

(1) It is her duty to see that the number of commissioned chaplains is not lessened. I venture most emphatically to say that the parochial clergy—with their ever increasing work—can never take the place of our chaplains. I hold that Army doctors and Army schoolmasters are a necessity; so also are Army chaplains. If you wish to influence soldiers for good, you must live among them, you must know their peculiarities; they must know you, trust you, love you. A chaplain can often speak words in a sermon, out of his intimate knowledge, which may prevent much evil, whereas one with only a surface knowledge would but intensify it. I am sure of this, that chaplains stand the test of practical efficiency. There is no chaplain worthy of his office but can point to rescued men, to transformed lives, to souls snatched from those sins which were corrupting, destroying them. Their very presence in camp or garrison is a sermon; by life and word they teach love to God, love to man, reverence to God, respect for man, self-control, and self-respect. Our chaplains, I repeat, touch the democracy, they can do much to win it to better, kinder thoughts of Church and clergy, they can do much to win it for Christ. I do urge upon the Church, for our soldiers' sakes, for our country's sake, for Christ's sake, the absolute necessity of maintaining—yea, of increasing—our chaplains.

Soldiers need their own chaplains, their own fitting chaplains. I believe they are unanimous in this desire. If ever this nation should have to risk the issues and incur the sacrifices of war (which may God avert), the chaplain ought not to be a stranger, a well known face should bend over the dying man, a well known voice should utter words of comfort.

I trust the Church of England will never willingly consent to the abolition or the reduction of the chaplains' department. I do not think at present we have our due proportions; we certainly have not so many as we need. Since 1873 we have increased by 21,000 men, yet our commissioned chaplains are less in number. There is but one reason ever alleged, and that is that there might be a saving of money. Yes, in the estimates, but I hold there would be an immense loss even of money; you cannot put down in estimates so many soldiers rescued by the chaplains from drunkenness and impurity. It is these evils which ruin the Army, and so increase the estimates. I trust the Church will recognise this duty, and that our parochial clergy will regard the matter from a wider point of view than that of their own parishes. Civil and military doctors agree together, and get any terms they wish for from the authorities; we clergy disagree, and hence lose everything.

I plead for a strong chaplains' department. Without it, I feel the Church cannot but fail in her duty to the democracy.

(2) It is the duty of the Church to see that fitting buildings are provided in which her soldiers can worship God. We have beautiful churches in Aldershot, London, Portsmouth, Dover, Caterham, and other places. Much has been done of late years to improve our church accommodation. Her Majesty laid the foundation stone of a new church at Aldershot in July, which, thanks to the wise care of Mr. Stanhope, is being built there.

But still much remains to be done. Here, in this archdiocese, there

are chapel schools at Dover Heights and at Canterbury, while at Shorncliffe the accommodation is even worse. We try to make the best of these buildings, but no Church ought to be content with such a state of things. I am ever labouring for improvements. H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief has again and again expressed his dislike of chapel schools, but the alteration needs money, and outside pressure is good and necessary; however desirous the Secretary of State may be to do away with the evil, he has to make the expenditure palatable to the House of Commons. I think the duty lies on the Church to protest again and again; to demand that fitting, decent places of worship should be provided for our soldiers. I should very much like to see this duty taken up, and beginning from this Congress in this archdiocese.

(3) I have reserved the most pressing duty for my last words. It is the duty of the Church to provide for her soldiers in all large garrisons Church of England Soldiers' Institutes. I pleaded for this help seventeen years ago at the Church Congress at Stoke. Something has been done at Aldershot, Colchester, Gosport, and Woolwich, but we have not met with much encouragement. And yet these Soldiers' Institutes are an absolute necessity, if we are to do our duty to the soldiers. Chaplains cannot do their work as you have a right to expect from them without them. How can they? Where are they to meet the men in friendly intercourse? The social side of our Christian work is bound up with these Institutes. The daily intercourse between chaplains and soldiers is impossible without them. So far, our experiment has succeeded. The work is most hopeful and inspiring. The Institutes are a success. We do not plead for what we fancy might help us, but we stand before the Church, and say: "These souls can be touched, can be won; the Church of the land can, does supply their needs. We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen." But to win the democracy, you must take care that there is an actual touch possible. You must not keep the chaplain shut up in quarters, and bring him out on Sundays, and then put him back again. The chaplain should not be able to retire at seven o'clock to his late dinner every evening. No; "his meat and drink should be to do the will of Him that sent him"; his place is among the men, going down to them as Christ did to us. But you must give him this blessed opportunity. I plead for 137,000 of my brethren. They are Christ's gift to us. We are responsible for them.

I do not hesitate to say that the Church has not yet risen up to face this work as a National Church should. I do not think that either the members of our Church as a body, or the Church in our villages and towns, recognizes the greatness of the work, the grandeur of the opportunity. The Wesleyan body have done more for the 5 per cent. of the soldiers which belong to them than we have for our 68 per cent. They see the importance of the position, and know very well that such "Wesleyan Homes" are a necessity, if their work in the Army is to flourish.

Is it not a shame that we should so lag behind? What must the thoughtful among these soldiers think of their Church? How are they likely to act and to vote when they take up again their rights as citizens?

The Archbishop has given us his strongest approval. He has seen

something of the possibilities of the work for himself, and he commends it to the Church most heartily. There are many difficulties. A great door and effectual is opened, and there are many adversaries. The greatest hindrance of all is the ignorance of nominal Churchmen, and their refusal to see the vast and important issues that depend upon our present action. My point is this, that the Church of England, the National Church, owes a duty to these soldiers which she has not paid, and that the fulfilment of that duty will do much, very much, towards solving the question, "How to win the masses to Christ and His Church."

I have not time to speak of many organizations which are helpful to us in our work: the Army Guilds, the Army Scripture Readers' Society, Temperance and Purity Associations, and the Winchester Deaconesses. Others will perhaps touch on some of them. I will simply say this: God has given us a grand chance. He has opened the door; the work is offered to us. Whether we help or not, His work among our soldiers will be done. I do not fear for the work of God, but I fear for ourselves, for chaplains, for the Church of England, lest we, through our indolence and want of zeal and love and liberality, should be counted unworthy to have a share in the triumphs of Christ.

We need not only financial help, but we also need personal help. We would gladly find work for retired officers or laymen who would be willing to superintend Institutes, or to labour for Christ in them on the lines of the Church of England. We want a dozen Colonel Walkers and Colonel Wavells, our late and present leaders at Aldershot. We feel that there must be many ladies interested in soldiers who would give up their lives as servants of Christ and His Church. Many doors seem to be opening; means for proper training are not wanting. We can offer nothing but a work full of difficulties, with many disappointments; but these things do but call out God's true workers.

Great tact is necessary, and loyalty to the Church of England, but, above all, sympathy and Christ-like love. These hearts of ours are never satisfied until we go out of ourselves to work for and to love others. Are there not some among the leisured classes ready to respond to God's call, and to recognize that they owe a duty to the Army?

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## ADDRESSES.

Colonel P. A. A. TWYNAM, C.B.

THE subject before us is that of the duty of the Church towards soldiers, or, as I should have preferred to have entitled it, "The Duty of the National Church towards the National Army." The attitude of the National Church towards the Army has been, for two centuries, and until quite recently, that of a studied neglect, and at times a somewhat bitter opposition. As a National Church, she did not appear to realize that she had any direct concern in the moral and religious welfare of the soldier. She acted as if the Army was not of her fold, and was content to stand aside and let men go to ruin. From a variety of reasons, political, social, moral, the national sentiment ran strongly against a standing Army; even at the present day, in many quarters, there are persons who act, speak, and think as if the Army were some mercenary force, recruited among Zulus or other semi-savage tribes, instead of being composed



of their own countrymen. The National Church, instead of educating and guiding public opinion to a higher appreciation of the nation's soldiers, sided with it, as being the more popular course; and when at the last Revision of the Prayer-book, in 1661-62, Prayers for use in the Navy were for the first time introduced into the Prayer-book, no notice was taken of the Army, and to this day, in the Prayer-book of the National Church no mention is made of the nation's Army. The revisers tried to justify their position by reporting to the House of Commons that they did not see fit to recognise the military forces of the Crown as "the chief visible strength of the Kingdom." The State endeavoured to do what the Church had declined to do, and by the "Articles of War of 1662," prayers were ordered to be read daily at the head of each regiment. However, from want of proper organization, and a false economy on the part of the civil administration of the Army, the moral and religious training of the soldier was shamefully neglected, and we find as far back as 1805 the Duke of York, then Commander-in-Chief, urging on the Secretary of State for War the importance of this subject, and pointing out the necessity for a properly qualified staff of chaplains. "Such a measure," (*i.e.*, a staff of chaplains), he writes, "was calculated to ensure the good conduct, to raise the character of the soldier, and so strengthen the discipline of the Army." Time forbids my dwelling longer on all these proofs of neglect. Suffice it to say that after the Crimean War the dawn of a happier state of things showed itself, and now we have a small but well-organised chaplains' department, well appointed churches in some few of our large garrisons (though, alas! too many draughty, cheerless, inconvenient, and unpopular places of worship still remain in the shape of riding and chapel schools), and a good system of education. The chaplains of the Army, too, have a grand opportunity which many of their parochial brethren would give their right hand to possess, *viz.*, that of being once a week face to face for twenty minutes with the adult males of their congregations. Thankful as we must be for all this, yet one very important item is still wanting—there are no means for following up the good impressions that may have been made, no machinery whereby the chaplains and those interested in the moral and religious welfare of the Army can have an opportunity of meeting the soldier on friendly terms, getting to know him and winning his confidence. After a man has left the hospital he is liable to be lost sight of, and barrack-room visiting, of the kind needed, is impossible. Much—very much, too—has been done by the State of late years within barracks for the social comforts of the soldier, but absolutely nothing outside of the barracks.

Here, then, are two great wants that need attention. The one in the moral and religious training of the soldier, the other in his social surroundings. These wants can be effectually satisfied by the provision of soldiers' institutes, and if Churchmen and Churchwomen would support the efforts now being made in the name of the National Church to provide soldiers' institutes, they would not only enable their Church, in one important direction at least, to fulfil her duty towards the Army, but also in some measure to solve the problem, How to reach the masses. Let me now explain very briefly the origin of the Church of England Institutes—what they are, and what the Church of England Soldiers' Institutes Association is. Prior to the Crimean War the only places of resort open to the soldier outside his barrack room, and where as long as he had money to spend, a ready welcome awaited him, were public-houses. Within barracks an establishment called "the canteen," for the sale of beer, and without barracks every species of disreputable drinking shop. In 1857 the senior Church of England chaplain at Aldershot obtained the use of an unoccupied canteen building in the South Camp, and with the assistance of a committee of officers opened reading, game, and refreshment rooms, and a devotional room. The

success was so marked, that the military authorities determined on supplying similar establishments to every regiment, except the devotional rooms. In 1861 the General Commanding at Aldershot, the late Sir John Pennefather, K.C.B., thought this rival establishment was not necessary, and thus the first attempt to work a Church of England Soldiers' Institute came to an end, after a brief but successful existence of four years. Unfortunately these officers did not see their way to start an institute on similar lines off Government ground, and so the work lapsed, notwithstanding the earnest appeal made by the present Chaplain-General and Farrier-Major Terry in 1875, at the Stoke Church Congress (which led, however, to the generous donation of £1,000 from Lord Cranbrook, then Mr. Gathorne Hardy), until the year 1880, when the present Church of England Soldiers' Institute was started at Aldershot, at the suggestion of a non-commissioned officer. In the meantime (fortunately for the soldiers and Army at large), other bodies of earnest Christian men and women stepped in, and so Mrs. Daniel's, Miss Robinson's, and some Wesleyan Institutes came into being. These Institutes have done, and are doing, much good; but, unfortunately, from their want of sympathy with the National Church, their mode of working cannot commend itself to Churchmen, nor are the Church of England chaplains allowed any opportunity for teaching in them. The Aldershot Institute was so marked a success, that others were started very soon after on similar lines; viz.:—At Colchester, at Gosport, at Woolwich, at Pirbright, and at Malta; and we hope by next year to see one at the Curragh; and another here at Shorncliffe; in several garrisons Church Rooms also have been provided. What then are these Institutes? They are "clubs," with the addition to an ordinary club-house of devotion rooms. Distinct works carried on in separate parts of the same building, and in no way directly interfering with one another. As "clubs," they endeavour to provide refreshment, game, bed, and bath rooms, and a hall or large room for entertainment; they are conducted on similar lines to any well ordered mechanics' institute or workmen's club, with this notable exception, that there is no nomination, no entrance fee, no subscription, the sole qualification for membership is that of wearing H.M. uniform; men of all ranks meet on an equality, no interference with a man's religious convictions is allowed, the men are free to come and free to go. The one principle that pervades the "club" life is that of non-interference. Everything is done to make the men comfortable and feel that it is their home. In rooms specially set apart for the purpose, devotional meetings and classes for religious instruction are held. The men are free to come or stay away. We believe in the power of religion to attract, and do not believe that it is something unpleasant that requires, in season and out of season, to be forced on men, nor do we believe that it is in the interest of religion for strangers to attempt to force it upon soldiers without authority or introduction. In thus separating the purely "social" side of the work from the purely religious, the one is not exalted at the expense of the other.

These Institutes are for the whole British Army, and through their social work they endeavour to elevate, refine, and purify the physical, mental, and moral natures of men, while at the same time, ample provision is made for the religious side of their natures, so that the whole of the man's nature is considered. No attempt is made to proselytise. If the men by their social surroundings are led to seek and enquire into the "Way of Life," according to the form of the faith in which they were baptized, we should but rejoice. These Institutes, though primarily and mainly intended for the soldiers, have still an anxious thought and care for the soldiers' wives. Thanks to an energetic and earnest band of ladies, who have attached themselves to these Institutes, good work is carried on among the soldiers' wives, rooms being set apart for meetings for women only. The association came into existence mainly on three

grounds. First, to provide a body of trustees legally competent to hold real property for the purpose of such Institutes ; second, to insure that these Institutes shall for ever be conducted on Church of England principles ; third, to bring about a more hearty co-operation among local committees. It may be said that the mere fact of providing these Institutes is an acknowledgment that the religious and moral tone of the Army is "low." Now, whether we speak of the officers or of the rank and file, the general moral and religious tone will be that of the class from which they spring. Eighty per cent. of the rank and file spring from what is termed the masses, and is it not an unfortunate and sad fact, that the moral and religious tone of the masses is deplorably low, and is not the Church perplexed as to how to reach these masses ?

The soldier enlists as a rule between the ages of 17 and 20. His training up to that age has been in the hands of his family and the Church to which he belongs. It has been a civilian's training. Therefore do not blame the Army training if it has not in all cases succeeded in rooting out the noxious weeds implanted during the early civilian's life. I speak from a long experience—few, if any, have been ruined by the Army life ; all that can be said is, that it has failed to save. Remember, too, that the lads who, as a rule, are attracted to the Army, and who make the best soldiers, are high-spirited fellows, with plenty of go in them, love of adventure ; restless, inclined to mischief, with plenty of the dare-devil about them, they require a judicious and careful handling. Great human powers, capable of infinite good or infinite evil, have here been concentrated, and it will depend on the moral and religious influences to which they are exposed as to the way these powers will be directed. These men, like their mates in civil life, doubtless shock one at times by their conversation, and have but poor notions of using to any good purpose their leisure time. They do not show much desire to cultivate those higher faculties which distinguish man from the mere animal—they know little of disciplining the body and keeping it under ; vice and folly are sadly too fashionable. But why all this ? Because they are ignorant, and know no better. They go wrong from sheer ignorance, from want of thought, and frequently from the bad example of their so-called superiors in station or society. Give them only the opportunity of knowing the better way, teach them to respect themselves, and I know no men, speaking of them as a body, who are more ready to respond.

Here, then, is a great opportunity for the National Church, in some measure, to fulfil her duty towards the National Army. If the Army alone benefited from these Institutes, if the good done by them were confined to the soldier, there would be reason enough for their provision, but it is by no means so. The influence for good of these Institutes is far, far more reaching. Our Army is in one point in strong contrast with that of other nations, inasmuch as in time of peace it goes forth in large numbers to protect and control millions of heathens ; there is not a man in the ranks of the Army, who, if he were taught aright, would not fail to perceive that he ought to be a pioneer on the missionary, and in some sense a missionary himself, instead of being, as, alas, he too frequently is, through utter ignorance, a stumbling-block. Again, about 13,000 to 15,000 men leave the Army annually, and return to civil life ; of these some 7,000 to 10,000 are professed Churchmen. If a proportion only of them were made to understand what true Churchmanship means, how materially would they assist in raising the general moral tone of the society in which they may move, and help to strengthen the Church in this land. The cry of the Church at the present day is, how to reach the masses, how to bridge over the gap between the so-called classes and masses. Churchmen and Churchwomen, do but consider for a moment. Here, at your hand, is a great and effectual means of doing so—the Army is largely recruited from the masses. In peace the soldier has much leisure time, he is

impressionable, he is willing to listen, he is willing to learn—all that is required is to give him the needful opportunities. Will you help to do so? Time, unfortunately, will not now permit me to discuss the many objections raised against the work of the Church of England Soldiers' Institutes. All that I can now say is, that the criticiser and objector have a useful function—they compel promoters to carefully examine the ways and means; but this presupposes that the objector is a reasonable being, and knows something about that of which he is talking. Many, unfortunately, who criticise the work of the Soldiers' Institutes provided by the Church of England, know but little about them, and have never taken the trouble to visit one of them. I say to all, objectors and supporters, visit the Church of England Soldiers' Institutes, examine into the work, and enquire among the frequenters of these Institutes, and we are quite content to abide by their verdict.

### I. CLISHAM, Esq., Quarter-Master, 1st Royal Scots Fusiliers.

I *FEEL* very diffident in speaking to you after a Field-Marshal, a Chaplain-General, and a full Colonel. From time immemorial, and even from the early dawn of Christianity itself, soldiers in every age have taken an active part either for or against the Church, and you who read the signs of the times cannot help but observe that the soldier of to-day and of the future will play a more active part still in the Church, either for or against her. I need not here quote figures, as the Chaplain-General has, in his able paper, informed you already; but when you come to remember the large number of young lads who join the service annually, and from their youth have no fixed principles of Churchmanship; and when you come to consider the numbers who leave the Army yearly whose principles are fixed for or against the Church, it behoves you who are in the Army, and you who are out of the Army—yes, and women too, and the Church in general, to be up and doing; to use every means in your power to find means to instruct the young soldier while serving, so that on his leaving the Army to swell the civil population of our towns and villages, he will be a help to the minister of that parish, and the means of leading others also to take up some work for the love of God and the Church. I am sorry to have to confess that the Church has not done her duty in the past to her children in the Army, but allowed others outside her fold to do her work while she sat idly by. When I look back to my young days in the Army, I confess I was never spoken to by anyone on Church work or my duty towards the Church, and it was a common saying in the barrack-rooms that the Church cared nothing for the soldier. Still, on the other hand, our friends outside the Church not only held out the right hand of fellowship to their own men, but to Churchmen also, and the result was, that many good men who joined as Churchmen returned to civil life as Dissenters, and simply for that want of sympathy denied them by Churchmen, and I doubt if it were not for a military chaplain I should not be here this evening pleading for my comrades who are Churchmen in the Army. Having been introduced some years ago to the present Chaplain-General, I soon learned that the chaplains were not the stand-off party that they were represented to be, but that they were men who cared for the spiritual wants of the soldiers under their charge; and I hope the day is far distant that the chaplains of the Army will cease to exist, but that we may see their numbers increased, and that a chaplain will be appointed to each regiment, or at least one stationed at the head-quarters of a regiment for the care and instruction of Churchmen. In the paper read by the Chaplain-General, he informs us that there is an increase in the number of Churchmen

in the Army, but no increase in the number of chaplains ; this I consider a mistake, for according to the number of men there are too few chaplains to do the work. Of course you will say there are parish clergy to do the work at small stations. From personal experience, this is also a mistake ; it is impossible, no matter how zealous or hard-working a clergyman is who has a parish and also troops under his charge, to do justice to both, and the result is that the soldier only hears his pastor for one hour on the Sunday morning. This is not as it should be ; when you come to consider young lads in our hospitals, far from a mother's loving care, a stranger among strangers, that is the time when the chaplain can speak words of comfort and consolation and love to the boy, and the clergyman should not consider his duty finished by inserting his name in the visiting books of the hospital. You will sometimes hear people say that soldiers, as a class, are irreligious. That is a libel on us soldiers ; we are not ; and there is no period of time in the history of our Army when men were seeking more after God ; but we soldiers are shy in this matter, and it is only by personal intercourse that you can touch us. I am not speaking from hearsay, having gone through that ordeal ; and no man can tell his wants better than the man himself. You have heard the Chaplain-General state that there are Church of England Homes at Aldershot, Colchester, and Woolwich. I do hope the day is not far off when Homes like the ones mentioned will be established in every garrison town, not only at home, but also abroad ; and it is only in such Institutions, conducted on sound Church principles, that you will make men better Churchmen under the guidance of the chaplains, and counteract the low public-houses that infest our garrison towns. It is for such Homes that I would plead to you this evening, to help us with your prayers and your sympathy ; and from your presence here this evening, I feel sure the appeal will not be made in vain ; for it is only in such Institutions, where the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men meet for one common cause—the spiritual welfare of their comrades, and try to make them better men, both as soldiers and Churchmen. Perhaps you will say—"How can we who are not in the army assist you ?" First, I would appeal to every clergyman to allow, one Sunday in the year, the use of his pulpit for a special sermon to be preached to bring to the notice of the congregation the wants of Churchmen in the Army, and I feel sure the Chaplain-General would be pleased to do that duty, or find some military chaplain, or others, who have the welfare of the soldier at heart, to perform that service. Secondly, you could get up a meeting in your parishes during the week, when I feel sure the secretary of the Church of England Soldiers' Home, Aldershot, would arrange for speakers. You could bring the subject forward among your friends, in your drawing-rooms and afternoon teas. We also want lay-helpers, both men and women, who will come forward and help us in this work. It seems strange how few lay-helpers outside the Army give their services in this work for the Master's sake to Churchmen in the Army ; on the other hand, I venture to say that if it were possible for anyone to visit our garrison towns—not only at home, but abroad—they would find the vast majority of voluntary workers—both men and women—are those who do not teach the doctrine of the Church of England. Why should this be ? Are there no men or women in our Church who will give up the whole or part of their time for this noble work ? We require in the Army, and especially at Aldershot, a colony of young men somewhat after the colony at Bethnal Green (of young Oxford men) ; the foundation of this work has already been laid at Aldershot. What finer field for mission work could be found than at that camp, whence every year we send to India and the Colonies from three to four thousand men ? And if only three in every hundred were good workers for God, what a vast amount of good they would do, not only among their own comrades, but among the people of that far-off land for Christ and His Kingdom, even as silent

witnesses to the Cross. We want men to help in the Army like those already mentioned—Colonels Walker and Wavell—and last, but not least, men like the Rev. John Wilson Pickance, who twelve years ago went down to Aldershot on a visit of mercy, and seeing what a field there was for working among men in that large camp, entered at once into that work, and from that time up to the present has been doing a noble work in a quiet way; and from my personal knowledge, his kindness and sympathy to men of all ranks has been the means of leading many in the right path, to love their Master and their Church. Again, I would appeal to you as Churchmen and Churchwomen to come forward and assist us in this noble work in instructing and leading young soldiers in the Army, not only to be good Churchmen and soldiers of our beloved Queen, but good soldiers of Jesus Christ and His Church.

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The Rev. W. GORE-BROWNE, S. Hilda Vicarage, Darlington.

EVERY Christian interested in the Army must be glad to see the Church considering a subject which has so long been neglected as her duty to soldiers. It is well known that it is only of late that chaplains have been required to be men of a special aptitude for their work, and with a special love for their men. In olden times any one was considered good enough for a chaplaincy in the Army or Navy. But, though great progress has been made, there remains much to be done. The public has been much more concerned about Tommy Atkins as a hungry and ill-used mortal, than about the same Tommy as a neglected and famishing immortal.

I must pause here to limit the scope of my remarks to the sphere in which my experience has lain. Of the work of the Church at Aldershot, Shorncliffe, and in India, I know little, and that chiefly by hearsay; but of the Church work in a large number of our garrison towns I have had some knowledge. Now no one can know the usual methods of spiritual work in a garrison town without feeling hopelessly dissatisfied. Since the regimental chaplain has been abolished, it has been customary to appoint the rector of the parish in which troops are quartered chaplain to the forces within his district. This unfortunate man has, in all probability, more than enough work already in hand to keep him employed from New Year's Day till the 31st of December without much rest. He has charge of his Church congregation, with the temporal and spiritual responsibilities accruing to such a charge; he probably manages a mission room, working men's club, day school, relief committee, besides overseeing district visitors, Sunday school teachers, temperance societies, and bands of hope; he is called upon to act as spiritual counsellor and guide to all comers. Does the Church suppose that such a man can, by any possibility, rise to the cure of souls in a barracks, where the 500 or 600 men who are under his care are separated by every circumstance of discipline and habit from the rest of the people for whom he is working? Should he have an influence over men, he will surely exercise that influence amongst his resident parishioners, rather than amongst the 500 or 600 men who marched in yesterday, to leave again in a year or two. The result is, that the work of the Church for most garrisons is confined to a sermon on Sunday morning. During the few months that I had the honour to serve in the 11th Hussars as a private, my only knowledge of the Church's work amongst soldiers was derived from the church parade sermon, or from two sermons preached by the *locum tenens* during the month that I was in hospital. I depended for my spiritual life, in reality, on the ministrations of the vicar of the parish in which I lived before enlisting.

In some few instances I have seen the local clergy endeavouring to reach the troops committed to their care, but it was positively painful to see how completely they felt themselves to be outside the world to which the soldier belongs.

Either they would organize Bible classes, to be taken solemnly by themselves, or by some lady friend. A few—but very few—soldiers would attend, and these predisposed to religion. The teachers had no individual touch of the men of the regiment, and could expect no expansive power in their Bible class organization, unless, mayhap, they could find a soldier-saint to act as missionary. Gradually the teaching became more and more constrained, as it became evident that the teachers did not understand their pupils.

Or perhaps they would organize temperance meetings. I remember well an instance in which this method of approach was attempted. All the retired officers and ladies of the neighbourhood were pressed into the service, and small concerts were improvised, but the indiscretions of the speakers were enough to break one's heart, and I gave up hoping for anything better when the clergyman in charge, having rightly pressed everyone present to sign the pledge for the week before the New Year, failed in this, but at last declared that no one should go who had not signed for the week *following* the 1st of January. I believe he got some twenty pledges, but as those who signed were preparing for a week's jollification before the pledges became due, it is not surprising that not one of the twenty was kept. Thus the men were educated in principles of untruth. I do not suppose that the young man knew what he was doing. His duty was to minister to a rich congregation, and he found himself face to face with the vices of a cavalry regiment.

With regard to the church services in garrison towns, I have attended many, but have only met with one good service for soldiers in a parish church, and that, though it is a bull to say so, was not for soldiers, but for militiamen. My recollections of the quality of sermons supplied to soldiers is simply distressing; the miserable nonsense that is often given him as spiritual food, and the twaddle which is expected to nerve him for his battle against this naughty world, is too terrible.

Soldiers are a long-suffering race, and are for the most part satisfied with exceedingly little religion, or there would be more grumbling heard about the nature of their spiritual food than there is now about their rations.

But perhaps you ask whether incumbent chaplains do not visit the troops. Honestly speaking, I do not think you can blame them much that they do not. It is an awful thing for a born and bred civilian to face a barrack room of ferocious, disciplined warriors. It is only when he knows the breed of the men, when, in fact, he has become a Rudyard Kipling in spirit, if not in power, that he will find poor Tommy Atkins most delightful company. The result is that most of the spiritual visitation is now left to Bible readers—known more commonly as "Holy Joes,"—whom one has heard burst forth with crude sentences of religion, which shock the reverent and repel the blasphemous.

Now I know that the Chaplain-General must be feeling that this is not a true picture of Church work at Aldershot. Exactly! For the very reason that the chaplain system is effectively worked in Aldershot, and even the neighbouring vicars are often selected with an eye to the development of the soldier past and present. The very object of this part of my speech is to urge that a regular system of chaplains who belong *exclusively* to the Army is essential to the spiritual welfare of the soldier. The most healthy reports that one hears of Church work amongst soldiers come from such centres as Aldershot, where chaplains have no other duties. I have never heard a good account of a parochial chaplaincy; but my knowledge, of course, is limited.

Further, I must urge that chaplains should not be territorial, but regimental, except in some exceptional kind of ecclesiastical dépôts. It must weaken and undo a good man's work very effectively, if every two years the men whom he has learned to love are taken from his charge and sent to another place under another's care. He has not even the whole two years charge of each man, for nearly one-third of the regiment changes in that time. If, however, the chaplain moves with the regiment, each man is under his care for the seven years of his service. I am aware that Government has made the step decidedly in the opposite direction; but Government has no conscience, unless the Church acts in that capacity. And in the same way that instructors in the Navy are now openly encouraged to take Holy Orders, without any idea of the call of God, so as to save Government expense, so are salaries saved by the same Government under the present system at the expense of the poor soldier, whom it professes to love so long as he possesses strength and loyalty. Let it, however, be borne in mind that not a few chaplains in times past have given good excuse to the authorities for believing that they could well be spared by the Service.

The duty remains to the Church, nevertheless, to insist on each regiment having a chaplain; and, having once attained that end, to provide a chaplain fit for so high a calling. When Dr. Lightfoot wanted men for the North, he preached a sermon in the University Church of Cambridge, in which he offered nothing but hard work, amongst a brave people, in a cold climate. The men were forthcoming. When you want men for the Army, do not call upon the same University to supply soft and gently nurtured men for well-paid posts, but ask for her best and bravest, to meet real difficulties, at a possible loss of social prestige, and a probable loss of pecuniary profit, and I believe you will have a ready response.

I will leave this subject, to consider the possibility of reaching the common soldier. Socially, he is extremely easy to meet and make friends with. He has a notion that he is despised, which I believe to be for the most part unfounded. He has, on most occasions, excellent manners, and only occasionally betrays himself by a slip of the tongue when he does not see his chaplain, or forgets his presence. I have heard the roughest man in a barrack room come amongst his comrades in the highest glee because Mr. B—— had walked up to barracks with him. "He's not half a bad sort, I can tell you," was the end of the story. But I cannot say honestly that the soldier is most easily accessible when, having buttoned his best tunic and placed his forage cap jauntily on the right side of his head, he walks through the barrack gate with expanded chest and clinking spurs, in search of adventures. Moreover, Tommy Atkins is not a bit more wicked than the great multitude of our city men, or than the average man in the great works of our crowded towns. But it is obvious that all this is not enough. We want to know whether he is capable of receiving not merely natural gifts, but supernatural.

Men try to impart the supernatural by two ways—either by tackling their victim on every occasion with painfully direct questions, or by guile. I believe, without hesitation, in the principle of guile. An old soldier burst forth the other day to me about the questions with which a good lady had been plying him. "What business had she to ask me these questions?" I assured him that I thought it as great a piece of impertinence as to ask him about his investments. He replied that the old lady did not like his answer, and said that she thought he had misunderstood her meaning. "'No, ma'am,' I said, 'I quite understand you, but I do not care to discuss this sort of thing in public.'" The same man, a little while later, was discussing the advisability of turning over a new leaf and beginning a steady life. In the evening he went to the Soldiers' Institute, and asked leave to sign the pledge;



so it was evident that it was not amendment that was distasteful to him. My own impression on this matter is borne out by numbers of more or less educated men whom I have consulted as to their experience in the ranks. They could get on well enough if their spiritual guides would approach them as men, and they were quite willing to read and form opinions for themselves, but they could not tolerate the cramming of sacred thoughts into their mouths. The riding master of a well known cavalry regiment called a private by name in the riding school, and ordered him "Right turn. Halt. Do you know ——?" here followed the name of the Son of God. Can you conceive a more injurious form of propagandism? It deeply wounded the man to whom it was said. Yet, in the same regiment, a tailor appeared one day with an immense pile of what you would have considered goody books. The moment was opportune. Most of the soldiers were in bed for their afternoon nap, and wanted a little literature. The stories were short and well printed. In five minutes every man in the room was buried in his tract. Those tracts circulated round and round the room till every man had read every tract. They were then used for shaving papers. "A book that it does not matter spoiling is worth anything," is the soldiers' common cry; for it is rather risky to take books out of library, in case they should have to be paid for.

Tact and attractive literature, then, have great advantages over the direct cross-examination method. But this superiority extends not only to immediate results, but to ulterior effects. Supposing a soldier to have learned all the shibboleths of the Christian vocabulary, so far from having gained an influence, he will have lost. It is all important that a soldier through life should be a man of action, and not of words. I know a dragoon who can talk like a parrot on religious subjects, but his practice is a positive stumbling-block to his comrades. Let all our energy be thrown against sentimentalism and extreme expressions of religious conviction on to the side of pronounced and firm action, and men will soon learn to know by a man's practice what is his faith.

I must hasten to conclude. There are two points for which I find no place in the rest of my speech, and yet they are necessarily to be considered under the duties of the Church to the Army:—

(1) Holy Communion. Can a soldier attend? I do not know about every regiment or place, but I do know that ten years ago it would have been impossible in my regiment for any soldier to attend eight o'clock celebration, because he had to prepare for church parade. Neither would any soldier in the regiment have dared to stay for a late celebration, as he was bound to put up his saddle and clean the stable and barrack room for officers' inspection. There may be some way out of the difficulty, but the only one I know would be to persuade officers to inspect saddles, stables, and barrack rooms (as they do in one battery of artillery with which I am intimate) on Saturday, and have church parade in clean stable dress. For myself, I always went on pass once a month with a view to Holy Communion.

(2) With regard to the spare time of soldiers. "The devil," proverbially, "finds work for idle hands to do." Might not the Church endeavour to anticipate that gentleman? If the Church could supply the instruction in useful trades and industries, which would send the infantry man back into the world from which he came an apter and abler man than when he first enlisted, she would save him from many a military crime, the fruit of pure idleness, and would earn the gratitude of officers and country. Moreover, if the Church would consider how to cater for the soldier's amusement, not only in Soldiers' Institutes, but within the walls of barracks, she might save the reputation of many a young soldier, and gain an influence in his life which Satan himself could not break.

The sum of the demands I believe we ought to make for our soldiers is this :—

- i. Regimental Chaplains.
- ii. Sanctified common sense.
- iii. Rational occupation.

## DISCUSSION.

Lt.-Gen. the Hon. WILLIAM FEILDING, Inspector-General of Recruiting.

It is always an extremely difficult thing to deal with a subject like this before an audience which is composed mainly of persons who, from their training and vocation, cannot be expected to be acquainted with the conditions under which it is possible for the clergy to be of use to the soldier, and the soldier to be of great use to the Church. Moreover, there are a large number of persons, morally excellent, who are, nevertheless, either unable or unwilling to deal with any question relating to the Army. This unwillingness arises from ignorance of the conditions which, under existing circumstances, necessitate the maintenance of a standing Army. It is well to clear the ground before us as we proceed. The English Army is maintained, 1st, to defend the British Isles from an invasion which, if successful, would at one blow destroy British trade, and with it the means of existence of nine-tenths of the population of these islands, and ruin the commerce of England's colonies; 2nd, it is a well-known axiom in political economy that "Trade follows the flag." For that, amongst other reasons, England has to maintain the right to fly her flag not only in India, with its 200,000,000 of inhabitants, but also in her numerous colonies. Without trade, what would become of the dense population of our manufacturing districts? It must be to me obvious that England must keep up an Army. The next questions are, what must be the composition of this Army, the character of its soldiers, and the terms and conditions of their service? The composition of the Army is such a purely technical subject, that it would be neither proper nor useful to deal with it on this occasion. Far different, however, is the next question—what should be the character of its soldiers? This is not merely an Army and a national question, but one in which the Church is, and ought to be, deeply interested. In order to deal with it more briefly, it will be well to consider at the same time the third question, viz., the terms and conditions of the British soldiers' service. In order to maintain a high state of efficiency the Army in India and elsewhere abroad, and, at the same time, to be able to count upon a reserve efficient in quality and sufficient in quantity, it has become necessary to enlist men for voluntary service in the active Army for a portion of their engagement, varying from three to eight years out of twelve years, the remainder of their time being passed in the reserve, during which period the soldier re-enters civil life. It is obvious that, if this system is to be successful, not only from a military point of view, but also from a moral standpoint, the character of the soldier should be good—good before he enters the service, so as to admit of his being more easily brought into a state of discipline; good whilst he is in the Army, in order that he may take with him into civil life those moral attributes which are of such value to a man seeking success in the battle of life, and in the strife of competition for permanent employment; and good whilst he is in the reserve, so that his example may serve to break down the idea, which, alas, is so prevalent amongst those who have no large experience of soldiers, that all soldiers are drunken or worthless loafers. This brings us naturally to consider what should be the relations of the Church towards the soldiers. If you admit that an Army composed of good soldiers, who are at any time ready to become good civilians, is better than, and need not be so numerous as, an Army composed of men of indifferent character, then it follows—(1) That it is the duty of the parochial clergy to assist all those authorized to recruit for the Army in the enlistment of only those young men who bear good characters from a moral point of view. There are many young men who, though they dislike labour in the fields, in the factory, or behind an office desk, sigh for a life offering more variety and chance of distinction. Such men are oftenest out of work, and, finding their way into the ranks of the Army, lead exemplary lives, and rise to high honours and distinction, to which, under ordinary circumstances,

they could never have aspired. (2) It is clearly the duty of the clergy to keep a watch, so long as it is practicable, over the youngsters recruited in their parishes. This is easily done during the time the recruits are at the depôts, and often whilst they remain in the ranks of the battalion stationed at home. A few lines to the rector of the parish in which the depôt is situated, or to the chaplain in charge of the troops, would, if acted on at once, go far towards giving the young soldier a good moral start in his new career. At no other time is he so sensitive to sympathy, so receptive of good counsels, or so grateful for a few kind and wisely chosen words spoken to him in those early days of his soldiering, when, being severed suddenly from home ties and his early surroundings, he feels isolated and hungry for sympathy. A line from the rector of the parish to the officer commanding the depôt would also conduce to the happiness of the recruit. The military authorities have recognized the advisability of this retention by the clergy of their moral hold over their flock, and orders have been recently (in August last) issued desiring officers commanding depôts, and those entrusted with the recruiting, to place themselves personally, if possible, in communication with the clergy, with a view to a closer union and a more satisfactory co-operation, in order to reduce to the utmost the number of men who, from their character and conduct, are unworthy to serve in the Army, and unfit to pass out of it into civil life in the reserve. (3) The parochial clergy can help in many ways, not only to make and to keep the soldier good, but also to utilize him as a passive, if not as an active, missionary agency amongst the classes from which soldiers are drawn. (a) When soldiers are on furlough, or passing the night in villages or towns on the line of march, a few kindly spoken words, not necessarily on religious matters, soon establishes confidence, and would often form the base on which good influences would build up a sound religious foundation. When troops are on the march, a simple and cheaply-organized evening entertainment in a school would keep a large number of men from the temptations which would otherwise arise out of an attendance at the public-house, and would engender that feeling of solidarity and mutual confidence which ought to exist between the soldiers who are prepared to fight for good of the civilian, and the civilian who, if there were no voluntary enlistment, would have to suffer from the otherwise necessary conscription. (b) It seems strange to anyone not behind the scenes that the clergy have shown so little appreciation of the latent missionary power which is at their disposal, if only they will stretch out their hands to organize it. In round numbers there are about 200,000 British soldiers at home and abroad, besides about 80,000 reserve of the regular Army. If, in the first instance, the clergy would help the recruiters in the choice of soldiers, they would know that these lads could, when disciplined, be made use of not only abroad, but also in the towns and villages in the British Isles, as missionaries, perhaps only passive, by showing that discipline and good behaviour lead to promotion and to a happy and honoured old age, free from any anxiety as to a moderate competence. Others in whom a desire to do good as well as to be good has been aroused, would be available to give active assistance to the clergy in that most arduous portion of their duty, the religious awakening of the members of the labouring classes throughout these realms. I am sure that much benefit would arise to the soldier, and much comfort would be afforded to his relations in his village or town, if the parochial clergy would encourage men to send home for publication in the parish magazine the record of their obtaining any reward for good conduct in camp or quarters, or for bravery in the field, or of any promotion which they may obtain. By this means they can be kept in touch with home events, and that subtle power known under the name of home influences. They would therefore not be looked upon as strangers when it comes to their turn to pass from a military to a civil career. (4) The clergy seem to be unaware of the great facilities which are at their disposal for the creation of this missionary agency out of the soldiers in the reserve, and those who have been discharged with a pension at the termination of their service. If they were to co-operate with the military authorities, the country gentry, and the employers of labour, in order to provide suitable employment for each soldier who returns to civil life in their districts or parishes, they would at once obtain a hold over the soldier, and that at a time when he stands in great need of a friend and a protector, often against the temptations which present themselves to him immediately after his emancipation from the restrictions arising out of military discipline. It may be thought that I place the private soldier too high in the scale of civilized man. It takes a long time to overcome prejudices. Facts, however, are hard to controvert, and if the clergy will take the trouble to compare the following statistics with those of the civilian populations of our large towns, I do not hesitate to say that the comparison will be greatly to the

advantage of the soldier. These statistics, moreover, show that with the extension of education, the tendency to inebriety has greatly diminished in the last twenty years. In 1872, the number of soldiers fined for drunkenness was 26,111; in 1891, 15,592; in the first case, the proportion of fines to 1,000 men was 281; in the second, 147; The number per 1,000 men on the 1st of January, 1892, who were in possession of the three classes of educational certificates was as follows:—1st class, 13'41; 2nd class, 196'96; 3rd class, 161'12; total, 371'49. In 1891 (December) there were 201,253 non-commissioned officers and men of the regular forces; of these there were 56,204 who, having less than two years' service, were not eligible for a good conduct badge, and yet there were 62,533 who had one good conduct badge, 21,814 who were in possession of two, 2,601 who had three, 1,171 who had four, 347 who had five, and 122 who had six good conduct badges. An Army with such a record cannot, without great injustice, be said to be mainly composed of worthless men with bad characters. I doubt very much if civilians of the same class and average age could show so good a record as regards either education or good conduct, when it is considered that after the two first faults of drunkenness, every succeeding occasion results in a fine. To Churchmen the Army ought to afford great interest. Not only have they sons, brothers, and other relatives serving as commissioned officers, but it must be remembered that there are 137,764 in the Army who belong to the Established Church, and that these may all be converted into active agents of civilization if not evangelization. I plead for their being thus used; must I plead in vain? The hands are ready—the hearts are open to receive the seed. Will the clergy help in the preparation of the seed-bed, and in the organization of the labourers for the harvest. This ever-increasing nation stands in need of new means for the civilization of its labouring population. The Army offers to help you. I entreat of you to accept this offer.

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The Rev. A. S. VALPY, Rector of Holy Trinity and S. Mary,  
Guildford, and First Warden of the Church of England  
Soldiers' Institute at Aldershot.

I HAVE not sent up my name as a speaker, and I certainly did not intend to speak to-night, but, having been called upon, I shall only say that I do consider that a great deal may be done by the Church for the soldiers, a great deal more, in fact, than is being done. What we want to consider is—What do the National Church and the national people demand from our soldiers? We demand a great many things from them, and I venture to think the soldiers may turn round and say, "Do something for us." Now, what can the soldier expect from the National Church? He says, "You take us from the surroundings of our domestic life; you take us from many of the safeguards of civilian life; you put us in your different stations; and at least you ought to assist us to resist those temptations which may injure the immortal soul." If you draw soldiers from positions in which they are protected and give them nothing, perhaps, but the public-house for their entertainment, nothing but the society which they meet with in the street for their social requirements, what can you expect? And yet one of the things we demand from the soldier is that he shall be sober and moral, and that he shall be, to a certain extent, an example in the place in which he lives, and in the country in which he serves. Therefore, I say that we ought to give them all the help we can. We have heard so much about Institutes that I do not consider it necessary to say anything more about them. Some reference has been made with regard to what can be done by the ordinary parochial clergyman in helping soldiers when they pass from one part of the country to another. For many years they used to go through many well-known roads, such as that from Woolwich to Okehampton, right across England, without any helping hand being held out, and some of them were billeted in the very dirtiest public-houses in the towns. They were given no occupation, except the cleaning of their accoutrements, etc.; and with what result? It was often injury to the town and damage to the men, and all because the Church took no trouble whatever to give some protection to the inhabitants of the district and to the soldiers passing through. There are many clergymen who, if they took trouble, would find that they could get a room, in which the men could spend the evening and have a tea and some refreshment provided, at a small cost, and this would be the means of doing a lot of good to the detachment passing through their town, and would also be a protection to the civilian population. One other thing I should like to say is, having had experience as parish clergyman on the borders of a

camp, and having been chaplain to the cavalry brigade at Aldershot, that if the Church will only do her duty, either by chaplains or parochial clergymen, to the soldiers, they will respond most gratefully and heartily. In my work I may say that I have met men who responded most heartily to the Church's work, and if honestly carried out amongst the officers and men of the army the work is full of encouragement. Mr. Gore-Browne has drawn some dark pictures, but there is plenty of ground for hope, and I will sum up what I have to say in one word—"The duty of the Church to the Army is to love it as herself."

### Drum-Major HILL

I AM sure you will forgive me if I read to you a few words which struck me on coming to this Congress this evening. I am asked, as a soldier, to lay before you in my own humble way, the reason why my friends and I are here to-day, viz., to put forth our claims as soldiers upon the Church of England. (i.) I fear that the Established Church of England does not realize the value of the opportunity for work for the good of souls which the Army offers. (ii.) That there is no better chance of reaching men in England than whilst they are in the ranks; (a) because they have then time to listen, which our civilian brethren oftentimes have not; (b) because they are often specially open to kindness and sympathy. This indifference to the needs of these men—my comrades—or of the Church's ignorance with regard to the value of the opportunity, is demonstrated by the fact that this subject is treated as a sectional subject, in the third class hall of the Congress, on the night when the whole interest should centre round the subject of Foreign Missions, now occupying the attention of the Congress in the adjoining hall, which meeting I had hoped to be present at. We know, of course, that the general public take very little interest in this subject (our unfinished Institutes), notwithstanding the efforts of men like Bishop Harold Browne, the Chaplain-General, and Colonel Walker. I had understood that the great use of the Church Congress was to instruct Churchmen in the needs and claims of their brother Churchmen, and yet just see the position that "The Church in the Army" has assigned to it at this Congress. I therefore venture to mention my dissatisfaction, because it not only fails to give this subject a chance at Folkestone, but prevents its being brought forward in the way it deserves at any Church Congress in the future. We soldiers are, nevertheless, grateful for the interest which has of late been taken in our moral and spiritual welfare. Never let it be thought that soldiers do not appreciate this aroused interest. I tell you, as one who has served for upwards of twenty years in the Army, that there are no men so amenable to kindness, sympathy, and good words, as soldiers. None but God knows the secrets of the heart, but I have oftentimes fallen across men quietly singing snatches of hymns, while doing their solitary "sentry go," which has revealed their hearts to me. At other times, say after a visit to our Institute at Aldershot or Colchester, I have met men whom I had thought never had attended religious instruction, but whom I found, on conversing with them, only wanted a helping hand to guide them aright. Oh yes, indeed, we soldiers are grateful for the helping hand which you, our civilian brothers, extend towards us. Let me therefore earnestly plead with you, on behalf of my comrades, to complete the work so nobly begun, viz., our unfinished Institutes at Aldershot, Colchester, Woolwich, Curragh, etc., and thus extend to us that helping hand which is greatly needed to guide men aright, for whom Christ died. May I, in conclusion, point out that it is impossible for the chaplains to reach their men in the barrack-room, as men of all religions are there, and it would not be allowed; but these Institutes, for which I plead to-day, supply a want sorely felt for years past, and which even now, in order to complete the glorious work begun, are in a most incomplete state. Be assured that those for whom you to-day extend this helping hand will prove the fruit of the good work thus done. It is not in the barracks where recreation rooms are required. The soldier does not care to remain in the barracks; he likes to get out for "mashing," and other purposes; and it is after roaming round the town in which we are quartered for the time being, that we require some place of recreation, such as is found in our Church of England Institute. Believe me, we are deeply grateful for these Institutes, and we sincerely thank those who have provided them, and all who have taken an interest in our well-being.

## Major EVERED POOLE, late 60th Royal Rifles.

As I have been engaged in spiritual work in the Army since the year 1860, I think you will not be surprised to hear that I always consider it a pleasure and privilege to speak on behalf of our soldiers. We have had some points touched upon to-night which I think ought clearly to have shown you where some of the difficulties lie, but civilians can in no way appreciate or understand the difficulties of a soldier's life; it is simply impossible. I will sum up the difficulty of a soldier's life in two words, and they are "Never alone." That is the difficulty in dealing with the soldier; he is never alone in the barrack-room, never alone in the hospital, and never alone in the recreation room, or anywhere else. Some think it a pretty easy thing to be a Christian, but to live the life of a godly man in the barrack-room is not so easy. It means Divine grace manifested to a miraculous extent; the Christian soldier is the perfection of Christian manhood. Really in five minutes I hardly know what to say to you. With the Chaplain-General I had the pleasure and privilege to work for many years. We worked at Aldershot together many years ago. We had a grand preacher in the North camp, the Rev. Alfred Townend, and with an earnest speaker no one is more amenable to the Gospel of Christ than the soldier. Let me tell you one of the speakers was right when he said soldiers are very keen observers. Colonel Twynam was right when he said you want men to work amongst soldiers who know their peculiarities. It would be not only ridiculous for anyone who did not understand the atmosphere of a barrack-room to work in it, but he would find himself in a remarkably awkward position. This lay agency is being employed in the Army. Men who have been soldiers, who have witnessed a good confession in the barrack-room, are sent into the barracks as Scripture Readers; they have experienced the life, the difficulties and the trials, and can sympathize with their comrades as no others can. I ask your attention to the report of the addresses at the annual meeting of the Army Scripture Readers' Society on June 3rd at Prince's Hall (a large number I have circulated here this evening), in which you will see the importance of this agency as therein detailed by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, who presided, the Chaplain-General, and others. We are here to talk about the duty of the Church of England to soldiers. What is the duty of the Church of England to the nation? It is, as one of our friends said, to reach the masses, and if the Church is going to stand, she must do this, or fall she certainly will. How are we to do it? The strength of the Salvation Army lies in the fact that it uses every one of its members. The Church's fault is that it does not use the laity as it ought to use them. It has a magnificent power, which it never uses at all. If you want to reach the soldier, you must reach him by a lay agency supplementing the ministerial work of the Army, aiding and assisting the chaplain in all his duties, and, in fact, following up the work which the chaplain has begun, of preaching the glorious Gospel of the Lord Jesus.

## J. W. BRANSON, Quarter-Master Sergeant, Staff Clerk.

I SHOULD like to draw the attention of this meeting to a circumstance that came under my notice some years ago, as I think it illustrates in a most marked manner the enthusiastic way in which the various religious bodies outside the communion of the Church of England vie with each other in their attempts to recruit their forces from the ranks of the Army. I was present in the Head Quarter Office of a large military station one day when the acting senior chaplain came in and asked to see the church parade states for the previous Sunday. After he had studied them for a short time he remarked, "I find there is only *one* soldier"—naming the particular persuasion—"in the garrison, and he is a very fortunate man, for they are going to build him an Institute," and as a matter of fact they did build the Institute, and I have no doubt that by this time it has been the means of drawing away many a Churchman from the fold of his Mother-Church. Now I do not wish to disparage in any way the good work that is being done by religious bodies outside of our communion, but as a loyal soldier-son of the Church, I do most emphatically protest against the way in which the Church in this nineteenth century is missing her grand opportunity of building herself up in the army. Now I am personally very much

interested in both home and foreign missions, but, in my humble opinion, if our Church could be led by God's grace to bring her loving sympathy, her prayers, and her alms to bear more directly on the moral and social welfare of her soldier sons in the Army, it would be quite possible in time to make the Church in the Army one of her greatest missionary agencies. The field is indeed a most promising one, and the fact seems to be fully recognised by everyone, with the exception of the great body that is most directly concerned in the ultimate issue. I remember some time ago, when I was saying good-bye to a soldier who was embarking for India, asking him to be sure and try and help any of our missionaries who might be working near where his regiment was stationed, and he promised that he would do so. I may add that the man I am speaking about had been privileged to come under the *personal* influence that I am pleased to say is to be found in our Church of England Soldiers' Institutes, and, like myself, he first went there as a *nominal* Churchman, but I am glad to say he was something more than nominal when he left us. I should like also to mention that another soldier friend of mine received a note of thanks from a church missionary society for the help he had given to a missionary during a famine in the country round Suakin. The State is doing a great deal for us in the matter of providing good regimental institutions in these days, but the State is quite unable to provide for us the personal friends and advisers that we are privileged to meet with in our Church of England Soldiers' Institutes. The soldiers of the present day are drawn from various classes of the community (and, not as some think, from only one), and though it is quite true that they have many faults, yet it is also equally true that their civil training must be responsible for a goodly number of them; and I think Mr. Rudyard Kipling has hit the right nail on the head in one of his barrack room ballads, where he says—

"We aint as thin red 'eroes, nor we aint no blackguards too,

But single men in barracks, most remarkable like you."

The popular prejudice against the Army is still most lamentably strong, and I should like to give you a couple of instances of it. A soldier was relating to some of us the other day a circumstance that had come under his personal observation. A strange clergyman was preaching one Sunday to a mixed congregation of soldiers and civilians. He was describing the downward course of a young man, and said he sank lower and lower and lower, until at last he even went and enlisted for a soldier. The clergyman at this stage of his sermon seemed suddenly to wake up to the fact that a part of his congregation was composed of soldiers, and became rather confused. The other case occurred at one of our recent Church Congresses, and was in connection with the Church of England Soldiers' Institutes' stall in the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition. One of the soldiers attending the stall tried to interest a clergyman in the work of the Institutes, but the clergyman indignantly replied, "Why should I help you; what has the soldier ever done for me?" The soldier's remark in answer to this was, "I suppose you call yourself an Englishman, don't you?" I think the civilian clergymen could greatly assist the work of the Church in the Army if they would make a point of saying a kind word to any soldier that they might happen to see on furlough in their parishes—I don't mean that they should invite them to dinner (they might at any rate ask them to church, and take care they got a seat when there)—but what I do mean is, that the kindly word of sympathy would not be thrown away, for I am sure it would re-act in the fullest measure in a kindlier and better feeling towards their chaplains and their Church when they again returned to their regiments. I dare say there are many persons who believe that we do wrong in our Institutes because we don't buttonhole the soldier and cram religion down his throat. My idea of this same buttonholing is that, though it may do great good in isolated cases, yet that it does very much harm in others. It is altogether repugnant to the independent soldier's nature, and the style is not English. It tends to keep hundreds of soldiers away from all Institutes, and does much harm. The founders of our Institutes very wisely resolved to lead the men, and not drive them; and their system has this great advantage over the other, in that it enables men of all creeds to use the place as a home, quite freely, without fear. At the same time I must also inform you that though the places are quite free and open, yet there is no attempt made to hide the fact that they have a distinctly religious foundation, and that religion has in them a decidedly front place. To show you how soldiers dread the buttonholing process, I may mention that a few weeks ago a sergeant of a regiment which had just come into the command came to our Institute. He was obliged to enter the place because he wanted to get a bath, and it was the only place he could discover where that luxury was to be obtained. Some of the people in the Institute got into conversation with him and tried to make him feel at

home, but he owned afterwards to one of them that he had felt very uncomfortable all the time, as he was dreading every moment that someone would be shoving a tract into his hand, or something would happen more dreadful even than that. I think we soldiers of the present day cannot feel too thankful to Almighty God for the Chaplain-General and the chaplains he has given to us to assist us in our spiritual and temporal needs. They are in full sympathy with us, and I am sure they do their best for us, though their discouragements must be often overpoweringly great. One of the best points about them is, that though they are commissioned officers, the greater part of them, at any rate, try to be God's ambassadors first, and officers afterwards, and by so doing they not only win our esteem and reverence, but also our confidence. I hope the time will soon come when the National Church, by her practical help and kindly sympathy, will aid them to make of us soldiers an united body of true-hearted Churchmen, and loyal followers of our Master Christ.

### Lieut.-Colonel J. B. WALKER, late Royal Artillery.

I RISE only to protest against the action of the Congress Committee in placing a topic like "The duty of the Church towards soldiers" in a sectional hall on this night. The only protest hitherto has been made by non-commissioned officers. I want to emphasize that protest, and I do so in the hope that the reporters will fully report it. When we heard we were going to have the subject of the duty of the Church towards the Army put down for discussion, we exulted with great joy, but when we heard that it was put in a sectional hall on the same night as "Foreign Missions," when Bishop Smythies and Bishop Selwyn were going to speak, and on the same night as the "Working Men's Meeting," which is always popular, we felt that we had been shovelled into a corner. When we learned further that the afternoon meeting in the Congress Hall was devoted to "Vivisection," we felt that soldiers had less interest for the Church than humbler animals. I protest, therefore, as strongly as I can, in the name of my fellow-soldiers, at the action of the Congress Committee. When I was walking along the Lees last night I took my hat off to half-a-dozen bishops, one after another. I always take my hat off to a bishop; but I believe I am perfectly right in saying that no bishop has thought it worth while to put in an appearance at this meeting to-night. It is indeed hard that when men like the Chaplain-General and Field-Marshal Sir Lintorn Simmons have been invited by the Committee to speak, that they should have to address a mere section of the Congress in a sectional hall. I think that I have a double claim that the Church shall recognize her duties to soldiers. Not only have I been connected for ten years with the Church of England Soldiers' Institute at Aldershot, but I have recently had the honour to be appointed Commandant of the Gordon Boys' Home. In the course of six months, no fewer than thirty-five lads have passed from that home into the Army. Of that number thirty-four belong to the Church of England, one was a Roman Catholic, but he said he intended to belong to the Church of England as soon as he joined the service. Those lads are practically homeless. They pass from the Gordon Boys' Home into the Army, and their future is entirely in the hands of the Church. Are they to be allowed to drift back to the evil habits which they learned before they came to the Gordon Boys' Home, or are they to be taken in hand and fostered by the Church? The duty of the chaplain to soldiers is entirely a personal one. It is only by personal intercourse that men can be won. Every man has a different character; every man has a different sin; every man requires different treatment. It is just the same in the treatment of disease, each case requires a careful diagnosis. Some require careful nursing, some a tonic, and some deep-seated operations—but each one requires different treatment. It is the same with soldiers. It is by personal intercourse and loving sympathy that men are to be won, and it is the duty of the Church to see that fit men are sent as chaplains, and that laymen come forward to help in the work, and we look to the Church for money to build Institutes where the chaplains can meet the men. I know that soldiers are an unsavoury subject to clergymen generally. I, myself, when honorary secretary to the Soldiers' Institute, sent an appeal to every clergyman in England who held a living, asking them to devote an offertory, or part of an offertory, to the Institute, but in hardly any case did I get an answer, and in fact the answers to the appeal did not pay the postage.



## The Rev. T. G. HALL, Vicar of Hythe.

I SHOULD like to address one word to you on behalf of the Church Congress Committee as to the subject chosen for this evening's meeting. I have had the honour to be a member of the "Subjects Committee" from the beginning, and I may tell you that I am the member of the "Subjects Committee" who brought the subject of the duty of the Church towards soldiers forward, and pressed its being placed in the list; therefore, I think I may say that I deserve a word of attention to-night. So far from that subject being looked upon with disfavour, as has been said, it was cheerfully adopted, in the hope that its consideration might lead to increased efforts on the Church's part for the spiritual well-being of her sons in the Army. How has this subject, now I think for the first time brought before a Church Congress, been handled to-night? During the two and a half hours that I have been acting here as secretary, I have heard the Church of England spoken of by some speakers in a way that was unworthy of any man and any soldier. We have come here to-night to discuss the subject of the duty of the Church towards soldiers, but we have heard discussed the duty of the soldiers towards the Church. Of that, several speakers have but a faint notion; for I am sorry to say that they have not spoken of the Church of England in the way which I think that she ought to be spoken of. Now, I am Vicar of Hythe, and an assistant Army chaplain of nearly twenty years' standing, and I speak with some knowledge of the British soldier, and I also speak with some knowledge of the way in which the parochial clergy are honestly trying to do their duty to the soldiers of the Army that are in their care and in their charge. I have lived for all these years in the neighbourhood of a great camp, and I will venture to say, standing here, that we not only preach as well as we can, sympathetically and earnestly, to the soldiers on a Sunday morning, but that we have special services for soldiers at certain seasons of the year, and that at those services the persons on whom all our thoughts and all our consideration are concentrated are the soldiers under our care and under our charge. And I say further, in the presence of the Chaplain-General, and I say it as a challenge, that in many camps where there are five times as many men under the care of military chaplains, they do not get so many to attend the voluntary service on the Sunday evening as we do in the parish churches. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The Chaplain-General has visited me lately, and I dare say he will bear me out in saying that it is no uncommon thing to find in our parish church, twenty, thirty, and forty soldiers attending there of their own free will. I hope that no one present will think that any priest looks upon his brother-man, because he has a red coat on, as an unsavoury subject, as has just been said. I stand here as a priest of a large parish, and I say that it is my greatest honour that I am able to minister to the men, non-commissioned and commissioned officers of Her Majesty's service, and we do try to do all we possibly can for them.

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Gunner HESELTINE, Royal Artillery

I AM very thankful that I have the privilege to stand here to-night to speak to you, and to my brother soldiers. I am not only thankful that I am a soldier, but I am proud to say it, that had it not been for the service I should not have been here to-night to testify for what the Army has done for me, in bringing me out of darkness into light, and making me a true man. That is what the army has done for me since I have been in it. Now I want to ask you people a question. You know what a soldier is. He is a man who gives up his whole life for the good of his country; he is a man who is willing to go out to foreign countries to sacrifice his life for the interest of his country and his people, and therefore I ask you to-night in common sense, what is a soldier worth? How much is he worth? What does it cost to purchase the ransom of a soldier from sin? I ask you what it cost. It cost the precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. He died for us all, and therefore if Christ is the head of the Church, and we are a portion of that Church, it is our duty as members of the Church of Christ and the Church of England, to love one another as He has loved us, and to stretch out a helping hand, and to do all we can for the Church.

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## The CHAIRMAN.

I AM requested to read the following letter:—

“Aldershot, 5th Oct., 1892.

“DEAR GENERAL FEILDING,

“Colonel Blyth has gone to Hythe, so I, as second in command, answer your note of the 3rd received this morning. I am glad to tell you that the behaviour of the men during the whole period of the march was *exemplary*. This was vouched for again and again by all classes and creeds at the towns and villages we passed through. That soldiers *could* behave well seemed to astonish many. The Nonconformist ministers expressed their surprise and gratification on several occasions. I enclose a short summary of the questions you require answered.\*

“Yours sincerely,

“R. B. MAINWARING,

“MAJOR ROYAL WELSH FUSILIERS.”

## CONGRESS HALL.

THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 6TH, 1892

The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

## WORKING-MEN'S MEETING.

### ADDRESSES.

The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT.

MY FRIENDS, this is an inspiring sight. I am told that there is an equally inspiring one in Trinity Church, and in yet another hall which has been put at our disposal. It was a truly inspiring sound which arose when “All people that on earth do well” began. One felt there was a good sample of “All people” singing God’s praise. But I do not feel that I have the right to stand before you to-night for any length of time, because I am your Chairman, and there are four selected speakers whom you and I are all very anxious to hear. Therefore, I am anxious not to touch on anything set down for them to speak upon. There is one subject, however, which I do desire to speak upon, which I have very much at heart, more than anything else, and which is borne in upon one with especial force and touchingness before a great assembly of men. I would first appeal to you as an assembly of—what you are. I have often heard it asked when an assembly of working-men is addressed, “Will the Church help us?” or “Will the Church not help us?” And sometimes it comes in the form of a complaint—“The Church will not stand by us working-men.” Well, now, I would ask you this question: “Who are you?” The Church stand by you. What does that mean? Are not you the Church? Why, when I look at your serried ranks, I rather feel this is the question—“Will the Church stand by me?” There is the Church; and if I am to do my duty—and you look sharply after me—if I am to do my duty you must stand by me. You are the Church. I wish you would more constantly consider that the Church of this land is yourselves and your likes.

\* “(1) Number of days in Wales? 25. (2) Number of camps? 13. (3) Number of non-commissioned officers and rank and file? 31 non-commissioned officers, 12 drummers, 508 rank and file. (4) Number of cases of drunkenness? 8. (5) Number of cases of violence? Nil. (6) Any offences against civil law? Nil.”

To whom do the churches belong if not to you? Whom are their ministers sworn to serve? Who are they themselves when they cease to be laymen (though they never really cease to be what laymen are), when they first kneel down and declare before God and His officers that they will be the servants of the Church. Whose servants? Yours. And the more you work them the better; and the more you use the great Houses of God the better—the more you will be asserting your own rights. You do not want to trample on your own rights. Now, having said that—having spoken to you as the Church—I want to say a few sentences upon this one point, the point which is so close to my heart. There is one evil which is devastating us at the present time—two evils, indeed, very closely allied, cutting very sharply into our very being. I have heard the question asked, and it has impressed me very strongly—“Will the Church really help us against drink and against impurity? We are fathers of families, grown-up men, under no delusions about either one or the other, but we are subject to great temptations, from which the Church, we think, ought to help us to be delivered. We love our families; we care for them night and day; we love them far more than anything else God has given us; we love them dearer than our own lives, and some of us do indeed die for them; and we do think the Church ought to help us to get them freed from these two awful temptations—drink and impurity. We know what they mean.” Well, now, I must go back to my definition of the Church, and say this, that if you are to be helped against drink and impurity, if these temptations are to be put much more out of other people’s way than they are, it is the Church, that is to say, you, who must assert yourselves to do it. I do not mean merely that you are to make great proclamations on the subject, and utter great speeches on the subject through people who profess to represent you, but who, I am afraid, do not always truly represent you; but I mean that you must do it in your own homes. The Church of England has worked, and is working very hard against the evils of drink, and the Church of England Temperance Society has approached that question from its right aspect; but I want to say a few words, as we are here, men together, about impurity. How can we fight against this demon of impurity, this ever-hovering demon who destroys that which is most beautiful, and preys with its fiendish appetite upon that which is brightest, purest, dearest to some heart or other. Well, when you look with compassion upon the number of sacrifices that are devoured by this demon of impurity, the first thing for you to reflect is that there are tremendous efforts being made in every class of society against it. There are refuges and humane agencies of every sort and kind to try and save the poor women. But, my friends, they can do almost nothing. It is nothing, and will be nothing but tinkering, until the men take it up. Benevolent people and clergymen, and ladies, and all sorts of people spend their money—and God knows it is spent well when spent to rescue and to save—but still there comes rolling on the stream, perpetually; and it will never be dried up until the Churchmen of England—I speak to you as the Churchmen—take it up themselves. And, as I was saying, you must take it up first in your own homes. Now, the question is—how to take it up in your own homes. You must not believe, in the first place, what I am afraid a great many of you do believe, that boys cannot be pure. That is one of the most fiendish opinions insinuated into the ears of all of us as we grow up—that nobody can be, or is pure. That is a lie. Boys can be pure. Boys can grow up through all the worst temptations and the most trying period of life until they are men and the fathers of children, and be as pure as maidens. One of the Fathers of the Church has drawn that contrast between the Church and the heathen. He says that—“Here we have people growing up until their heads are hoary, who have been as pure as maidens all their lives. That is not so,” he says, “as regards heathen society, but it is so, and you all know it, with regard to the Church of Christ.” Unless you believe that, you have no ground to stand upon. But as you look upon your little boy when he is first developing into a strong, healthy lad, with his strong, clear eyes that are not afraid to look anybody in the face, do say to yourself, “There is no reason why that boy should ever be corrupted.” I have known it in my own experience. I have known boys in all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, and I have known boys for whose purity and for whose innocence of impurity I would stake anything I have. I speak of what is certainly in my own experience. But I have heard it said, and that in a great assembly, that there is no man pure, and that anyone who says men are pure speaks falsely. Now, I reply that that is a cowardly way of putting it. It cuts away the ground below the witness; but we do know that there are plenty of men, men in England, men all over the world, men in civilized communities, men who live hardest lives, who are pure. Well, then, first of all, believe

that your boys *can* grow up pure; and then how shall you begin to minister to it? Well, begin by making yourself and their mother all in all to them. Give them as much of your companionship as you possibly can, but enable them to feel this, that whether you are with them in the body or not, your hearts and your minds are always with them. Be ever on your guard against the utterance of those cross, harsh, hasty words which make a boy doubt his father. Make them feel that you will not be angry with them without a cause; but let them understand that you will be very stern if anything like impurity crops up. But then, you must keep guard over yourself. You cannot make your boy your constant companion if you drink. He cannot be with you when you are drinking. And not only in a gross thing like that, but you must always say to yourself, "My boy must never see me in such a condition as that he will class his father with wicked men. He must never hear me utter rash words, or see me in such a temper as that he will say "my father is an unreasonable man: it is no use trying to please him." But let the boy know that he is his father's dearest object, and he will be very careful of wandering away from that which he knows to be nearest to his father's heart. The old poet, who was also a physician, speaks of the time when he was a boy—

"Before I taught my tongue to wound  
My conscience with a sinful sound,  
Or learned the black art to dispense  
A several sin to every sense."

So he speaks, the high-minded man, of those bright days of early innocence, and perhaps one has seen some profligate man weep and strike his forehead, and say of that early time, "Whatever I am now—and God knows what I am—I was till then a pure, innocent boy." Well, now, that is how the children come into our hands: God grant that we leave them no worse for us. There is a delightful book—"Tom Brown"—in which there is one of the best recipes for keeping a boy good that I know. I have tried it, and I think with good effect, too. The old squire had to take the boy to the public school; he knew the temptations and the dangers to which the lad would be exposed, and was perplexed as to what advice he should give him, and he said, "I don't know how to put the boy on his guard. What shall I say?" He finds he cannot say anything till he takes the boy to school, and the last thing he says before he parts with him is:—"Tom, you will often hear things talked of that you never heard talked of before. Now my boy when you do hear that, don't you join in it if you think your mother would not like to hear you." The boy did not know what he meant at the moment, but he had no doubt about it the first time he did hear, and he remembered what his father had said, and he stuck by it. Now these are very simple things, but this is the way in which everyone may combat this giant evil that stalks about our land. First of all, to know how fine is the boy's early purity; then to believe that he can be kept pure; then to teach him most of all to trust yourself, and just to make him think that if things are spoken of that his mother would not like to hear, he must have nothing to do with them. Now I have been told by working-men, great friends of mine—and I have many working-men friends at Lincoln and elsewhere—that there are men who really take a pleasure in leading boys astray when they come into the shops. I do not believe it is the case to a great extent, but these men, if they do exist, can be discountenanced and discouraged. When I was a young boy, my father thought a boy ought to know somewhat of everything, and so I was sent to pass a few hours every week in a carpenter's shop. We do these things now-a-days very beautifully and pleasantly. You get such work now with abundant apparatus at the schools, but it was not so ready to hand in my day. I spent many a happy afternoon among the four or five carpenters in that shop, and I assure you I acquired some little skill in making mortise and tenon and dovetailing, and a little later I became uncommonly proud of some of my constructions. Now I never was taught one word of evil there. I was perfectly free, but this I will say, that I never heard one word of corruption, of profanity, of impurity either there or at the smithy. Therefore I know that boys, your own boys, can be brought up as purely and as innocently in workshops as elsewhere. When boys come to be closely associated together in large numbers, they are much more likely to hear bad language and impurity than in workshops. And now, when they get a little older, don't grudge the boys a good deal of exercise. If they are playing good manly play, let them play it out, and the time will come when the keen player will do good hearty work. Exercise of all kinds is a great physical preservative, so far as physical preservatives can go, against many of the evils of which we have to speak. Cycling, cricket, games

of all sorts and kinds, the freer, the stronger, the more demands they make upon his strength, the better. He will grow up with scarcely a thought of evils with which people are much more keenly tempted who are kept in close atmospheres, in awkward postures, and in close confinement. To do all this as we ought to do it, we want recreation grounds. And here, again, you will ask the question, "Will the Church help us to get recreation grounds?" I belong to a good, hard-working, and much abused body, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and I never knew that body refuse land for recreation ground so far as they have had it to give. But still, the question will be asked, "Will the Church help us to get recreation grounds?" Yes; but that means you. You must go into it and help, and get the influence of everyone you can, and yourselves put a few shillings together just to prove you are in earnest; and if the whole Church helps in this way, you may depend on getting recreation grounds wherever they are to be had. In the neighbourhood of Croydon, where I live, I believe there are something like ten recreation grounds. Again, there is another point. This Congress, which has sat here for three very wet days, has been much scolded in some newspapers for not putting down as one of its subjects the housing of the poor. We did not; but we did put down social wants, and it came out pretty handsomely that proper housing was a great social want, and to supply this we must go in all together. Remember some of the evils connected with the subject are most difficult to deal with, because they press on the poor themselves. Sometimes the owners of poor houses and of poor cottages are themselves very poor, and cannot do much. Therefore it must be that we must put this matter on the heads of the Church—I do not mean the official heads of the Church, but the heads which I see before me. You may depend upon it the subject will not sleep. But I will say one thing. It is mere fallacy to say that poor housing is the cause of impurity. Not a bit of it. It may be an opportunity for impurity, but it is not the cause of it. A woman once told me, "We were brought up together, ten of us, boys and girls, and not one of us went wrong, and there never was anything that I can recollect that anyone could be ashamed of if they lived in the best palace in the land. There was but one room to sleep in, but my mother tied a string across the room and put a print curtain on it, and woe betide the one who dared to touch that curtain." No; housing is not the cause. It may be a great opportunity for it, and we must get rid of it as fast as we can, and we promise earnestness about it to each other, do we not? But do not minimize the evil; do not think we can neglect it; do not imagine that things are as they ought to be, or as they might be. I think one of the most fearful sentences I ever read was a sentence uttered by one of the great surgeons of Leeds when one of the medical associations gathered there. The words must have made everybody shudder who heard them at the time, thinking who it was who said them, and with what knowledge. He said something like this: "There is an actual river of poison being poured into the veins of the men of England, which goes on from generation to generation, and if we do not stop it it will be the end of us." That is what that great medical man said: "A great river of poison being poured into the veins of the men of England." Surely when we come to that, we come to what the late Bishop of Durham said at the Lambeth Conference, who closed his speech with these most touching and eloquent words, and sat down with his eyes streaming with tears:—"Anyone who looks into this subject must feel that he is very near the gates of hell. But we have one promise, and that is that the gates of hell shall not prevail against Christ's Church."

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The Right Rev. MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.D., Lord Bishop  
of Peterboro'.

I AM going to introduce myself to you, in the first place, as having a certain claim upon your gratitude. Last night I addressed two meetings of your wives, and the chief thing I had to say to them was that they were not to be too hard upon their husbands. I tried to put that before them as strongly as I could. I do not know whether they came back and told you or not; but, at all events, I hope that from their behaviour to you to-day you had some means of guessing it. It is not my object to-night to pay you off by telling you in turn that you ought to be good to your wives, but I am going to talk to you about something else, in which I hope that you will believe that my intentions towards you are equally good. I am going to speak about your duties as members of the Church of Christ. Now, I do not know whether you hear much about those duties in the present day. But I think, as the archbishop

has told you, that as members of the Church of Christ, you all of you stand in much the same position as you do as members of the State of England. What is the State and your duties as citizens? What is the Church and your duties as Churchmen? I suppose you know all about your position as citizens, for you have just been having an election. But I have always noticed that at elections people come and talk to you about your duties as citizens, and about your rights as citizens; but, then, when you come to look a little further, your rights as citizens and your duties as citizens are both to be fulfilled by voting for the gentleman who is addressing you. I am not going to stand before you and say that on behalf of the Church. I wish to speak to you a little about your duty as members of the great Christian commonwealth, upon which, after all, the good of mankind depends. The State may do something for you, but the Church—believe me—will do more, because the Church deals with those matters which are at the bottom of our common life. What can the State do after all? It can only register in its laws the highest point which the national conscience has reached. The Church, the teaching of the Church, the views of right which depend upon that teaching, and come home to the conscience of every man, these are, after all, the things which make those conceptions which the State can express in its laws. I am going to speak to you, then, about your duties as members of the Church. I am not going to tell you to do anything very heroic. I am going to tell you some very simple little things, because I think that the great truths of life are the simplest, and that the things which make us what we are, are what everybody understands and everybody can see the meaning of. I am speaking to you to-night as Churchmen; if there are any people here who are not Churchmen, then I say to them that they also, in exactly the same way as Churchmen, should, to the very fullest, act up to the doctrine and discipline of the body to which they belong. I have, you know, a motive of my own for saying so. I will be quite frank with you. In advising you to act up to the doctrine of the religious body to which you belong, I believe that, if you do that, you will come to the Church in the long run. First of all, then, know why you are Churchmen, and then begin to do some of the very simplest duties which devolve upon you. We all have our duties. Duties first begin at home, like charity, which very often ends there, as people say. But our duties begin at home, and they begin at home for a very good reason, and that is that the unit of society is not the individual, but the family. You do not live by yourselves; you have no rights by yourselves; your rights begin as the member of a family. You have got no rights as against your wife, or against your children; you have only duties towards them. Begin your duties, therefore, at home. I will tell you one of the simplest duties, but one which is almost more important than any other; take your children to church on Sunday and make them sit beside you. Only the other day I listened to a good man who rose to speak at an assemblage of clergy. He said, in the simplest language possible, that the thing from which he had learned most, was going to church when a little lad with his father. "My father," he went on, "knelt by my side, and he opened his Prayer-book, and he pointed out the place to me, and his fingers followed the lines. I have never forgotten the lesson I learned as I knelt beside him in that old-fashioned church, with high-backed pews, of my youth." Are not there many of us who feel that? Do endeavour to give your children who come after you such recollections! Do not you look upon your children constantly with a feeling of hope? Why is it that the sight of children always moves the heart of everybody? It is that we all of us know, when we look back upon our past, what are our failings, what are our short-comings, what are the things which it is now impossible for us to do. We remember opportunities lost, and things which we might have done; we think what we might have been, and we reflect that it is no longer possible for us to accomplish much. But there is a constant spring of hope when we look at a lad's face—he may do anything. There is a beautiful story told about the stormy days of the French Revolution. A man who was high in politics was walking in the streets of Paris with a friend, when he saw a poor ragged child on the point of being run over by a carriage and horses. He darted forward and plucked it away, at the danger of his own life, from before the horses' feet. His friend seized him by the arm and said: "Why do you run the risk of sacrificing so valuable a life as yours to pick up a wretched little child?" And he laid his hand upon his friend's arm, and said: "I have saved the boy who may some day save France." You may feel that, everyone of you, about your lad; hope that he may not only be great, but that he may be as good as he is great. He will only be good if he believes in the Lord Jesus Christ, and the eternal message that He brought to the

world. Therefore, I say to you, take him to church in the first place. I would like to give you another piece of advice, and that is—help your clergyman. You will say, perhaps, that is asking a great deal. I do not mean that you should do everything he tells you; but there is one way in which I think you men do not support your clergy—you do not make enough use of them; you know this, there is nothing the clergy want so much as to be made useful, and it is rather difficult for them to know how they can be most useful. I remember a story, by the way, about the early days of San Francisco, when society was rather rough and ready. In a church there was a notice put up: "Do not shoot the organist, he is doing his best." Now, I sometimes wish you would not grumble so much at your clergy; because they are doing their best, and they would do more if you would help them by giving them more to do. Sometimes people think that the clergy should be at their house just when they are wanted, and should always know when they are wanted without being told. The clergy wish to do all they can, but they would be able to help you better if you would tell them what you want, and would look upon them as your friends. There is one great division of mankind which has always struck me as being fundamental. Whenever I meet anybody for the first time, I look at him, and I think: "Now, are you the kind of man I could slap on the back, or are you not?" There is a great deal of difference whether you would slap a man on the back, or whether you would not. There are some men who make you feel that if you did slap them on the back your fingers would be numbed as from the contact of an iceberg. I would not like to tell you to slap your clergyman on the back, because a clergyman has so many parishioners that it might make him rather stiff; but I should like you to feel as if you could slap him on the back if you felt inclined, and I am quite sure he would like you to feel the same thing. Therefore, I say, help your clergyman by telling him what you want. I have to deal with young men who have just taken Orders, and we talk over subjects which may be useful to them. Whenever I ask a number of these, "What do you want to talk about?" they always wish to discuss how they are to know the men in their parish better. I tell you that because I want you to know that the clergy do really wish to know you. Well, then, give them every chance you can; I am sure you would if you only knew the difficulties they labour under. It is very disappointing to a man to go out in the morning with good intentions in his heart, thinking: "Now I have risen from my knees, I have said my prayer, I hope God is with me, I hope He will strengthen me; I will go out, I will talk to men so that they can understand." He meets someone and begins to talk, and presently fears that he has put his foot in it, or that he has spoken at the wrong time, he has failed in tact, he has done no good, but rather harm. All his expectations are overthrown, and he comes back to his home disappointed. I do not think that you know how often the clergy are downcast, and how they would be cheered up if you would slap them on the back sometimes. Then there is a third thing I would like to say to you. Besides going to church on Sundays, you should consider how you can carry your religious duties into the work of the week. I remember reading in a story of Mrs. Gaskell's of a good, Christian woman who was a housemaid. She said, "It is all very well for fine folk to save their souls by dropping on their knees just when they feel inclined. They have all the time they like to do it in, but for my part I have to feel that I am saving my soul when I go down on my knees to wash the floor." Is not that true? Do not you want the proper habit of mind, the power of looking up to God, of seeing Him by catching some sight of His law that will help you through your day's work? I would suggest to you that there is one definite way in which you can be useful, and that is by carrying religion into the workshop, wherever it may be. I was very much struck the other day by seeing an account of a Guild established in the United States of America, called S. Andrew's Guild. You know what S. Andrew did? When he saw something that was good, he went and brought his brother. That is the principle of this guild. Go and find your brother. The one rule of the guild is this, always have in your mind some one person whose spiritual good you are trying to promote. Is not that a good thing to do? There is a workman in your workshop who has a temptation to drink. I do not want you to preach to him; I do not want you to go much out of your way; but begin by feeling kindly disposed towards him; then pray to God that He will help you to help him. You may perhaps by walking home with him stop him from entering the public-house day after day. Is not that something to do? You know that we have a crook in our arm, have we not? Why was it given to us? It was given to us that we might put it through the arm of another fellow and guide him

on the straight way. I have already said more than I meant to say. I said I was going to advise you nothing heroic. But remember this, that if as you go on in life you find yourselves moved to do something more definite for the good of your fellows, your clergyman will always find you work to do if you will go and ask him. I know many a working-man who does as much on Sundays as many clergymen do. I know one whom I will tell you about, an engine-driver. He very often only gets home from his work at six o'clock on Sunday morning, he goes to bed for a couple of hours, and then always turns up at a little schoolroom where he holds a service at eleven. He never misses it; he has done it for eighteen years; and he is delighted to do it. I will end what I have to say by asking you to consider the vast importance of the Christian life which is embodied in the Church of Christ. It rests upon the belief that the Lord Jesus Christ is a real, living Being, Who supports, sustains, and gives His strength to everyone who believes in Him, and that through the body of believers in Him the whole world is to be slowly transformed, by new spiritual power constantly brought into it. That spiritual power we Christians have to set forth, remembering always that it is the most important thing the world contains. You are very often talking at the present day about civilization and progress, as if they went on by themselves.

“ We throw our acclamations of self-praising, self-admiring,  
With, at every mile run faster, ‘ Oh, the wondrous, wondrous age ! ’  
Little thinking if we work our souls as nobly as our iron,  
Or if angels will commend us at the goal of pilgrimage.”

What are all the material resources of the world, all its machinery and products, if we do not bring into our life spiritual power? The world needs new spiritual power, and needs it to be constantly applied. Do you know how you can see the reality of it? I will give you one rule which you can verify for yourselves. Take elderly people. Do you not see that as people grow older the meaning of life becomes clearer? I have always noticed that people when they become old divide themselves into two classes; those who are contented, and those who are discontented; those who are happy, and those who are unhappy; those who make others happy, and those who make others miserable. I have learned more from old women in their cottages than in any other way. There was one dear old friend of mine, now some years dead, who lived to a very great age; she had nobody to take care of her; she lived on 2s. 6d. a week from the parish, and little things were done for her by folk about. She was always happy and always smiling, and always had to spare of her substance to do good for others. She was a living testimony to everybody who came about her of the power of the Gospel of Christ, of its power to make men happy. But the lessons of that spiritual power, how simple they are. What does the Church teach the world? What does she wish you to believe? That religion is something gloomy, and that the pursuit of virtue consists in laying burdens on your shoulders? Oh, not so, indeed. The paths of virtue, the paths of religion, the paths of righteousness, they are the paths of happiness.

“ Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control :  
These three alone lead men to sovereign power ;  
Yet not to power alone ; power of itself  
Would come uncalled for ; but to live by law,  
Acting the law we live by without fear,  
And because right is right, to follow right  
Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence.”

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### The Right Hon. the EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM.

As I am a Kentish man, may I address you as Men of Kent? The speeches to which I have listened have convinced me that the Church has good leaders, and good leaders, I think, make good followers. But I am also convinced by the speech of his Grace of another thing, that, however admirable he may be as a leader, he is a very difficult man to follow. Yet I do rejoice in being permitted to address a few words to you as an assembly of working-men; first of all because if I am proud of



anything in my life, it is that it was my good fortune for some years in the House of Commons to enjoy the confidence of a constituency of working-men, and that, although I was withdrawn from them, I believe their confidence was never withdrawn from me. Here in Folkestone, if I am not mistaken, I see around me some of those whom I have met more than once in the belfry of your beautiful parish church, when it was my good fortune to ring the tenor in one or two capital touches of your good old-fashioned Kentish bell ringing. But you may ask yourselves why I am selected to talk to you about the Church? Those who are near enough to do so may convince themselves by an examination of my nether garments, that I am not a bishop, and that, though I wear a black coat, it is not that of a parson. Well, that is exactly why—because I am a layman like yourselves, and my interest in the Church of England is precisely the same as your own. You have heard from his Grace the Archbishop, and from the Bishop of Peterborough, of your duties towards the Church as members of that Church. His Grace has told you truly that you are the Church. Now, I have to ask you to look at rather a different aspect of the same truth, and to consider the National Church in her relation to you, and your own duty to preserve, maintain, and hand her down to future generations. First of all, I think we should ask ourselves, What has the Church done in the past in this country? Has she really been a "Church for the people"? and next, What is she doing in the present? If those two questions can be answered satisfactorily, then we shall be able to forecast what she will be able to do for us in the future. Many of those whom I see before me have little time, I have no doubt, to study history, because, when you are working all day with your hands, it is impossible that you can also at the same time be working with your heads. I think it is an excellent division of labour, that those who have time on their hands, and who have not their own bread to earn as many of you have whom I see at this end of the room, should work with their heads, and consider it their greatest pleasure to do so for the benefit of those who work all day with their hands. Well then, one or two words as to the history of the Church. I am glad to give expression to them here in Folkestone, because I understand that, not long since, a series of sermons were preached in this town, by which some were convinced that the Roman Catholic Church was the old and original Church of all, and that the Church of England was only an off-shoot from her at the Reformation, and became as it were a new Church. But these, I am able to tell you—I cannot give you reasons, but I am ready to give them elsewhere if I am challenged—are entirely historical fallacies. The Church of England, and as Englishmen you will be proud of it, is the oldest National Church in Christendom. Bishops from this country attended the Council of Arles in 314, 300 years only after the time of our Lord. There is good reason to believe that there was a flourishing Church here long before that date, and it is even possible that it may date back to Apostolic times. This date, at which we know these bishops existed, was a date many hundreds of years before the forged document was even thought of on which the papal supremacy in after years was made to depend. When I speak of the forged document, I do so in no offensive sense; I refer, of course, to the Decretals of Isidore, which were proved to be, hundreds of years afterwards, manifestly forged documents. The Church of England, then, has continued in unbroken succession from Apostolic times down to our own; and she is, as I say, the oldest National Church in Christendom. The Church of Rome never was really a National Church at all. She aimed, and still aims, at being an Imperial Church. At being, in spiritual matters, what the Empire was in things temporal. Nay, the Church of England has always been, not only a National Church, but, during the whole of her history, far more independent of Rome than any other Church. Always in theory independent; sometimes in practice, owing to the weakness or divided councils of her rulers, reduced to submission, but always re-asserting her independence as soon as she had a firm prince upon the throne. Now I think this is a matter of which we as Englishmen ought not only to be proud, but one which should make us very cautious, that, having received so precious a Christian inheritance as this, we should hand it on to our children in no worse case than we received it. But yet more—when we examine the titles of the Church of England to our gratitude, we may say, the more deeply we study history, the stronger do we find them. Every century did but make it more clear that the Church in that great struggle which took place for constitutional freedom, the result of which has been the admiration of mankind, always placed herself on the side of the liberties of the people; she always came between the master and the slave, between the oppressor and the oppressed, thus giving a noble example of her own doctrines, and following, as it were, in her Master's very footsteps. And let me remind you working-men, that

at a time when the State had not awakened to its responsibilities in the matter, it was the Church, and the Church alone, that was engaged in providing for the education of your children, and in fitting them, not only for their spiritual, but for their temporal responsibilities. Now, I should like to say one word to you about a question which is often, I think, placed in a wrong light before you, and that is the source from which the Church derives her income. Well, she gets her income from exactly the same sort of source as you and I get ours. You are told that she is a State-paid Church, and you are given to understand that by maintaining a National Church you are taking something out of your own incomes, something which might, perhaps, be better bestowed elsewhere. But let me ask you this. Supposing everyone of you was to be left £100 to-morrow morning—and I should be very glad to hear that you were—would you immediately feel conscience stricken? would you say, "I have not earned this money, it belongs to the State, I must send it at once to the Chancellor of the Exchequer"? or would you not rather say to yourself, "I always thought my dear old aunt a very discerning woman. I was perfectly certain she would know a really good fellow when she saw him; now I am more than ever convinced of it. She had a perfect right to leave her money as she chose, and I for one think she made a very good use of her right in leaving it to me." Historically, that is exactly what happened in the case of the revenues of the English Church. In this part of Kent these facts ought to be well known and remembered, because here it was that the first instance of the kind to which I am about to allude took place. After your Saxon ancestors had forced the professors of Christianity to take refuge for a time in the West of England, and established a heathen kingdom in Kent, in process of time the King was Christianized, and the nobles followed his example. And then, as soon as a nobleman who had become a Christian left the court of the king, he would naturally wish to carry on to his own property those truths which he had learned to believe in, and he would ask the predecessor of His Grace in the chair, the Metropolitan of the See of Canterbury, to give him a priest to take home with him. He would offer, and did offer, to provide for the priest's maintenance, he would take him down to his own place, and the priest's sphere of action—his parish as we call it—would be continuous with his patron's estate. He would undertake to provide for the priest during his life, and the Church, with that common sense and prudence which has never deserted her, would ask that provision should be made for the future as well, and the nobleman in the exercise of his undoubted right over his own property would give to the holy man the "first-fruits" of his estate for ever, or what is now called tithe. So in every parish there was established, what there still is, a centre of religious life and instruction, which has brought the greatest blessings upon our land in bygone years. I think it is very important at a time when people are putting mistaken arguments forward, you, who naturally, as I say, have not very much time to study history, should receive from those who have the time a few of these simple facts, because otherwise you and those with whom you converse are liable to be misled. I believe there are few honest people in this country who, if they knew the truth, would not desire to follow it, but the mischief is that there are so few people who do know it, and fewer still who are able to supply the correction when the truth is improperly stated. But you may say, "It is all very well to talk about history; we admit that the Church of England has done in the past all that you say; we admit that the unity of the Church was the pattern on which the unity of the State was founded; we admit that she was a champion of the cause of the people, and that it was to her intervention that we largely owe our glorious constitution; but in the age in which we live, every institution, whatever has been its past, must justify itself in the balance of the present. Does she do so?" I think that she does; for we may look round us and see abundant indications of it. Let us take, for instance, the great social problems which are working themselves out in large cities—for example, in the East End of London. We have testimony which cannot be contradicted, testimony which I was thankful to hear given publicly at the reception given by Folkestone to the Lord Archbishop, when the Nonconformists of your town publicly, and to their eternal honour, came forward and stated that they respected greatly and acknowledged to the full the great work which is being done by the Church of England, and that they desired nothing better than to stand shoulder to shoulder with us in the great conflict with evil in which we are engaged. But of course we must allow for the great difficulties of these problems. Now suppose, for instance, that a boat was upset in the English Channel, and two or three of the poor fellows were found clinging to the keel of it, would it be any use for the people who went to rescue them to read them a

lesson on navigation, to tell them that if they had steered the boat properly they would never have been in that position? No; our first duty would be to get the men to shore, give them shelter, food, and warmth, to surround them with something of the conditions of humanity, before we could read them these moral and religious lessons. So with the Church and her workers in great centres; they must make it possible for people to lead a civilized life before they attempt to win them to a religious one; and daily, ceaselessly, this work is going on in our great cities. May I point, too, to the list of subjects which have been discussed at this great Congress as a proof how truly she is the Church for the people. You have only to look at the programme of business to see that nearly two-thirds of it is occupied with subjects which directly affect the interests of the working-classes. We have had discussions upon "Thrift and the Poor Law;" upon that most interesting question, "The Industrial Condition of Women;" upon "Trades Unions;" and all these subjects have been treated from a broad platform of Christian brotherhood. Well, then, I think that you may satisfy yourselves of this, that, not only in the past, but in the present, you have in your National Church the most powerful engine for combating evil that has ever been constructed in this country, or that you are ever likely to construct. She uses her great revenues and her vast powers entirely, as I have shown you on testimony which is undisputed, the testimony of the Nonconformist bodies of this country, on the side of good, and for the prevention of evil. May I point out one more tie which draws you working-men very close to the National Church? You know how nearly we were brought twenty years ago to the brink of a purely secular education in this country. Now, I do not believe for a moment that the working-classes of this country desire that their children should grow up in godless schools. I believe they wish that those simple truths which they were taught when they were young should be communicated to their own children, and I am sure that you must have read, and read with horror, of the results which have attended secular education when it has been put to the proof, when it has been shown that gradually, not only the foundations of religion, but of morality, have been entirely sapped, and that it is doubtful how long society, at variance with common sense on this point, can maintain its own ground. During the twenty years which have elapsed since the passing of the Act, the Church of England has raised from her own resources thirteen millions of money, every penny of which she raised in order to prevent your children from being deprived of their religious education. And yet there is something which seems to come between many working-men and the support which they ought to give to the Church by their presence at her services, and by their support in the many ways which have been indicated to us so eloquently by the Bishop of Peterborough. I do not know why it is. Surely you cannot believe that you would not be welcomed to its services, you working-men who live in the very condition which our Lord Himself honoured by taking it upon Him when He came into this world? If you are fishermen, can you believe that you would be less welcome, when you recollect that it was from your own ranks that our Lord chose more than one of His Apostles? If this be so, I cannot understand why it is, unless it is due to something in the nature of false pride. There is that in all classes; there is a pride for which we rightly thank God as Englishmen, but among the working-classes there is a little false pride that prevents many from attending the services of the Church. Perhaps a working-man does not like to go to church because he is not as well dressed as others, forgetting that our Lord said we were to take no pains as to what we are clothed withal. I am only instancing that as a small thing, for small things may keep great interests apart; but surely small things should not be allowed to stand in the way of realizing the great importance of the fact that we as citizens of this country should come forth individually and show that we believe our National Church to be necessary to its welfare. Perhaps we have not realized that, but I say, do let us, in view of the lessons of the past, in view of that which is going on in the present, recognize it at least in the future. There is one more point which I should like to remind you of. It is to your National Church that you are indebted for the fact that you are able to recognize God as a nation at all. It is in her services that you call upon God to go forth with your armies, to protect your sailors, to increase your commerce; it is in her services that you invoke His blessing whenever Parliament meets day by day; it is in her cathedrals that you offer your glad *Te Deums* in the hour of victory; it is to her services and to her initiative that you look in the dark and evil day to avert the wrath of the Almighty by days of penitence and humiliation. In the dawn of our history the tiny spark of civil and religious freedom was struck in this country by the union of your Saxon ancestors with the Christian religion; it was fanned by the action of both into a

flame through the ages which succeeded, and now for centuries past it has been the proud boast of England that she has held that light aloft like the beacon in your harbour down below, in order that its beams may travel far with their kindly message across the dark waters of human life. Will you, whenever you see that kindly beacon, remember what an admirable emblem it is of the part which the Church of England has played in our national life; will you resolve that, in your day at least, you will do nothing to extinguish its beams? May we not rather pray God that, of the generations that follow, each may do something to make its flame both purer and brighter, until at last, as all human lights must, it fades away at the coming of the Sun of Righteousness Himself in the presence of the perfect day.

### The Very Rev. S. REYNOLDS HOLE, D.D., Dean of Rochester.

I THANK you, my Lord Archbishop, for suggesting to me a title by which I shall address this great assembly—"Heads of the Church." My own is somewhat confused, because I find myself in a difficulty upon this occasion, and I feel like a flying fish, which, when it is in the depths is pursued by the dolphin, and by the albatross when he jumps out of the water. If I address you, my brethren, with any humour, I am rebuked for levity, and if I sometimes grow very grave, I am told that my audience like their sermons best in church. Well, all I can do is to go on as before. I must speak to you from my heart. I must sometimes be in the solemn depths of the sea, and sometimes in the sunshine above. If any man ever hears me speak an irreverent word in God's house and tells me of it, I will speak no more; if ever, in speaking out of that house, I forget Jerusalem in my mirth, I will never speak to you men again. My subject is—*How can we help working-men.* Who will help working-men? There comes an answer from a thousand voices, "I will help the working-men." Your walls have just now been covered with papers, "Vote for White, the friend of the working-man;" "Vote for Black, who loves the working-man." The working-man is like the pupil at Dr. Birch's school: when he has got a hamper, everybody wants to lend the pupil his knife. Everybody wants to lend the working-man his knife, but when they have got at the cake—when the election is over—there is a dissolving view, and the working-man feels like one who "Treads alone some banquet hall deserted." Some say, "Vote for me, and I will make you happy"; some say, "Help yourselves." A friend of mine, who has a very good memory, told me that he was walking in the park not many Sundays ago, and heard one of the friends of the working-man delivering an oration. "My brethren," he said, "war is in the hair; the rustic worm which has been writhing for centuries under the 'eel is shouting for the battle. My brothers, I will tell you what happened the other day. Hodge took a walk in my lord's park, which contains 20,000 acres, and he thought there should be room for both. My lord, happening to be in the place, comes up and says, 'What are you doing here? do you not know you are on my land?' Hodge replies, 'Who guv ye the land?' and the haughty peer he says, 'My father gave me the land.' 'Who guv it to yer father?' and the haughty peer replied, 'My grand-father.' Then Hodge asked him, 'Who guv it to yer grand-father?' and the haughty peer, he says, 'We fought for the land and conquered it, and the king gave us a portion of it.' Then Hodge goes up close to my lord, and he snaps his fingers in his noble face, and he says, 'And we mean to fight and to have the land.'" Now the working-man, who has quite as many brains as any section of the community, says to himself, "If Hodge gets the land in the absence of the police and military, and breaks through every right of property, a few hundred thousand would step in and say, 'Share and share alike.'" My brothers, some of you are beginning to feel doubtful about leaders, doubtful of their words; you are getting promissory notes, which are frequently renewed, but never cashed. Nevertheless, you have got some very good friends, and I will tell you who they are. Those men are your friends who spend thousands of pounds in making parks and gardens for your rest and recreation. When Sir Francis Crossley opened extensive grounds at Halifax and gave them to the people, he said, "When I first came to this place and began business, my mother said as we went into the great yard, 'If the Lord prospers us in this place, the poor shall taste of it.'" That is a grand principle for the working-man. It is a grand principle that he who makes thousands will never forget the thousands who help him to make them. I had the pleasure the other day in London of talking to a gentleman from Yorkshire, and he

said to me, "I began with very poor beginnings, but I have been very prosperous, and when I became rich I began to consider what I could do to add to the happiness of my fellow-man." He said, "In Yorkshire we are very fond of music, and I should like to spread the love of music throughout the length and breadth of the land. Consequently, I am building a place in London where pupils will be taught to play and sing and teach music, and in that way I hope the love of music will be encouraged and extended in this country." I did not tell him that I knew that the building he was erecting was the Royal College of Music, or that it will cost £45,000. I think that man is a friend of the working-man. I think he is a friend of the working-man who originates and maintains technical schools, schools in which the sons of working-men may learn to use the best tools in the best way. They are good friends who support, not only technical schools for boys, but technical schools for girls; those girls who are some day to be the wives and mothers of working-men, and who, I think, ought to be made, not merely ornamental, but useful. I think it would be a very grand thing, indeed, if more girls were taught how to cook, and that the number of good husbands would be infinitely increased if there were wives who knew how to give them a well cooked meal when they came home to their food. I think the working-man has very good friends in those who help him to take his labour to the best market. I am not going to introduce the subject of trades unions, but I think every man has the right to make the best of his powers so long as no violence is done, and justice is observed to all. I think he is a friend of the working-man who tries to persuade him to lay by for the days of sickness and old age, to join provident societies. I will tell you working-men what I think a great deal of, and I am glad to see it spread, and that is the Ambulance Society, and the manner in which it is being strengthened by the membership of working-men. It costs only sixpence a year, and you have a lecturer down, and you get to know what to do in cases of sudden accident. The other day two little children fell into a canal. A man passing by rescued them, and, though they were apparently dead, he succeeded in reviving them, having been taught what to do in an ambulance class. But I think that, among the friends of working-men, they are the best who try to make his home brighter; the man who tries to obtain for him more room, where the curtain of which the Archbishop spoke will not be required to preserve the shame which is a glory and a grace. Every man has the right to pure air, pure water, and the sunshine which God designs for us all, and you working-men will disappoint my estimate of your sagacity if, now you are masters of the situation, you do not put a stop sooner or later to the smoke nuisance. Why should you breathe impure air? Mr. Fletcher of Bolton, and many others, have demonstrated that it may be done away with easily, and without expense. And what will be the consequence? Strength to the weak, the rosy colour of health to the sallow cheek; it will be the restoration of verdure to stunted trees, and the return of fish to the poisoned stream. Best of all, purification of the air will be a grand help to the cause of temperance. It is well known that a vitiated atmosphere is the greatest incentive to a yearning for stimulants. "Go and live in our courts," said a drunkard to a philanthropist, "and you will soon take to the gin." There was a very powerful letter in *The Times* of September 6th, in which it was proved that, wherever the air is pure, and wherever the homes of working-men are in pure air, the residents, as a rule, are sober; that wherever they are working in impure air, and their homes are also impure, there drunkenness prevails more or less. I should like to tell you working-men the best lecture I ever heard on temperance, because it was from one of yourselves. I was waiting at a railway station, when a working-man came and sat upon the bench, putting his basket of tools by his side. A drunken man approached him, and mumbled nonsense, as drunken men usually do. The working-man said, "Go away, you are drunk;" whereupon the other drew himself up with an air of dignity, such as you frequently see assumed by men under the influence of drink, and he said, "Now, listen to me. Do you think the Almighty Power would make barley grow in the fields, hops grow in the hop-grounds, and then put it into the heads of men to make them ferment, and we're not meant to drink them? Why, you know nowt." On which the other man said, "I believe in a glass of good ale myself, and I should like one now, for I'm fine and dry; but I am quite sure of this, that the Almighty Power never meant the barley to grow in the fields, and hops in the hop-grounds, for you to tak' 'em and mak' a beest o' yersen." But this is a Church Congress, and I want to know now what the clergy and laity who are what is called "better off," but the clergy especially, can do to help working-men. Well, I have had a good deal of experience, and I will tell you the result. First of all, the clergy must win the confidence of the working-man, and you will never win his

confidence until you have something of Christ's love for him in your heart, and when you have he will respond to it. When he sees that you do not care twopence for his vote, when he sees that you do not want anything he has but *himself*, he will begin to trust you, and you will have gained your brother. One thing he will insist upon. You will have no chance with him unless you are yourself a working-man. Bees love the hum of the hive, and the working-man rightly despises another whose perpetual yawns confess the pains and penalties of idleness. "Why do I come?" a working-man said to a clergyman in London; "what made me come to your church? Because I saw you going about your business early and late when I was going about mine. I have no opinion of people that have their bedroom blinds down at nine a.m., and have six bank holidays a week." Now, when once you have won the confidence of the working-man, he will listen to you, and he will believe you. He will believe you when you talk to him about the most important events of his life, and he will cling to you, and he will come to you to pray with you, and to worship with you. My dear Lord Archbishop, do you remember a message you sent by me to those men at Lincoln whom you love so much, and who return your love? Do you remember what you said, that "the working-man is the best Churchman you can have when he sees it?" Thank God he begins to see it. Thank God that, by the labour and the love of earnest men, he is beginning to see it. Thank God he is coming back; he is looking to the mother that has been a hard mother to him, but is now so anxious to receive him. Yes, working-men believe it, that the most loving hearts and the strongest brains in the English Church at this moment are yearning to do you good for the Lord's sake. Believe me, if you will receive us, we would be the friends that loveth at all times the working-man, until

"Where the dews glisten and the song birds warble,  
His dust to dust is laid  
In nature's keeping, where no pomp of marble  
Shall shame his modest shade;  
The forges glow, the anvils all are ringing;  
Beneath its smoking veil  
The city which he loveth is ever swinging  
Its clamorous iron flail,  
But by his grave is peace and perfect beauty,  
With the sweet heaven above,  
Fit emblems of life, and work, and duty  
Transfigured into love."

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### Mr. Alderman HENRY PHILIPPS.

I AM sorry so many of our friends have to go; if they were in a theatre, they would stop till the last act. I have been asked to speak at this Congress. I take it because I have the honour to hold an official position in connection with one of our new unions. I assume I am to speak from the workman's point of view. As I looked upon the great and manly form of the Dean of Rochester, I thought to myself, he represents the big men of the Church, and perhaps I may be considered as representing the little men. It may be considered also that I represent also those who think firstly that the world is upside down; secondly that it is they who have to put it the right way up; and thirdly that they are the men to do it. I rejoice there are so many who are trying to put the world the right way up; men who are unselfish, who feel that there is a good deal of misery and wretchedness in the world, and who desire to alleviate it. We are face to face with great social problems which are not to be solved save with one key. Various keys are tried, the legislative and the socialistic among others; but however much you alter and improve existing conditions, the only key to the solution of the problem is to be found in the hearts of men. You have a clock which goes badly; you tinker with it, and finally you take it to the clock-mender, who tells you that a new mainspring is wanted. So with our social problems. They must not be tinkered with; you must deal with them through the mainspring of the heart. I was struck with an instance which came under my notice in the East End of London. It was that of a man—a drunken, lustful fellow. Two friends of his offered to back him with money if he would fight. That man immediately went into training; for

months he gave up his drinking habits, he submitted to having his diet regulated, he controlled his appetite, he occupied himself with taking exercise and in punching sand bags, until at length he emerged from his retirement into the ring, supple, clear, cool, and strong. He had controlled himself with no higher object than the winning of £20. If for such a motive a man can exercise the power of self-control, how much more ought he to bring that great quality into operation with the power of the Lord Jesus Christ in his heart. I want to speak of the growing tendency among working-men, especially in the new unions, to start what they call a Labour Church. I listened to an earnest thinking working-man who spoke on this subject. He said that they were trying to improve through trades unionism their surroundings. I felt that until trades unionists became Christian men, our trades unions would be a great failure. The speaker alluded to our various Churches, and pronounced them all failures, and said that they must start a Labour Church of their own. Now, friends, that movement must be stayed, and as far as my little influence is concerned, I am here to say that I would not support a Labour Church. We must change men's hearts and get the power into our own hands. We have that power; it is in the Church of England. Suppose in one of our trades unions someone proposed to secede from it and establish a branch organization, would not that be counted folly? Would it not be said to such intending seceders, "Here you have a union properly organized, and which has done good work. Division is weakness, union is strength." So with regard to the Church of England. In her you have the complete organization and the earnest desire to do good. Why, then, pass her by to establish a Labour Church which would not have at its command the vast resources possessed by the mother Church for the great work of emancipating the masses from their thralldom. Again, it might be said of the Church of the union, "division is weakness, union is strength." If you want to reach the hearts of men, then I say in the Church of England you have an organization fitted to the work, and why should you introduce a source of weakness by seeking to establish another Church? If you have a sewing machine doing good work, why buy another with the chance that it may do bad work? It has been pointed out to-night with irresistible force that the Church of England is producing splendid men. Think of the late Vansittart Neale, who was an aristocrat, and yet a great leader of the co-operative movement in the north of England. He was a Churchman as well as a strong friend of the working-man. I abominate the theory which is much too prevalent, that if a man be a Churchman and a tory he cannot be a friend to the working-man. Would that all working-men could have heard the speeches delivered at this Congress by cultured Churchmen and learned clergymen! I am convinced they would have changed their opinion that the Church of England is not in sympathy with them. Vansittart Neale, when he was dying, said that the co-operative movement had failed because those who carried it on had been selfish, and he added the words, "Because we have not had Christ's spirit in the co-operative movement, and that is why it has failed." Another point to which I wish to call attention is this—the too great disposition there is among working-men to pick out a black sheep from among Churchmen and the clergy, and to hold these black sheep up as a sample of the rest. That is not fair. It is about as unfair as if a man went to a coster's barrow, and picking from his stock an unsound apple, held it up as a sample of the rest of the apples. The coster would say, "'ere, guv'nor, that aint fair. Pick out a rosy-cheeked sound apple, that's a sample o' my stock." It is unreasonable on the part of working-men to denounce a whole Christian body because of the shortcomings of a few of its number. Let me advise working-men instead of reading the denunciations of the Church which are to be found in *Reynolds'* or some of these papers, to investigate the true facts in relation to the Church. Again, in one aspect his clergyman is very like the policeman, in that he is sent for when anything occurs. The strong man becomes ill and weak, he can hardly raise the cup to his lips, and he who had given in the plenitude of his strength no thought to the future, in the hour of his feebleness, and when death seems nigh, bethinks him of the parish clergyman, and he falteringly asks his good wife to summon him. The clergyman comes and soothes and cheers by his ministrations. Perhaps the man gets better, and perhaps, too, as his strength increases, his recollection of the kindly clergyman decreases. It may be that he passes him in the streets without recognition. Now, is it fair to call upon the clergyman only in your hour of need? Why should you not one and all help the good man in his Christian work? The Church of England is the friend of social reform. I was struck by the eloquence of a powerful preacher in the South-East of London. A collection was taken in aid of small village chapels. At the conclusion of the collection the preacher said: "I

stand here to say that so long as you send up small subscriptions like this, I shall never be party to disestablishing the churches of our villages." He said that they wanted to establish powerful Dissenting places of worship in our villages, and when they had done that he would vote for disestablishment, but not before. I hope he will remember his declaration at the ballot-box. The great difficulty under which we labour is that the classes do not understand the constitution of the Church, and I believe that is greatly due to the fact that the working-men's rates are included in their rents. If, instead of that system another was adopted, by which he would be called upon to pay the rates directly out of his own pocket, then he would soon have a quick and vivid impression of what it was his money was spent upon. As it is, many a working-man is quite under the impression that he pays towards the support of the Church. Indeed, some have a vague impression that they have to pay for the House of Lords, and all sorts of things. But the main point is, that they accuse the Church of England of having its faults. I do not deny that she has, but I would point out that the way to mend those faults is by entering the Church to remedy them, and not by standing aloof. Illustrative of this point, I might mention an incident which came within my experience. It was at the meeting of the trades unions, where Tom Mann was present. A man at the back of the room interrupted and desired to move an amendment. "Do you belong to the Union?" asked Tom Mann. "No." "Then shut up." And Tom Mann said that if the man had become a member of the union, and acquired a knowledge of its purposes and proceedings, he would then be in a position to criticize and to move an amendment. Though I do not deny the right to criticize the Church, yet I would point out that the best way to give effect to just criticism would be to enter within her fold, and so endeavour to get rid of defects which some Churchmen admit require remedy. Let men go to the parish clergymen and say that they wish to be baptized "in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," and to be confirmed. If anyone of you did that, being a member of the Church, you would then have the right to say to the president of that Christian union: "My Lord Archbishop, I wish to move an amendment"—whether it be the sale of livings or anything else you do not agree with. All I say to you is, do not stand off having nothing to do with making the Church better. Do not stand by to watch a jaded horse struggling to pull a heavy load up a hill. Put your shoulders to the wheel. We recognize that there are faults in the Church, but it is not so easy to get rid of them as you think. Not a bit. You must get to know what it is which you want to remedy before you make it the subject of your criticism. A man was coming to London in a mail train with his infant child. The baby cried very much, and the man, to soothe it, walked up and down the carriage. The other passengers in the compartment asked him why he hadn't brought his missus to take care of the baby. The man, who was very distressed, answered mildly that he would have done so, only that she was lying dead in her coffin at the back of the train, and he was taking her to be buried where her friends were. You see, these people didn't know the facts. When they did know them, none could have been kinder than they, and they all wanted to nurse the baby, and they said they didn't know he was in grief, or they wouldn't have said what they had said; that they were very sorry, and what could they do for him! Believe me, working-men, when you speak against the Church of England, you do not know the facts. When the Home Rule Bill was brought in, a friend of mine, in answer to criticisms, would say: "Is it in the bill? Where does it say so in the bill?" I myself always carry a Church Service, and sometimes in argument with my fellow-workmen I say: "Where does it say so in the Church Service or in the Prayer-book. It is not in the bill." I recommend them to read the Church Catechism, and I tell them that if they do so they will find the Church of England is the most democratic organization in existence. A man once said to me: "Look yer, I wouldn't go into that man's church." "Why?" "Well, because he voted conservative." "My goodness me," I said, "I wish you'd keep out of the public-houses for the same reason." I would impress upon you working-men that "dearly beloved brethren" means something. It is not a mere form of words which yields a vast social power, and for working-men to quarrel with it is about as absurd as would be strife between the infantry and artillery of a defending army. You cannot afford to quarrel with the Church of England, and by being friends with her you will be enabled to sweep away an enormous amount of misery. During the Dock strike we discussed whether poverty produced drink, or drink produced poverty, and it was John Burns who said, "I am not here to argue either, I am here to fight both." There are men here who are members of the army of the Church, with the light of Christ upon their brow: I ask you not to drift away,



not to desert, but to stand side by side in resistance to the world, the flesh, and the devil, and in the great effort to improve the condition of your fellow-men. In the Docks one day I saw a man washing a stain from a flag. We, too, have a flag—the flag of England's greatness. It has a stain upon it—the stain of the drinking curse and of impurity, to which the Archbishop alluded. Let us strengthen the arm of the Church; let us inspire it with fresh enthusiasm; let us wash out the stain upon our flag; and let us go forward in the great work of serving our Master, and of uniting our brethren in the bonds of Christian love.

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## CONGRESS HALL.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7TH, 1892.

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The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

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## DEVOTIONAL MEETING.

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND CHRISTIAN LIFE.

## PAPERS.

Viscount HALIFAX, Hickleton Hall, near Doncaster.

If religion may be defined as the sum of the relations which unite us to God, doctrine may be described as the statement in detail of those relations. For doctrine is not a mere statement of opinions, but it is a statement of facts. It is the revelation to us of a Person, and of the means by which we may have access to Him. It is the explanation of the mysteries of our existence. It is the reply to those questionings and the answer to those wants of which, at some time or another, every man is more or less conscious.

Doctrine proclaims that man was made for God and not for himself, that he is a subject made for an object, and that nothing can satisfy him but the object for which he was made; and man, if he pauses in the hurry of life to look into himself, is conscious of the same truth. Deep down within him there is the consciousness of his own weakness and dependence, that there is a Being to whom he is responsible, who even now is taking count of his life with all its shortcomings; and next, that there is nothing among created things, however desirable they may appear, which can really content him. Each thing in turn ceases to satisfy; the future, which promised all brightness, turns grey when it becomes the present; the ear is not satisfied with hearing, or the eye with seeing, till at the end death comes to teach him what he might have learnt long before, that man, the very poorest and the very lowest that ever was, is yet too great and too noble to be contented with anything less than God. Doctrine reveals man's needs and how they are to be satisfied, and man's own nature and the experience of life witness to the truth of what doctrine reveals. How, indeed, can it be otherwise? The impression made on the wax must needs correspond with the seal

by which it is formed ; and man, formed in the image of God, cannot know anything about himself without at the same time coming to know something of Him for whom he was made, and who can alone satisfy his wants. Man is the most dependent of beings, because his capacity is so great in comparison with what he possesses. He is so constituted that he cannot be a good in himself. Holy Scripture, philosophy, poetry, history, the whole record of human experience, witness to the same thing, that after man has satisfied every desire and ambition in this world, his hopes are defeated by success. He has only gained the knowledge that the wants of the soul are of another kind. But these wants of the soul for something outside itself—this sense of the need of forgiveness, strength, mastery over self, and for the possession of that which may really give it content—what is it but the inarticulate cry of humanity for the very things which are supplied by the doctrine of Christ, and the witness to the truth of a doctrine which not only professes, but has proved itself capable of supplying them ?

For the doctrine of Christ, as the Church has proclaimed it from the first, is not a mere belief, or even a series of dogmatic statements, however exact, about Christ's person and work, though within the fold of the Church of Christ the humblest Christian is in possession of truths which, apart from Christ, have perplexed and still perplex the subtlest intellects. Neither is it a mere system of morals, though morality, as we understand the term, has never existed save under the influence of Christian teaching, an influence so potent and so searching that even those who would fain reject Christianity are unable to escape from it. The doctrine of Christ, as it has been taught by the Church from the beginning, is neither a mere statement of belief, nor a mere system of morals, but it is the proclamation of our relation to a Person, and the putting us in possession of the means of access to that Person here and now. It is the restoration of the whole being of man, in its disorganization and weakness, by contact with Him who is the life of our life. Forgive me for talking theology, but how can I help it if I am to speak on the relation of doctrine to life ? The Incarnation is not merely a fact in the past ; it is a living and energizing principle in the present. It is not only that some eighteen hundred years ago God clothed Himself with our humanity, but that now, through the intervention of that humanity which He has assumed, and by assuming restored, and which He imparts to us through the sacraments, He is continually incorporating each one of us with Himself.

S. Paul does not shrink from saying that it is from actual contact with Him that we draw the springs of our new life. He declares that in Baptism we put on Christ, and that in the Eucharist we are made one with Christ, that Christ in us is the hope of glory. Yes, God present in the manger and on the cross, God present in the Eucharistic mystery, God present in us, for we, too, are temples of God, God become man, and entering into relations with us, that man may become God ; this is the mystery of the Gospel ; this is the doctrine that is the light of life ; and surely it is only when it is insufficiently proclaimed that there are or can be difficulties about the relation of doctrine to life. A man must know very little either of the doctrine of Christ, or of himself, if he supposes that he can find elsewhere a better key to the difficulties and mysteries

of life. Man requires something to rest on outside himself; he needs the incentive of a strong motive to control his life. Christ in us supplies both. Love is the real power that moves the heart; the person of Christ supplies a supreme object of love. Love grows in proportion to the sacrifices which it makes; the life of Christ, and the life of those who follow in His steps, is a life of sacrifice. Love requires the fellowship of daily life that there may be opportunities for that intercourse which begets, maintains, and increases love. The Holy Eucharist is the centre of the Church's devotional life, because it is the point of abiding contact between Christ and us whereby we dwell in Christ and Christ in us. He has not left us comfortless and alone. As often as we will we can renew His life and abiding presence within us. That presence is the support of our life, the spring of all our actions. In Him and with Him all things are made easy; and if difficulties and doubts assail us, is it, in view of our ignorance and His all-knowledge, a very great effort of faith to trust Him with them? The last word of science, if indeed, it be the last word; the conclusions of criticism, if, indeed, they be its final conclusions; all these we can listen to without apprehension, for we know with a personal knowledge, and as the result of a personal experience which nothing can shake, in Whom we have believed, and we can trust Him in His own good time to make all things clear, and provide the solution for difficulties which, if religion were to us a mere statement of dogmas, instead of relation to a Person, might not only cause us perplexity and distress, but incite us to precipitate action in the supposed defence of our faith, which as time went on we might perhaps be the first to deplore.

May not the same thing, again, be said in regard to other difficulties which trouble the Church. Is not a more careful and exact statement of the doctrine of Christ the remedy for those difficulties? Bring home to men's minds that the visible Church is the body of those who are brought into a special relation to Christ through the means and channels of grace; that it is the distinctive mark and glory of the members of the true Israel of God to possess, like the Israel of old, the divinely appointed means of access to God; that of the members of that Israel it may be said, with even greater truth than of the Israel of old, "What people is there who has God so nigh them as this people?" For not only is the Sacred Presence vouchsafed to us wherever the sacred mysteries are celebrated, but, what was unknown to the Jews, that Presence comes to tabernacle within us, and we become ourselves temples and habitations of God.

Point out that while the sacraments are effectual by reason of Christ's institution, the degree of benefit we receive from them, as was the case with those who approached our Lord Himself when He was visible on earth, depends upon the faith, the hope, and charity with which we receive them, and many of the difficulties and misunderstandings which perplex men's lives would be removed. Ignorance, inexact and exaggerated statements, a failure to show the coherence of the faith as a whole, and the relation of each part to the whole, lie at the root of many of the difficulties which are felt in regard to doctrine. A careful statement of what that doctrine is, with a just appreciation of the relation of one portion of the truth to the rest, would often anticipate and remove difficulties which otherwise might seem hopeless and insuperable.

Take, for example, the doctrine of Christendom as to the lost as presented in the recent popular story, "Cecilia de Noel." "Even if I repent, is there no room for hope?" the lost soul asks of the priest, who represents orthodox Christianity in its most self-sacrificing and attractive form. "None," is the reply, instead of, as it should have been, "*If* repentance is possible, so is forgiveness."

Is it to be wondered at that difficulties in regard both to doctrine and life should be felt when the faith of Christendom is so misrepresented, and, as in the instance in point, the teaching of the Church as to the lost, in connection with the freedom of man's will, and the awful power of the human will so to fix itself on evil as to deprive itself of the power of repentance, should be so entirely ignored and mis-stated.

Take another instance. Men are perplexed by the contradictory teaching of the Christian world. What is truth? Where is the Church? Upon what rock does the faith rest? But realize that the doctrine of Christ is a circle, which, beginning with God made man, is completed by man made God, and it will surely be seen that in the profession of the Catholic creeds which guard the person and nature of Christ, and in the possession of an Apostolical ministry which guarantees the validity of the sacraments which unite us with Christ, we are in the possession of that which, by the necessities of the case, is susceptible neither of addition or diminution, and which therefore determines the relative value of everything outside itself. Much else may be true, much else may affect the wellbeing of the Church, but it cannot, without destroying the proportion of the faith, be put on a level with that which is the faith itself.

In the third place, does not the doctrine of Christ supply the only real solution to those difficulties in regard to social questions which are becoming so urgent at the present time? Men see the apparent injustice of human institutions, the few in possession of every enjoyment, the many with but little to brighten their lives of toil and self-denial—one man in a palace, another in rags; hard measure to the one, to the other a cup flowing over with all good things. How, it is said, can a Church which acquiesces in such a state of things really represent the mind of Christ? How can the life of Christ and His teaching be in any way reconciled to it? or, even deeper still, how can a God who is both merciful and just permit the things we see around us? Must there not be a total and radical change in existing institutions before the doctrine of Christ can be really carried out in the life of Christians?

Human life is indeed full of misery and sorrow, but a God who has Himself drained the cup of sorrow and suffering to the dregs, and who preaches to us from His own cross, enables us to wait in patience and confidence for that day when it will be clearly revealed to us how man's free will, together with the patience of the eternal God with the creatures of His hand, and the desire of His love, to draw their wills to Himself, supplies the full explanation of that mystery of evil which, when left to themselves, men find so great a perplexity in this present life.

Meanwhile, I would venture to ask whether this excessive discontent with existing institutions, this vehement indignation at the inequalities of life, does not suggest the thought that we may be a little inclined at the present time to exaggerate the importance of this present life—of

supreme importance if we consider it in relation to the next, for which it is the preparation and the school. Are we not just now tempted to think a little too much of it as it is in itself? Certainly we ought all to be anxious to improve the condition of those around us; our natural selfishness and sloth are only too ready, when we are at ease ourselves, to accept things as they are, and to acquiesce in the troubles of others; but even so, is it altogether easy to reconcile the doctrine of Christ with the attitude which is just now so widely prevalent in certain quarters with respect to social questions?

Would it not almost seem sometimes as if we could see nothing beyond this present life. Formerly men's horizon was larger and wider; they knew that this life was the beginning, not the end; that it was merely a transitory phase in our existence, the only real importance of which was its relation to the eternal destinies for which man was created; that in view of these destinies much that was accounted good was really to be avoided; that Lazarus had nothing to envy Dives—that suffering and poverty, the cross in all its forms, were the distinguishing marks of those who should hereafter reign with Christ; that to trouble too much about the conditions of this earthly life was unworthy of those who even now had their share in the heavenly places. It was not that they despised this world, but that they possessed a standard by which to gauge its value. We, on the contrary, are so eager to improve this world, that we are in some danger of seeming to undervalue the next.

As Christians who believe that, so far as this present evil world can be regenerated at all before the day of the final regeneration of all things, it must be the result of the regeneration of the individual, and that such regeneration is impossible apart from Christ, have we not some need to remind ourselves that the influence of Christianity in regard to all social questions must necessarily be indirect—Christianity did abolish slavery, but S. Paul contented himself with admonishing masters and servants as to their duties to one another. If masters always realized their duty, as Christian men, of giving their workmen what was fair and just, and not only of making the largest profits; if workmen perceived that as Christian men they too had a corresponding duty to do their best for their employers, and not merely to think how they could get the most money for the least work, how many of the most serious difficulties of the present day between labour and capital would be at an end? But how is this temper and disposition to be put into those concerned? Not, surely, by the clergy throwing themselves on one side or the other in the disputes between masters and men—between the rich and the poor, but by teaching masters and men, rich and poor alike, their duty as Christians, to look not merely on their own things, but on those of others. Social questions can only be solved by the indirect influence of the teaching of Christ, and the great theologian who, at the end of a laborious life, is reported to have said that there was no work in the whole world so good as to teach children the catechism, spoke the exact truth—for Christian doctrine and Christian life are the only agencies by which the world can be reformed. Man can neither understand himself or guide himself aright outside the school of Christ, and the shipwreck that he makes when he attempts to

dispense with that teaching, is the best proof how inseparable the connection is between doctrine and life—the one is the necessary outcome of the other.

To sum up what I have endeavoured to express in this paper, the doctrine of Christ is the proclamation of our relations to a Person, as the Christian life is merely those relations translated into practice. "Now that I see religion with you means devotion to a Person, I understand your sacrifices," was the remark made by one to a nun of some very strict order. Yes. The Christianity of the Catholic Church is devotion to a Person absent indeed to the bodily eyes, but to whose presence we have the means of access. It is Christ in us the hope of glory, whose presence influences the whole current of life.

Mankind in its weakness and disorganization requires a motive strong, powerful, and ever-present to control its actions. Its own ultimate good, neither in the case of individuals, or in that of mankind collectively is sufficient. The attractions of the present are too powerful for considerations which depend on the future. Why am I to sacrifice what seems to me a certain and a present good for a distant and uncertain future? "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," is in the long run the only alternative to the doctrine of Christ. The final result of the one may be seen described in the recent novel of Bourget—"Le Disciple"; that of the other in the life of the sister of charity sacrificed in its entirety to the service of God and man. But what man will not do for himself he will do for another; the weakest and the most selfish are capable of generous instincts if the right motive is touched. The doctrine of Christ, which brings us into contact with a Person to whom we owe everything, does supply a motive which experience has proved, not once or twice, but again and again throughout the history of the Christian Church, to be sufficient to control and shape the lives of those who surrender themselves to it. What motive, indeed, can be so strong as the thought that here and now is the one and only opportunity vouchsafed to us of proving by our devotion and our self-sacrifice our love for Him who has done all for us?

Man's own nature, what he sees within himself, the world around him, and the creed of Christendom alike, all teach the same thing—that man left to himself has corrupted his life by many inventions, but that he who walks in the light of the doctrine of Christ shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of Life.

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My short paper is not a sermon; but it seeks its key-note in a text. I take and read words which in one supreme respect are the utterance of the Holy Ghost, but from another are the avowal, by a great Christian man, of his own experience of Christian doctrine in its relation to Christian life:—

*"I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave Himself for me."*—(Gal. ii. 20.)

The words, one by one, are warm with the pulse of life. And they

are charged from first to last with doctrine. And the two elements concur and co-operate in one rich experience and result. The man lives in and on what he divinely knows. He so knows that he cannot but divinely, while practically, live.

He lives; he lives "*in the flesh.*" That is to say, under the conditions of human existence in the body. No doubt the phrase "*in the flesh*" has a meaning often, in S. Paul's writings, more subtle, and also more dark. But the surroundings of the phrase in each instance fix its reference readily; and here the simpler and more concrete reference is in place. He lives "*in the flesh*;" he lives as embodied man, in a world whose practical conditions of innumerable kinds are due to the simple but immense fact that man's spirit lives in, and works through, man's mortal body. To that fact what, in our actual life, does *not* stand related? What incident of human intercourse and influence takes place outside of it? What problem of labour, of society, of government, is not knit up with it? What meaning would the words "*material progress*" have without this fact of "*life in the flesh*"? To live a "*life in the flesh*" is to live the common life of mankind on earth. It is to live embarked on its open ocean; nay, it is to find one's self plunged in that ocean, and called upon to swim.

A large part of the New Testament, not to speak of the Old, is a living commentary on those words, "*in the flesh.*" Everywhere, as to its majestic total, the Book takes it for granted that the scene of Christian life is the open human world, in which the Christian Church, in which the Christian man, is to live, and is to be a vital power. True, there are passages where the Christian is urgently, imperatively, reminded of a separation, an isolation, a wonderful anchorite retreat, without which he cannot possibly be what he is called. But the retreat is not into the desert; it is into God. It is a life "*in the secret of the Presence*;" but it is not the less, on its other side, a life "*before the sons of men*" (Psalm xxxi. 19, 20), and of course before the sons of men of our own time, just as they are now. The Christian, from one point of view the child of eternity, is from the other—as a Christian—the servant of the hour, and its best possible servant too.

All the lawful relationships of life, from those of the home out to those of an imperial state, and again to those of universal manhood, are not only tolerated, but vivified and glorified, by the message of the New Testament. The Gospel, with a magnificent facility, while it unfolds to man the wonder of his immortality, and never lets him forget that his goal is there, leads him to that goal through a "*life in the flesh*;" and that, not as through a dream, but as through a workfield, which all belongs to God, and is all to be tilled for Him, and for others in His name. The Christian, according to the Gospel, is not to shrink from circumstances into meditation; he is not to drift with circumstances into helpless effacement. He is to stand amidst circumstances, with open eyes, and to be a life power in the midst.

If these words are a fair account of Christian "*life in the flesh,*" as it was in the middle of the first century, they also describe, as to essentials, the true Christian "*life in the flesh*" as it ought to be, and can be, in these last years of the nineteenth. The incalculable surface differences of the two epochs have not altered the deep needs of man.

Amidst all local and temporal change, the world of this age, as of the

first, still needs nothing so much as men given to it by God, men who are a part of it by nature, but whom He has made also supernatural, that in the natural they may do His work, as living tools and vehicles, used by Him, filled with Him. Such presences and influences are in their nature limited to no place nor time. There is nothing in the latest democracy to put them out of date, any more than in the oldest oligarchy. The most bewildered strife of labour and capital no more excludes them than the dire alienations and antagonisms of ancient slavery. Lord Macaulay, if I remember aright, discussing somewhere in an Essay the effect of material progress on religious beliefs, remarks that supposing, for example, Transubstantiation to have been ever a credible doctrine, it would be just as credible in the age of the microscope and electricity as in that of the Crusades. So, if the place and function of the living Christian in the human world, in this "life in the flesh," was ever genuine and lawful, it is so for ever. It is as permanent as man. It belongs not to the progress, but to the pilgrim, who has to meet "the changing scenes of the journey," himself in his kind unchanged.

And very urgently he is needed, and needed now—this man natural yet supernatural; who is man, but has God; who knows himself, and knows Jesus Christ. The more of such men the better. And the more that such men cohere and co-operate the better. But the main thought is, I dare to say, *the unit*; the thing, not the number, the quality, not the quantity, the material even more than the arrangement. The world unspeakably needs *the man*, this natural yet supernaturalized individual man: "*I am crucified; I live; He lives in me; He loved me, and gave Himself for me.*"

The world needs this man as a witness to the fact of the possibility of direct relations between man and God; direct intercourse between man and God. One true man, one true woman, who is known to know God and converse with Him in real life, is a centre of awakening, uplifting, calming power whose action no one can limit.

The world needs this man as a witness to the profound connexion between the eternal and the temporal. One true man, one true woman, known to believe (in a living sense) in God, and seen to bring God to bear on the words, acts, and spirit of genuine human work and intercourse, is a sign and wonder. He calls more close attention to eternal facts than even all the cathedral spires.

The world needs this man as a living standard of duty. Take away from society the true men who truly know God, and live by and for God, and morality will sink to second causes, and to third, until—let us be sure of it—it is no more.

The world needs this man as a living mediator and conciliator between the antagonists of this poor "life in the flesh," between divided interests and divided classes. He may theorize little, and talk less. But the true man, truly knowing God and living by Him, will be felt around him as a bond, a magnet, because the slave of none and the friend of all; and few are those who, *not* knowing God and living by Him, are not somehow the mere slaves of some interest or cry, and are no friends to some cause they should befriend. The man who lives indeed by God and for Him, does not court dislike, but is calmly ready for it, and so is strong. He has weighed the fact, the persistent paradox, that his Master's Gospel itself, while infinitely beneficial to



man, yet never does its greatest work through human popularity; that the glory of even the greatest spiritual truth seems to contract an inevitable film of decline when it becomes "the thing," the fashion, the popular watchword, and floats on the flowing tide. The true man, who truly lives in God, stands humbly and calmly free of that bondage; and so he stands free, impartially to serve and to persuade.

The world needs this man as the visible embodiment for it of Divine sincerity and of Divine love. It needs him as a tangible instance of the strange but noble harmony of sympathetic humbleness and invincible virtue. It can never find that phenomenon, in its fulness, anywhere else.

And the Church—may I add the word—needs him, as a suggestion, and as a means, of contact and healing amidst what would seem incredible divisions if we were not so accustomed to them. It needs him to remind it that amidst, and in spite of, the strife of tongues, and innumerable manifestations of man's self-will in the things of God, there flows, as a deep river, the supernatural life, created and maintained by the Holy One in believing souls that hear His voice, and that, but for that river, the territories of the most orthodox and historical of communities would be a parched and unlovely wilderness. It needs him, to make for peace, in the power of a life which is itself at perfect peace with God, and in God, and so is a witness for the fact and offer of such peace to all who thirst, and who are heavy-laden, and are tired of imitations of water and of repose.

But if such lives are wanted, where is their secret to be found? How are these life-conveying men to live? With S. Paul's creed of spiritual life before me, the creed of the man who had seen the glorified Christ as his personal Converter and Transfigurer, I say that the root of the Life lies deep in the Doctrine. There is an absolute need for the Doctrine, in order that such lives may be possible—for the Doctrine, that is to say for the Fact, for what we rightly call Doctrine, is always at its heart also Fact, and often better so-called. Supernatural facts, livingly grasped, are indispensable for the men whom the world thus needs. Otherwise, the would-be helper of the world will find himself sooner or later gasping in an almost vacuum, and obliged, like mountain climbers defeated by the thin air, to make haste and come down. The man who would live supernaturally "in the flesh" (not for himself, but for God and for man), must possess the supernatural secret of a converted Paul—Christ revealed, Christ received. Does he dream of living supernaturally on mere "*principle*"? Does he allow himself to say, perhaps, as it *has* been said, "The Gospel is principle, and principle is the Gospel"? Let him not try that method, if he wants to work the work of God; he may as well try to feed himself for the day's bodily work by reading a treatise on the laws of health. The Gospel is not "*principle*;" it is our Lord Jesus Christ, revealed, believed, received, in His personal glory, in His finished work, in His never-finished working, in His holy will. To grasp as fact the Christ of the New Testament, and to use what we have grasped, this is the sure secret of that life supernatural amidst the natural which the world needs to see developed indefinitely, and multiplied in living examples without limit, that it may itself receive and live.

To know Him is both the life eternal, and the secret of a true life temporal. To know as fact our remission of sins, for His name's sake; to know as fact His living presence everywhere, not only the omnipresence of the Unseen, but the companionship of the living Christ; to know as fact how He keeps His promises to faith, how He does make heaven begin on earth, how He does dwell in the heart by faith; to find it fact in a genuine experience that He, there dwelling, can

"Guard the first springs of thought and will,  
And with Himself the spirit fill;"

these personal discoveries of revealed fact, these facts discovered and employed, what do they do for the life? They reveal (for it is their nature) the elsewhere unknown secret of a peace which does not lull exertion, but gives it both way and guidance. They explain that deep riddle, a bond-service to God, and to man in God, which is never relaxed, yet is perfect freedom. They harmonize entirely an intense, an awful moral earnestness, with a strange hopefulness which the world cannot disappoint. They keep the man humbled for ever at his Redeemer's feet, and ready, in any way he can, to wash the feet of his brethren, and yet they lift him above the world. They show him how to live in the secret of the Presence, yet before and amongst the needing sons of men.

Christ is the life of such a life, and nothing else; the Christ of history, and of the soul. "Death hath no more dominion over Him," nor time either. It is as possible, and as necessary, now as ever, to be "crucified with Him" to our old self and all its ways; to live in the commonest, or the most troubled day, by faith in Him, that is by hourly use of all He is; and to know Him as the personal secret of our personal salvation, "who loved me, and gave Himself for me."

The needs and the problems of our days are many, and we must be ready to attend to any of them which, in God's will, cross our path, carefully, and practically, and anxious to learn. But none of them can displace or antiquate the supreme need, in a world which God has made, and which has rebelled against Him, and is sought by Him, of living human witnesses for Him in Christ. And nothing can produce such witnesses but their own possession of supernatural facts in genuine spiritual use. May "He who all things can," by the effusion of His Spirit on the pastors of His scattered flock—how much we need it!—but *also equally* on every living member of His Church, multiply everywhere, and speedily, such witnesses; men and women who, *knowing the Lord's Christ* truly and fully, *live the Lord's Christ* in our modern world. That blessing will bring, as nothing else ever will, solutions of life and peace to innumerable problems of this pregnant time.

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When S. Paul wrote to the Corinthians—"I determined to know nothing among you but Jesus Christ and Him crucified," it was a strong way of putting the pre-eminent need of right *proportion* in Christian ethics.

This *proportion* is my text. And S. Paul's word—the little “word of the cross” (1 Cor. i. 18)—gives the clue to that proportion. The central emblem of Christianity expresses its central claim—the claim, namely, to produce a society, a kingdom, an organized body of men on whom this moral miracle has been performed, the miracle of death and resurrection; a body of men who are dead to the old motives, dead to ambition, to pride, to self-love, much more to passion and pleasure seeking, and are alive to motives altogether new; who glory in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ by whom the world has been crucified unto them, and they unto the world.

Is this product obvious amongst us? We hear much of the alienation of the working class, and we are constantly deploring it; but their unbelief, in so far as it is a disbelief in us, is perhaps the reverse side of a belief. It implies a standard of what a Church should be—an ideal of the life of the sons of God. They do not see that we, the church-goers, are as different from the world as we profess to be; that we are less keen for pleasure and success, that we drive less hard bargains, are less indifferent to social injustice, less worldly in our aims than those outside. I do not say that they are always just. In fact, perhaps their besetting sin is suspiciousness and distrust. When their own best leaders rise to eminence they begin to suspect that they have interested motives. When “General” Booth plans operations on a great scale, hints are dropped that he makes it pay.

And yet, allowing for all this, there is still such a thing as not being able to see the wood for the trees, and perhaps we who are inside have a less true sense of proportion than they who look at us from without. And if this alienation were to be still more accentuated, accentuated to the point of active hostility, who shall say that it might not be the very shock that we need to restore the lost sense of proportion, and to close the ranks of those who have no aim but “by love to serve one another”?

William Wilberforce, in his “Practical View of the Religion of Professed Christians,” reminds us how persecution restores this sense of proportion. “At such a season,” he says, “Christianity has no lukewarm professors; no adherents concerning whom it is doubtful to what party they belong. The Christian is then reminded at every turn that his Master's kingdom is not of this world. When all on earth wears a black and threatening aspect, he looks up to Heaven for consolation; he learns practically to consider himself as a pilgrim and a stranger. He then cleaves to fundamentals, and examines well his foundation, as at the hour of death.”

Persecution restores the sense of proportion; it clears the air so that men see the issues on either side. There may be many things of sufficient interest and importance to keep a man happily occupied and engrossed, which may even evoke enough enthusiasm to make him think himself a devotee, which, however, he would never dream of dying for. Persecution would put an end to what has been called the woeful uncleanness of the ordinary man.

On the other hand, Wilberforce has pointed out how a state of prosperity and the increase of wealth and luxury produces the exactly opposite result, obliterates what is distinctive in the Christian life, distorts and confuses the sense of proportion. “The soldiers of the Church militant then forget that they are in a state of warfare. Their

ardour slackens ; their zeal languishes. Like a colony long settled in a strange country, they are gradually assimilated in features and demeanour and language to the native inhabitants, till at length almost every vestige of peculiarity dies away.

“ If in general, persecution and prosperity be productive respectively of these opposite effects, this circumstance alone might teach us what expectations to form concerning the state of Christianity in this country, where she has long been embodied in an establishment, which is intimately blended, and is generally and justly believed to have a common interest with our civil institutions ; which is liberally, though by no means too liberally endowed, and, not more favoured in wealth than dignity, has been allowed ‘ to exalt her mitred front in courts and Parliament,’ an establishment the offices in which are extremely numerous, and these, not like the priesthood of the Jews, filled up from a particular race, or, like that of the Hindoos, held by a separate caste in entailed succession ; but supplied from every class, and branching by its widely extended ramifications into almost every individual family in the community ; an establishment of which the ministers are not, like the Roman Catholic clergy, debarred from forming matrimonial ties, but are allowed to unite themselves, and multiply their holdings to the general mass of the community by the close bonds of family connection ; not like some of the severer of the religious orders immured in colleges and monasteries, but, both by law and custom, permitted to mix without restraint in all the intercourses of society.”

Thus, he points out that the danger from our close intermixture with the world is that we may come by degrees to lose all that is peculiar and unworldly in Christianity, all that marks it as a Divine and supernatural life in a Divine and supernatural society, all which might carry conviction as to its Divine and supernatural origin ; that we may gradually forget that we are committed to a warfare with pride and luxury and worldly-mindedness, and fall back upon a mere code of conventional morality, a code which is no more rigorous or exalted than the general standard of morals sanctioned by public opinion and the law of the land.

And this tendency he imagines likely to continue, with the occasional interruption of some fanatical protest. And his words seem almost a prophecy.

“ When so many should thus have been straying out of the right path, some bold reformer might, from time to time, be likely to arise, who should not unjustly charge them with their deviation ; but though right, perhaps, in the main, yet deviating himself also in an opposite direction, and creating disgust by his violence or vulgarity or absurdities, he might fail, except in a few instances, to produce the effect of recalling them from their wanderings.”

Perhaps, then, the want of confidence of the working-man is a witness to the truth—a demand for proportion. They look for an unworldly society, and they do not always find it.

May I suggest one or two points where this want of proportion shows itself in a time of prosperity.

First—The want of proportion between means and ends. If the end aimed at by prayers and Church services, and music and guilds, and all the external machinery of Church worship is the product of redeemed lives in vital union with God—lives which because they are one with

Christ have an altogether new direction and aim and standard—lives which seek and find their satisfaction in love and service—if the pure and undefiled *θρησκεία* be “to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world;” then there is a discrepancy, a disproportion at present between the end attained and the means employed to attain it.

The multiplication of services, the elaboration of music, the beautification of the church, the increase of solemnity and ritual decorum, even the growth of congregations, these are not necessarily proofs of vitality, they are means not ends, they might be compatible with barrenness of the true fruit. All this is of the nature of machinery, and machinery may work with great energy and perfect smoothness, and yet turn out no product.

Secondly—Parochial organization is of the nature of machinery. It is a means to the same end. The end is character. And here, again, it is possible that one looking on from outside may see a perfect network of clubs and institutes and guilds and thrift societies in all the variety of penny bank and clothing club and provident association, by means of which the outward life is duly organized, but with results in the direction of character of the very smallest.

He might see a vision of clergy and Christian workers who are always in a hurry, rushing from committee to committee, with no time to read, or think, or pray, “who never once possess their souls before they die.”

Thirdly—One other direction in which there is a danger of mistaking means for ends, and so, for want of a clear conception of what is vital in Christianity, losing our sense of proportion—the great struggle of our time for a better distribution of wealth. Let us stand back from the picture to see it in its due proportions. There is Belgravia in its easy carriage, and Southwark and the costermonger’s cart, and here, over against them both, our “pattern in the heavens,” the unworldly society of the kingdom of God. What shall we say? It is plain that to the rich we cannot say “peace,” when there is no peace. It is equally plain that we cannot fling ourselves into the scuffle as leaders of an infuriated mob. Such action would not tend to sweeten and purify character on each side. To the rich we shall say that this kingdom of God is the very flimsiest dream until this luxury chafes and galls, until the wrongs and sufferings of that poor crowd weigh as a burden on the heart until they “love the brotherhood” with a love which will not rest till it has found a remedy. This is a hard saying, but perhaps not so hard as that which, with the vision still before our eyes, we needs must say to the poor; for it will be equally impossible for us to accept the materialism which is their only goal, and to admit that the kingdom of God is meat and drink. This attitude, aloof from either side, is not common. It is not uncommon for the clergy to respond with enthusiasm to the cry that they should be tribunes of the people; it is perhaps even less uncommon to find the clergy enrolled under the watchwords of law and order, of Church and State, beneath the emblem of the primrose, but it is not common to find them responding to these appeals from either side which ask, “Art thou for us or for our adversaries?” with the words, “Nay, but as Captain of the Host of the Lord am I now come.”

Let me quote once more from Wilberforce words which are seldom heard to-day. True and vital Christianity, he says, "thus softening the glare of wealth, and moderating the insolence of power, renders the inequalities of the social state less galling to the lower orders, whom also she instructs in their turn to be diligent, humble, patient, reminding them that their more lowly path has been allotted to them by the hand of God; that it is their part faithfully to discharge its duties, and contentedly to bear its inconveniences; that the present state of things is very short; that the objects about which worldly men conflict so eagerly are not worth the contest; that the peace of mind which religion offers to all ranks indiscriminately affords more true satisfaction than all the expensive pleasures which are beyond the poor man's reach; that in this view, however, the poor have the advantage, and that, if their superiors enjoy more abundant comforts, they are also exposed to many temptations from which the inferior classes are happily exempted; that, 'having food and raiment, they should be therewith content,' for that their situation in life, with all its evils, is better than they have deserved at the hand of God; finally, that all human distinctions will soon be done away, and the true followers of Christ will all, as children of the same Father, be alike admitted to the possession of the same Heavenly inheritance."

The fact that any man who ventured at the present day to express these sentiments to an audience of working-men would be hooted off the platform proves my point, that the attitude is not common of those reformers who, while daring to tell Belgravia that it makes mockery of the Gospel of the kingdom, dare also tell to Southwark that there is a life of the Cross which, if it could irradiate the amphitheatre of old, can irradiate even the rookery and the sweater's den to-day.

Why is it that none of us would now use this language of Wilberforce? We do believe, do we not, that the inner world is of utterly incomparable importance; that character is the one thing that really matters; that to be good, to conquer self, to love God and man—to love with a transforming devotion which carries us serene through the darkest ways of life and the hardest troubles—this is to *live*? We do believe, do we not, that it is more blessed to give than to receive? and that Browning has the sum of the whole matter when he says—

" Rejoice, we are allied  
To that which doth provide  
And not partake; effect and not receive.  
A spark disturbs our clod,  
Nearer we hold of God  
Who gives, than of His tribes which take, I must believe."

We dare not take this tone. And we are right. And it proves the want of proportion. We dare not, first because we know that, while the Christianity of our practice is what it is, there would be a touch of hypocrisy in the words, and that it has been the hypocrisy of those who have preached the blessedness of unworldliness while clinging to the world with both hands that has made such teaching stink in the nostrils of the people.

No, we cannot use these words of Wilberforce; but S. Francis of Assisi could have used them. He could have said, and probably did say, that "the objects about which worldly men conflict so eagerly are

not worth the contest ;" that "the poor have the advantage" of escaping many temptations ; that, "having food and raiment they should be therewith content ;" that "they should be diligent, humble, patient ;" that the "peace of mind which religion offers is better than all the expensive pleasures which are beyond their reach."

S. Francis could have said all this, and did say it, by his life—his life of poverty, his life of love—of love which, because it was so set free from worldliness, overflowed upon all creation, not only upon men and women, but upon God's great family in the woods and fields, upon "brother wolf" and "little brother leveret," and upon "our sisters the bird," nay, even upon "our sister the death of the body."

S. Francis could have used the words, and if we cannot it is but a proof that in our absorption in the details of machinery we have lost the sense of proportion—that sense of proportion which even the scribe possessed who said, "Well, master, thou hast said the truth, for there is one God, and to love Him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all burnt offerings and sacrifices"—the sense of proportion which S. Paul expressed when he said, "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost."

Our very history as English Churchmen ought to keep strong in us this sense of proportion. Bishop Lightfoot, on the evidence of Montalambert, has said, "Augustine was the Apostle of Kent, but Aidan was the Apostle of England." Coming straight from Iona, the school of Aidan, let me quote Bishop Lightfoot's words: "After all it was not the splendour, but the simplicity, of Iona and of Lindisfarne that won for England Christ. Times are changed . . . but . . . the spirit is unchanged. The simplicity, the self-devotion, the prayerfulness, the burning love of Christ, which shone forth in those Celtic missionaries of old must be our spiritual equipment now. Then, when our work is done, and another generation shall have taken our place, it may be that some future Bede will again trace in words of tender and regretful sympathy the undying record of a Christ-like life and work."

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## ADDRESS.

The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT.

THE official programme says correctly that Sir A. Gordon was to have read the next paper, though from the large sheets his name has been omitted by the printer. I am sorry to say the mistake of the printer has been verified, for Sir A. Gordon has been summoned to London. I hope we shall be able to obtain his paper so as to present it with the other papers, but, to our great loss, we are not able to have it to-day.

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## PAPERS.

The Right Rev. FREDERICK TEMPLE, D.D.,  
Lord Bishop of London.

“For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,  
He can't be wrong whose life is in the right.”

I SUPPOSE that there has never been a time in the whole history of the Church when these words would not express the sentiments of a very considerable number. But I suppose, also, that at the present time there is a larger number than ever before, both of those who call themselves Christians and of those who do not, who would sum up their convictions upon the nature and life of a Christian in the words that I have just quoted. And these words unquestionably contain enough truth to mislead all those who do not stop to think, and who are content, as it were, to take things in the rough. The truth which they express is contained in our Lord's words, “By their fruits ye shall know them.” Our Lord Himself expressly declares that the fruits are the proof of the faith which men are holding. He does not mean that faith is a matter of indifference, but He means that the faith, if it be a real faith, is certain to issue in the life of him that believes, and will show itself there, and show itself unmistakably; and, so far from implying that it makes no difference what a man believes, His words really teach that it is of the very deepest importance that men should hold His faith and truth, for He says Himself, “It is the truth that makes us free.” It is the truth that really makes men true servants of God, and it is in proportion as they hold the truth that men can really serve Him. It is quite true that if you look at men superficially and only watch their outer conduct, it will often be the case that men who believe very little will nevertheless live such a life as may put to shame those who believe much more.

It is conceivable that the life of an infidel shall, notwithstanding his infidelity, be such as to shame the children of the Gospel. A man may live in all the relations with his fellow-men by such high principles, with such unswerving consistency, with such truth, with such regard for justice, nay, with more than that, with such self-sacrifice, that those who look at him will be compelled to say, “This man must needs be a servant of God, though perhaps he knows it not.” But, then, with this man, even if we stop at observing his outer life, that outer life assuredly comes from his whole fixed inward convictions, which are of the very essence of religion themselves. It is because a man believes in that which is holy, in that which is just, in that which is good, that he is enabled to live a life before his fellow-men that compels, not only their admiration, but their reverence. And there appear instances enough to make it clear that in the providence of God He sees fit sometimes to give such grace even to men who are ignorant of Himself, as to make them, as it were, examples to ordinary eyes of the life which His own true children ought to live. The judgment of men often can go no further. We cannot see within a man's soul; we cannot tell where his failure is. God in Heaven, and God alone, can judge him, and we cannot. He is living up to the very high standard of the truth so far as he knows it, whereas there are



thousands who know more than he who cannot, or who do not, live in accordance with the principles which they avow, and which they believe. He is still showing the effects of his faith, though the faith be imperfect. But such examples as these, whenever they occur, ought not to mislead us in regard to the truth which is apparently put to scorn in the quotation with which I began. It is not true that "He can't be wrong whose life is in the right," when it is interpreted by such lives as these men live. The fact is that men are driven very often to this kind of conclusion by weariness of the controversies, the wranglings, the disputings, and the many strifes that have come out of the desire to learn the truth. But that desire has not been sanctified by the grace of God. We do contend sometimes for the faith in such a spirit as to deny the very faith for which we are contending. There is sometimes in our very zeal a kind of bitterness which contradicts the very highest principles of Christian practice. There is sometimes more than this. There creeps in all manner of self-will, and the desire to maintain our own opinions, forgetful altogether why those opinions are of any value. There is sometimes a controversy almost for the sake of controversy and a delight in the contest, as if the contest itself was the end, and not a means to the end, that end that we dare not sacrifice. And so it is that men, when they see disputes that rend asunder the Church, are very often tempted to believe that no good can come out of such quarrelling as this. These very often spring from differences of opinion; they are not in reality disputes about things that deserve attention. Let the dispute and the subject of the dispute alike be swept aside; let us be content with that which really shall influence our ordinary life, and, content with that, let us leave to men who are fond of quarrelling what seems to be a perpetual subject of quarrelling. It is a sad thing to own; it is no more than our Lord predicted when He said that "He had come not to send peace but a sword." He knew how the truth that He was revealing to mankind would of necessity be a provocation to much that He Himself condemned. He knew that, for He knew human nature in its very essence; He knew that men in their zeal would often outrun altogether the line which He laid down within which that zeal ought to work; He knew that there would be often perpetual controversy, because of the imperfections of human nature; and He prophesied that it would part asunder those who were nearest and dearest to each other, that it would rend families, that it would occasion strife; and yet His revelation was given to mankind. In spite of disputes, it is the truth; it is the truth, and the truth only, that can really hold fast men's lives. You may ask, "How does it affect the life when we see instances where plainly the effect is so weak, and we see instances often where the truth is not held, and the life seems to be admirable?" But those who watch themselves, who watch history, and watch the working of men's minds, can see plainly enough that there are two ways in which the working of men's beliefs tells upon the life that they live, and always will do so.

There is, in the first place, that quiet, imperceptible influence which the holding of the truth perpetually exercises at every moment of life. No part of Christian truth is ever without its effect upon man. If the truth be held and known, it will always have its effect, and will be illustrated in proportion as it is

held more strongly and more permanently. A man who is living in a constant sense of the great truths taught by the Church of Christ, assuredly finds in these truths, at every turn of his life, something that guides, and something that upholds, and something that inspires and animates. And he always finds in the return of those truths a recollection of the power which is inherent in them, and which is certain to sway all his conduct in proportion as he believes them. What a power there is in the belief in the sacraments ordained by our Lord constantly supplies to the man who is struggling with himself, and who knows that not upon his own state of feeling, and not upon the extent of his own success in his struggle, but upon the strength and grasp of God's grace given to him, independent of himself, his life shall be upheld and shall depend for perpetual strength ! What a power is the knowledge that a man has that these outward things ordained by his own Lord have given to him something that comes direct from Heaven itself ! What a power there is in this belief to make his struggle strong, even when he is fainting ; to make him firm, even when his limbs are tottering beneath him ! What a power there is in the belief that the Holy Spirit is anointing the conscience ; and how differently does the man regard the whispers of his own conscience when he knows that those whispers are constantly inspired by the presence of Almighty God ; when he knows, beyond that, that if he disobeys he is disobeying, not a mere faculty of his own soul, but his Maker, his Redeemer, the Ruler of all his life and of all eternity ! What an inspiration there comes to him in the perpetual thought that these joys are indeed the joys of heaven ; what strength a man constantly finds in the course of his life to bear its annoyances, its struggles, all that worries him and hunts him down, when he thinks that he is one with the Lord who suffered in the flesh, and whose humanity bore the sins of this world ! All those influences work upon quiet Christian souls almost without their knowing it ; they work quietly and almost imperceptibly ; they mould the character. In proportion as a man lives in such a faith, and in proportion as the truths that he holds become clearer and clearer before his eyes, and he recognizes, perhaps sometimes with astonishment, that words which he learned long ago, and truths which were taught him in his early years, long before he had the power to understand them, have a fulness and clearness of meaning which he will find increasing at every step, he realizes their force and their supply to the need of his weak human nature.

But in the second place, in all these ways the doctrines of faith uphold a man, and do more than uphold him, in the constant conflicts of spiritual life. They elevate him, they purify him, they draw him near to God, and they make his communion with the Saviour a deeper, more real and livelier thing. They fit him, as nothing else can fit him, for that other world and for that service to which he is perpetually looking forward. To come down even to very elementary truths, which perhaps it is hardly necessary to speak of in an assembly of Christians, and mostly educated Christians, what a power to uphold is in the strong conviction that this world is not all—that there is another yet to come—that there is another world, nay, that that other world is not something in the future, but is already in the present, and all that we see, all that touches our minds or senses, is but a veil behind which is the spiritual life, already counting amongst its members those

who are here on earth, whose spiritual lives, invisible to their fellowmen, and but partly visible to themselves, but visible to God and perhaps to the holy angels in proportion as God sends them forth to minister to us. And when we reach that other world, all that has passed in this world shall be seen, and seen in its true character of spiritual reality. Underlying all those phantoms and shadows that now strike upon the senses, the spiritual reality shall be there, and we shall recognize its eternal truths, and Him from whom those truths flow. And to him whose life has been a true life, there is on the one side this perpetual influence of true doctrine on him, and on the other side there is perhaps the still more striking power of this same influence of doctrine in movements of great emergency and great temptation; perhaps when a man is brought face to face with some tremendous temptation which he had never met before, when his principles seem to be called in question, when he has to choose between sacrificing principles of devotion and self-sacrifice to God, and sacrificing much else, perhaps all else, that he values here. In these great emergencies, a man is called upon once for all to choose whether he will take that road or this. When he has to choose whether he will indeed be true to himself, it is then that the great doctrines of the Christian faith will uphold a man who never could have been upheld by anything else. Often and often has it been the case that a man who lived respected and honoured because he lived a life regulated by principles, without religion, has, by the weakness of the stay on which he rested, by giving in to some circumstance of real trial, for the first time been obliged to say, If my principles are true, all this present life must be given up, and yet I see nothing else before me; I have no belief that there is another world at all. At such moments, the fundamental doctrines of the resurrection from the dead and the eternal judgment come, in spite of all his weakness, and give him a victory which his own strength would never have given him.

But I would add one word more. The power of doctrine over life always must depend upon the degree in which a man gives his will to his conscience, and not only holds the doctrine, but has resolved to live by it. For if a man is not endeavouring to live by the doctrine that he holds, that man for certain does not really believe what he professes to believe; what he fancies, perhaps, that he does believe. And the doctrine that is dead within the soul produces no fruits whatever; and in proportion as our Christian faith is dead, in that proportion always shall we give occasion to men to say that all these questions of truth are of no value whatever; look to the life, and care nothing whether the truth be clearly held or not. It is true, indeed, that there is such a thing as faith without any life to correspond, and that faith is dead indeed.

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WE have been invited this morning to consider the relation between doctrine and life. But the question first arises, what do we mean by these terms? The word "doctrine," or at any rate its Greek equivalents διδαχή and διδασκαλία, may signify either the act of teaching or

the matter which is taught. Which of these meanings do we attach to the word on the present occasion? Again, by "life," do we mean the principle of life, or the life which is led as the result of that principle? The connection between doctrine and the principle of life is evidently very real and very close. It was our Saviour Himself Who said, "He that believeth on Me hath everlasting life." But there can be but one answer to the questions, "How shall they believe in Him of Whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?" And of doctrine in the sense of the matter taught (in which sense I take it that we are using the word this morning), the Saviour also said, "The words that I speak unto you . . . they are life." But the connection between the whole circle of Christian doctrine and the leading of a Christian life day by day does not lie quite so much on the surface. We may look upon Christian doctrine as threefold—historical, analytical, and practical. By historical doctrine I mean the instruction which we derive from the Scriptures on matters of fact, whether physical or metaphysical, as, for instance, the existence of the Trinity, the events of our Lord's life on earth, the accomplishment of the Atonement, the gift of the Holy Spirit, the formation of the Church, and the efficacy of the Sacraments. Analytical doctrine comprises explanations of these facts and deductions from them. It deals, for example, with the mode in which atonement was effected by the sacrifice on the Cross, the relation between predestination and freewill, and similar theological problems. To a certain extent and on some points analytical doctrine has the warrant and sanction of Scripture, but for the most part it consists of the reasonings and speculations of the human mind. Practical doctrine deals directly with ethics, and it, of course, is immediately connected with daily life. But practical doctrine apart from historical doctrine will not produce Christian life. The idea that it would do so was a common mistake in the last century, when it could be said :

"How oft when Paul has served us with a text  
Has Epictetus, Plato, Tully preached !"

Christian life, we must ever remember, whether in its individual or its aggregate aspect, is more than mere moral human life. It is a life distinct, not in degree merely, but in kind, from every other life which can be led upon earth. Its primary motive is different. The Christian lives and acts, not primarily in order to obtain some temporal or eternal benefit for other men or for himself, but because he has been created and redeemed, or begotten again to good works, and because he is constrained by the love of God—the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—the love of God to him, and his love to God. Its standard is different; for the Christian is bound to adopt, as his pattern, nothing less than the infinite perfection of God. From the individual point of view Christian life is the life of a child of God, of a redeemed freedman of Jesus Christ, of a living temple of the Spirit. From the aggregate point of view it is the life of a member of Christ's body, the Church, and is lived (as a result, though not as a primary motive) for the benefit of the whole body with a view to its internal and external growth and development, as well as the benefit of each particular member. From both points of view it is founded on

the doctrines of the Fatherhood of God, the redemption of the world by His Incarnate Son, and the perpetual indwelling of the Holy Ghost, the Lifegiver and Sanctifier. Historical doctrine, therefore, lies at the very root of Christian life. We cannot make the same unqualified assertion with respect to analytical doctrine, yet we should commit a great mistake if we came to the conclusion that this branch of doctrine has no connection with daily life. It is true that Christian men have been by no means agreed upon many points of analytical doctrine. The views of Simeon, Arnold, and Pusey, for instance, differed widely in many particulars, and we cannot affirm that the opinions of any one of them were more conducive to Christian life than those of the other two. It is true, also, that many Christians, owing to want of education or other outward circumstances, or to their turn of mind, are debarred from entering into analytical doctrine; and to such it is not essential for their Christian life. As Archbishop Whately said, "The fact of the Atonement is the all-important matter; the apprehension of the how or the why of it is not requisite for salvation;" and we may apply the same remark to the Sacraments. Knowledge of the how and the why is not requisite for salvation, nor, in all cases, for daily life. But in the case of Christians who have the opportunity and the turn of mind for engaging in analytical doctrine, that branch of doctrine does become necessary to their Christian life. The particular line which Simeon, Arnold, and Pusey were each led to adopt was not indispensable to Christian life, to the exclusion of the others, but it was indispensable to the complete life of each of them that he should honestly and fully investigate analytical doctrine, and not only form conclusions upon it himself, but also endeavour to press those conclusions upon others. In short, to the life of each of the three, analytical doctrine was absolutely essential, and his own particular phase of it was relatively essential to himself. And as regards Christians generally, it may surely be affirmed that if God has given to us reasoning powers, and the opportunity of using them, it is essential to the due development and fulfilment of our Christian life that we should exercise them upon analytical doctrine.

I have ventured to divide Christian doctrine into three branches. Is it permissible to identify each branch as the particular function of the three subordinate classes of instructors mentioned in the Epistle to the Ephesians? In the fourth chapter of that epistle S. Paul speaks of Apostles, who may be presumed to have exercised all these functions. He then goes on to enumerate, first, prophets; secondly, evangelists; and thirdly, pastors and teachers. The second of these are evidently concerned with historical doctrine. Are not the first the instructors of analytical, and the third of practical doctrine? But whether this be so or not, it is important to note that all three classes of instructors are insisted on as necessary "for the perfecting of the saints," and "for the building up of the body of Christ." Here, as elsewhere, the Apostle sets before us Christian doctrine as the means, and Christian life as the end. We ought not to exalt doctrine as if it were a means in itself, but we cannot expect to attain to the true end—Christian life—without using doctrine, the appointed means. On the other hand, no doubt, just as, though food is the means and bodily health the end, yet health

increases the capacity of taking food, so he that doeth the will of God "shall know of the doctrine" (S. John vii. 17).

In religion, as well as in other matters, human nature is prone to oscillate from one extreme to another. Some time ago there seemed a danger, at least in a section of the Church, of too much stress being laid upon preaching and doctrine to the comparative neglect of worship and practice. The danger, I fear, still exists in some dissenting communities; but for us now the danger lies in the opposite direction. We all admit that "man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord." But do we take the same care to keep up our Christian life by daily assimilating to ourselves the words of God as we do to maintain our bodily existence by consuming fresh supplies of food? Surely we need to be reminded ourselves and to remind others that if we would imitate the earliest Christians, as they lived in the first freshness of the Pentecostal fire-baptism, we must continue steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine or teaching, no less than in fellowship, and breaking of bread, and in prayer.

The Rev. A. J. WORLEDGE, Canon Residentiary and Chancellor of Truro Cathedral.

ONE of the positive results of a really critical and historical study of the New Testament is certainly to enable those, who pursue it in a spirit at once devout and practical, to understand better than before the gratitude, with which the first believers welcomed a proclamation of truth, coming, as no system of ethics or philosophy had ever come to them, "in demonstration of the Spirit and of power." And, at a time when it seems difficult to connect the Creed with character, it is an encouragement to remember that in no city more than at Corinth, with its cosmopolitan life, where antagonistic forces were so subtle and so strong; in no Church more than the Corinthian, which might have seemed to a spectator of its instability, its party-spirit, and its immoralities, a sample of the failure rather than of the success of Christianity, did S. Paul rely with stronger confidence, not only on the power of the Gospel, but on the hidden working of the Spirit promised to the body of Christ as a whole, to enable the men and women of many races, drawn to that centre of idolatrous worship, and impurity, and commerce, and culture, and amusement, to embrace and understand the truth. At Corinth, quite as much as at Philippi, where there was comparatively little occasion for discouragement, S. Paul felt sure that the triumphs of the Christian faith would in reality be won by the great facts of the Gospel. It was not to a select circle of pre-eminent saints, but to a body of very imperfect Christian people, that those wonderful words were addressed in regard to a present revelation: "Things which eye saw not, and ear heard not, and *which* entered not into the heart of man, whatsoever things God prepared for them that love Him . . . unto us God revealed them through the Spirit;"\* and among those "things" one was declared at Corinth with singular emphasis. There, a fact

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\* 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10.

which policy might have veiled was boldly presented. The Cross was planted in the hearts of men. In the historic fact of the Crucifixion, patent to all, there was a discovery of a doctrine and a life which the Holy Ghost alone could teach and apply. S. Paul had "determined not to know anything" among those Corinthians "save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified." The determination, which might have seemed altogether impolitic, has been completely vindicated by the high spiritual services rendered through the Corinthian Epistles to the Church in every age. As we draw towards the close of this morning's deliberations, may I ask you to consider, in brief outline, how the doctrine of the Atonement may be linked with our own English life? And, in addressing an assembly like the present, it is enough to say of that doctrine what is said at the close of one of the deepest modern expositions of it: "The power of the great Sacrifice for the sins of the world," Dr. Dale has written, "lies in itself, and not in our explanations of it."\*

(1) It will hardly be questioned that one of the main obstacles which the Church has at present to face, as it is always the subtlest of personal temptations, is a gradual and palpable decline of the sense of sin, at any rate in its essential character as an unfilial act of defiance towards a loving and gracious Father. That decline has been described by an authority, who has no ordinary opportunities of forming a judgment, as "the darkest among all the signs now overshadowing what is in some respects the bright and hopeful promise of the future."† So to characterize it is no exaggeration, because failure to regard sin as it is regarded in the fifty-first Psalm, or in the Epistle to the Romans, is symptomatic of deeper injury to faith. It means an enfeebled sense of a personal moral relation to a Personal Being. The Christian believes that, in the original relation of the Eternal Son to the Father, there lies the ideal of the relation of the human race to God. Had there been no sin, our history would have been a perpetual ascent to the supreme holiness of God, but in the true Christian consciousness it is felt that a foreign element has been introduced by sin into our life, which, had it been unchecked, would have made that ideal for ever an impossibility.

The tendency to minimise the sense of sin, to reduce it, as pantheistic Stoics in the Apostolic days were wont to do, either to a failure to attain the standard of the perfect Man, or to a violation of the law of the universe in which we are placed, is met by the Cross regarded as a symbol of the infinite Righteousness of God. On the Cross, it is the Moral Ruler of the race Who, in His sinless Manhood, is identified with humanity subject to the results of sin. Through the action of eternal love, the justice of the penalties of sin is affirmed before the penalties are remitted. No act could show more plainly that the Son of God, Who died, and the Father, Who did not spare Him, are not indifferent to sin, and that it must incur what, in deep mystery, is called "the wrath of God." No darker day could ever dawn for our race than that in which God ceased to be pleased, or displeased, with our actions. The Cross is an evidence that such a day can never dawn.

But on Calvary there is not only a proclamation that suffering and death—as fallen humanity knows death—are the just results of the sin

\* "The Atonement," p. 436.

† Mr. Gladstone, "The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture," p. 89.

which, through unbelieving Judaism and spirit-denying heathenism, there crucified the Personal Righteousness of God. The sacrificial Death of Christ, sealing the obedience of His Life, as a death in which "the whole human race from the beginning to the end" was "re-capitulated," \* is a moral security for the disappearance of sin. The charge of the "alleged immorality," as it has been called, "of letting off the sinner," † is met by the true doctrine of the Atonement, although in misrepresentations of the doctrine it may possibly find some justification. As the Lord's death is the death of sin, as it involves, by the testimony of the accumulated experience of nearly nineteen centuries, the gradual destruction of sin in all who through faith and the sacraments are one with Christ, it is a ground on which sin may be forgiven without contravening the Holiness of God.

So the doctrine bears upon the life. In regard to this most solemn aspect of the Atonement, Coleridge's saying that "no article of faith can be truly and duly preached without necessarily and simultaneously infusing a deep sense of the indispensableness of a holy life," ‡ has been abundantly verified. Wherever that aspect is obscured, there religion is certainly apt to lose its nerve by the failure of the sense of sin. And, as it too often happens in these cases that disingenuousness, and evasions, and insincerity are combined with large professions of fervent devotion and spirituality, straightforward men of the world lose all confidence in a Christianity degraded by Christians, and those Christians lose in time any real touch with Him Who is Himself Eternal Truth and Righteousness. The story of Bishop Butler's dying hour is full of significant instruction. He expressed his conviction that it was "an awful thing to appear before the Moral Governor of the world." His chaplain reminded him of the "blood which cleanseth from all sin." "Ah, this is comfortable," he replied, and with those words on his lips he gave up his soul to God. Some will, perhaps, remember the comment of Butler's greatest successor on that incident. "The sequence," Bishop Lightfoot said, "is a necessary sequence. He only has access to the Eternal Love who has stood face to face with the Eternal Righteousness. He only who has learned to feel the awe, will be taught to know the grace." §

(2) So we pass on to the moral effect of the Cross as the revelation of Love. The Christian tradition of so many ages has made us almost oblivious of the inestimable value of a distinct manifestation of the reality of Divine Love, though a great fact in history, but occasionally a stern voice rouses us to some sense of a security which could never have been ours but for the Incarnation and the Atonement. "If I were asked," a modern writer of high personal character once said, "whether God were good—that is, disposed to promote the happiness of mankind absolutely, I should answer, No." And with whatever qualifications, and whatever anticipations of an unknown future, few will deny that, were it not for the Cross set in the light of Christmas memories and Easter hopes, the reasons for such a belief in the Love

\* Irenæus, V., xxiii., 2.

† Dr. Martineau, "Studies of Christianity," p. 188; Mr. Cotter Morison, in "The Service of Man," makes a similar objection.

‡ "Table Talk," vol. ii., p. 102.

§ "Leaders in the Northern Church," p. 170.



of God as could possibly be the spring of action would indeed be precarious. We commit ourselves to the will of God, because through historic facts we are convinced that it is a will to love. S. John's great argument is holding its ground to day as firmly as it ever did: "Herein was the love of God manifested in us, that God hath sent His only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through Him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us, and sent His Son to be the Propitiation for our sins." \* The argument becomes the more remarkable, when its tone of simple confidence based on a fact of revelation, is contrasted with the pessimistic religions of the East, in which nature is regarded as radically evil, and, therefore, incapable of being loved or improved. It is yet more remarkable when contrasted with that later religion, in which the idea of an Atonement or Mediator was repudiated by its founder, † who, after all, has himself been made an intercessor by the majority of his followers. Despite its partial excellencies, sterility of action and thought is stamped on Mohammedanism, because God is regarded as a hard taskmaster rather than a loving Father, and the motive principle of action is not the unselfish ambition of promoting His Glory and winning His approval, but a slavish dread of His displeasure. ‡ If, under the Cross, as we have seen, the unthinking optimism of the natural man is wont to fade, a far higher optimism originates in the reconciliation wrought there. To be assured that God is for us marked a turning-point in man's history. Not only are we convinced that He "with Whom we have to do" can Himself be trusted, but that He trusts us. It was, indeed, a lofty height to which inspiration soared, when the words were written, "Surely they are My people, children that will not deal falsely: so He was their Saviour;" but the revelation to the prophet has been attested by the utterance of the Incarnate Son: "No longer do I call you servants, for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth; but I have called you friends, for all things that I have heard from My Father I have made known unto you." § To enter into detail on the connection between this aspect of the doctrine of the Cross and life is needless. The sorrowing Churchman who said, as he stood in sad contemplation of the ruins of the burnt cathedral at S. John's, Newfoundland, "It will surely rise again. He has not removed from us all the tokens of His Love," pointing, in explanation of his words, to the cross still standing erect on the gable above the ruin and against the sky, apparently not even blackened by the fire, did but express a conviction which, when all other consolations are impotent, has not failed to meet the depression of troubled and helpless consciences, finding in the Atonement the lifting off of the whole load of guilt, or the austere discipline of failure, or what would, but for Calvary, have certainly been the blank perplexity of bereavement and pain.

(3) It is because the Cross is at once the symbol of Divine Righteousness and the revelation of Divine Love, that it is also the spring of power. If, as one of our bishops has most truly said, "we

\* 1 S. John iv. 9, 10.

† The Koran, Sura ii., 45.

‡ "Islam and its Founder," p. 191.

§ Isaiah lxiii. 8; S. John xv. 15. The thought is worked out in a sermon on "The Meaning of Redemption" by Mr. J. Bakiwin Brown.

need, at the present time, an energy of spiritual force,"\* we know also that, in the Love of the Atonement, God, Who is Love, has revealed His power. During the lifetime of the Apostles, there had, indeed, been teaching, in language almost perfect, such as might have led men to imagine that an energy of spiritual force would have been generated without the intervention of a Divine Mediator. "To obey God," Seneca had written, "is liberty." "Good men toil, they spend and are spent." "Nature bids me assist *men*, and whether they be bond or free, whether gentlefolk or freedmen, whether they enjoy liberty as a right or as a friendly gift, what matter? Wherever a *man* is, there is room for doing good."† Such avowals were practically inoperative for want of power to translate them into action. But what Stoicism lacked, "the Gospel of the glory of the blessed God" committed to Apostolic hands could supply. In revealing a Person "Who was made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption," that Gospel announced—it is its distinctive character to do so—a principle of life.

This is the reason why Christians can be true optimists, while they can still face the facts of sin and its results alike in society and in individuals. As "the Author of their salvation" was made "perfect through sufferings," in which our humanity was brought to its full moral ideal carrying with it the completeness of power and dignity; as the actual symbol of the Cross has marvellously changed its position from the lowest depths of humiliation and contempt to the highest point of honour; as the Sacrament through which the "precious Death" upon the Cross is commemorated in the solemn worship of the Church has borne, almost from the first, the most significant name of the Eucharist; so each Christian, with S. Paul, feels all the security of a reasonable hope in glorying in the Cross.

Nothing is more striking, although it is seldom noticed, in the early Christian writings than this profound sense of power, acknowledged on all hands to be lacking among ourselves. When, in this nineteenth century of Christ's Mediatorial Kingdom, we allow ourselves to think, and speak, and act, as if the forces of evil were really more likely to prevail than the Righteousness of God, we offer a vantage ground to evil of which it is not slow to avail itself. But it was not so in the second century. Ignatius is on his way to martyrdom. He knows well the stress of conflict within and without which awaits the Church, yet we can trace clearly in him the influence of an Apostolic training as he writes in the language of assured triumph: "In the silence of God it was that the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Death of Christ were wrought; but from that time forward every sorcery and every spell was dissolved, the ignorance of wickedness vanished away, the ancient kingdom was pulled down when God appeared in the likeness of men unto *newness* of everlasting life; and that which had been perfected in the counsels of God began to take effect."‡ It was not so in the fourth century. The tenacious grasp of Athanasius on the

\* Bp. Westcott, "The Victory of the Cross," p. 107.

† Seneca, *de Vit. beat.* 15; *de Provid.* 5, *de Vit. beata.* 24, quoted by Bp. Lightfoot, "Epistle to the Philippians," Dissertation iii.

‡ Ign. *ad Eph.* 19.

Mystery of Christ, unshaken by persecution, or error, or disappointment, is the grasp, not only of a theologian, but of a soul profoundly convinced that all its needs could be met by its Redeemer. Again and again he reiterates his belief, in which he never faltered from early manhood to old age, that the Incarnate Word was "able to re-create everything," "to bring about the salvation of the whole man," to "secure the freedom and ability of humanity to fulfil the righteousness of the law" in itself, so as to be able to say, "But we are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in us."\* In the strength of the same conviction, S. Leo faced the collapse of the Western Empire, and the invasion of her barbarian conquerors; a note of animating confidence in victory already won runs through his sermons on the Passion. "So then," he says, "all those things which the Son of God both did and taught for the reconciliation of the world, we do not simply know of by the history of past events, but feel even now by the power of present operations."† To experience such as this the Church of these latter days may well turn to re-kindle her flagging energy.

But for ourselves, it is only in proportion to a realization of the power of the Cross that character can become so purified and strengthened as to be really capable of service to others. A life of ministry has been brought down by the Redeemer from the sphere of ideas, in which it floated before the minds of some of the best among Roman and Greek philosophers, to be a living, practical agent among men. "Hereby know we love, because He laid down His Life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren."‡ Good, indeed, it is for us to store up in memory that conclusion of S. John's belief. In days when there is much conversation about religious truth, much endeavour to put it into picturesque and "original" forms, much veiled criticism of it in poetry and novels, as well as open assault in other forms, we have especial need to recollect that merely passive impressions of the truth can only float upon the surface of character. It is by active use alone that the truth settles down into its depths. But nothing has so aroused the energies evoked by gratitude as the fact of Redemption. The Christian knows that repeated acts of thanksgiving to his Saviour, such as are offered by the Church in her Eucharistic worship, can stir into fresh vigour that love to men which is bent on making lives, however broken, however disappointing, however degraded, once more sound, and hopeful, and effective.

(4) And therefore the Cross, which by reason of its two-fold revelation of Righteousness and Love, became a source of power, is also the centre of unity. There are passages in the New Testament, such as the prologue to S. John's Gospel, the opening verses of the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Hebrews, sentences in the Epistles to the Romans and the Colossians,§ descriptive of "the earnest expectation of the creation," and of "the good pleasure of the Father to reconcile, through "the Son of His love," "the Word, without Whom was not anything made that was made," "all things unto Himself, having made

\* *Ath. de Incarn.*, 7, *Ep. ad Epict.*, 7; *Orat. c. Ar.*, i. 12.

† Leo, Sermon 63.

‡ 1 S. John iii. 16.

§ Rom. viii., 18-23; Col. i., 12-20.

peace through the Blood of His Cross," which open out visions of marvellous promise. The Incarnate Word has potentially brought the whole creation, of which He is the Eternal Author and Head, within the sphere of His atoning work. By a religion like Buddhism the world is regarded as radically evil, and detachment from it can be the only resource for those who would be perfect. The hope of Christianity, summed up in the whole work of the Atonement, is reunion and relationship.

In the Sinless Lord's identification of Himself as Man with humanity, in the fact that He Who is the Eternal Word omnipresent in creation is also its Redeemer and its Consummator, lies the real solution of all the eager questions rising about us as to the relation of literature, art and science, commerce and statesmanship, to Christianity. In all of these there are correspondencies with essential parts of our nature, and therefore, in company with our nature, they are destined for redemption. But with us they, too, must pass face to face with Eternal Righteousness, from a lower to a higher order, however painful the process of purification may be. In the power of Divine Love they must be rescued from enslavement to the fallen appetites of men. In the life of service they must be offered up to God. Around the Cross they must be so used as to reflect "what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God."<sup>\*</sup>

Thus we see how truly the Crucifixion of the Incarnate Son, "unto Jews a stumbling block, and unto Gentiles foolishness," is, indeed, a revelation alike of divine power and wisdom. It has brought the world, destined for redemption, again potentially into harmony with its Creator. The proof lies in facts of history and in facts of personal experience. It is found in facts of history. Whatever temporary reverses there may be, a progressive, formative, upward movement is apparent wherever the Cross is planted. Wherever it is absent, however striking immediate success may have been, however high the excellence of some select human spirits, sterility, disintegration, and decay are the ultimate results. The reason is obvious. The Cross alone can convince men of the reality of the laws of Eternal Righteousness; of the self-sacrificing Love of the character of God "with Whom they have to do;" of a new energy which carries with it a pledge of final victory; of a bond of unity that has already done something to bring about the inward and outward peace for which hearts are yearning. These are necessary motive-powers of progress. Where they are not recognised and vitalized by action, some of the outward developments of progress may be imitated, but progress, in its essential character, can never be made.

And the second line of proof is found in the facts of personal experience. Impressive, indeed, is the unfaltering witness to the power of the great Sacrifice on the lives of men given, age after age, by those who have actually realized it. The deepest students of the Atonement are most conscious that "of the great principles and laws, which we are

<sup>\*</sup>Rom. xiii., 2. See Bp. Westcott's "Essay on the Relation of Christianity to Art," in his "Commentary on the Epistles of S. John," especially pp. 348-360. On the immanence of the Word, see "Lux Mundi, II.," "The Christian Doctrine of God." Henry Martyn in his "Journal," I., p. 161, ascribes his own love of beauty expressly to his "knowledge of God in a saving manner."

sure must be illustrated in the Death of Christ," they themselves "know very little."\* At a time of undisciplined speculation like our own, it is well to fall back on the unvarying testimony to the vitality of the fact. We are told that when one of the most brilliant, as he was one of the purest of Lacordaire's disciples in the ranks of the French clergy, lay dying, he sought once more to hear S. Paul's glorious words of immortal hope for those whose whole faith is in Jesus Christ.† It was from Corinth, in the middle of the first century, that the Apostle wrote, "I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." And in Paris, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, one who knew quite well all that could be said in disproof of the revelation of that Love, whose own mind "sometimes failed, and seemed for a moment to fall into the slumber of general doubt," took up that witness at the painful close of his young life of constant suffering but continuous service. "Now, more than ever," said Henri Perreyve, "I bless God for having taught me a simple religion which goes straight to Jesus Christ, and is summed up in that one word of His Passion '*Fiat*,'—'Thy will be done.'"

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The Rev. A. F. W. INGRAM, Head of the Oxford House,  
Bethnal Green, E.

I NEED hardly say I feel it a very great burden this morning, after all the papers and all the addresses which we have heard, to venture to speak at the conclusion of this meeting, and my only consolation is this, that the Archbishop would not have asked me to do so if it was not that he thought that, in the peculiar work to which I have been called, there might lie an experience which would throw some light on the relation between Christian doctrine and Christian life. I make, therefore, no apology—or, rather, it is my best apology for standing here before you this morning, if I take for the three heads of what I have to say, the three peculiarities which constitute my work.

(1) First of all, most unwillingly—because of the blasphemy against our blessed Lord which I have to hear—I have, week by week, to contend against open unbelievers for the Faith once delivered to the saints. Secondly, I have to work, so far as it is possible to work in England, upon entirely virgin soil, amongst those who, as yet, are untouched by the religious motive; and Thirdly, my fellow-helpers, all that I have, are young laymen who give their services to the cause.

Now, what has the first point to say to the necessity of Christian doctrine? It is not difficult to picture a scene such as I shall now describe. A summer afternoon, Victoria Park, the lecturer has just sat down, there are nearly 1,000 men around him, and, amongst others, a bright-eyed lad who has been applauding for the last twenty minutes blasphemies against the God who made him. The lecturer, in forcible

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\* Dr. Dale, "The Atonement," p. 435.

† "Life of Henri Perreyve," by the Père Gratry, *Eng. Translation*, pp. 221-225.

and powerful language, has been drawing a picture of suffering in the animal kingdom, and of the misery in certain parts of East London, and he dares anyone to show that there can possibly be, in the face of these facts, a loving God. I am, we will suppose, to answer him without a belief in the Christian creed. I am to speak to him and tell him that the suffering is all part of the law of progress; that the thing is working towards a good end; that the misery in East London is largely due to man's own fault; that if we only work together, we can do much by thrift and sanitation, not only to escape, but to remove the evil. But what a retort would be in store for me if I could give no further answer than that?

"So everyone is to be sacrificed, except God! According to your own showing," he replies, "whatever the suffering of the world may be, God sits up there

'On the hills, beside His nectar  
Careless of mankind.'"

And I know of no answer that will make the young lad ever pray to His Father in Heaven; I know of no answer that will make those bystanders do anything but put their hands in their pockets and turn away, except the answer of the Creed, that God *did* something, that so far from ignoring the problem, He came down into the thick of it, and untied it with blood-stained fingers Himself—unless, in other words, we believe in "Jesus Christ who was crucified, dead, and buried."

(2) But how is that conviction to be brought home to them? Are we simply to tell them to "come to Jesus"? That language, true as it is in itself, is as yet too misty and unreal to them—it is about something they do not understand. That story, if they are to believe it, can only be brought home to them in one way, and that is by some sort of a reproduction of the Incarnation in their midst. There is one layman in my mind now—a man rich in this world's goods—who has given up everything to live in the midst of the poor. He might have been living out in some country villa, and spending his well-earned money on himself, but he wanted to live in the midst of his poorer brethren. And they are puzzled over his life; they say, "What makes him do it"? And already the crust of that virgin soil is beginning to be ploughed by that life. "There must be something," they say, "in the religion which can make a man do that." Now where are we to look for the motive power to produce, in sufficient quantity, such lives as this? There have been, from time to time, a few noble men, such as those of whom the Bishop of London has spoken, who, without belief, have found in the service of man the only path they could tread. But what, historically, is the motive which has, as a rule, produced such lives in the past? What is the motive which is producing that man's life of whom I have spoken? It is belief in the dogmatic fact that *Jesus Christ, though He was rich, yet for our sakes He became poor.*

(3) Once again, I live with certain young laymen who are working in perfect harmony and peace together. And to what has one to attribute the fact that with all these various characters, with varied works and varied powers, yet year passes after year and there is never a jar and never a breath of anything wrong between them? You may

attribute it, if you like, to some natural cause ; you may look for some natural explanation of it, but I, as I watch it, can only attribute it to this, that they kneel morning by morning before one Master, and consecrate their service, week by week, to one Lord.

And may I not come a little nearer even than this to you ? Could we do our work without this belief ? Could we live our lives without it ? I ask you, who, like myself, in great centres of population, are bowed beneath an ever on-coming storm of work ; I ask you who in solitary villages seek to keep alive the old fires—could we do without a living Christ close by us ? Could we face the otherwise maddening anxiety lest we lose the young souls entrusted to our care ?

No. What we want is not less creed, but more creed ; we want to utter our “credo” with a firmer voice. When one lives among working-men, one wants no book of self-examinations ; their questions are sufficient. “Why,” they ask, “when a clergyman is ‘called,’ is it always to a better living ? Why is it that as far as we can see, while you preach the Cross you make yourselves very comfortable indeed ?” We may repudiate these things as calumnies. I tell them myself of Bishop Smythies in Africa, of Bishop Selwyn in Melanesia, I repudiate the insinuation that the law of comfort is the law of our lives. But still that very insinuation may serve to remind us, that if we preach the Cross, we must bear the Cross.

It may take many forms : it may take for some of us the form of mission work at home or abroad ; it may take for some of us the deliberate postponement of the comforts of a home ; it may, of course, take for others the resolute effort to keep alive the fire of enthusiasm beneath the worries and anxieties of a large family. But, various as the forms may be, in some form or other the Cross must be borne, and this Congress, with all the interest it has evoked, and the enthusiasm it has kindled, will still have failed of its full purpose if it does not send us back to our work re-stamped with the Cross.

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### CONGRESS HALL.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 7TH, 1892.

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The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

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### PREACHING IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

#### PAPERS.

The Rev. CANON TWELLS, M.A., Bournemouth.

THE efficacy of preaching in the Church of England is not what it ought to be, not what it might be, and not what I hope and believe it ere long will be. It is not what it ought to be—for how seldom one hears of altered opinions, changed habits, good things done or bad

things left undone, through hearing sermons. It is not what it might be—for the clergy, taking them as a whole, have the intellect, the education, and, let me add, the piety to be far more successful in this matter than they are. It is not what I hope and believe it ere long will be—for I observe many indications on the part of my brethren of a resolution to do better, and I know that the abundant blessing of Almighty God will rest upon any sustained efforts to lift the pulpit to its proper level among spiritual agencies.

But before we go farther, let it not be supposed that I lay any lack of efficacy in the preaching of the Church of England entirely, or even chiefly, upon the clergy. The laity of the latter part of this nineteenth century are exceedingly bad listeners—far worse, I believe, than their fathers and grandfathers. This is not a random remark, but is the result of a good deal of enquiry and observation in all classes of society. It is to be feared that few come to church with the slightest intention of being taught or influenced for good, and that fewer still are following the track of the preacher five minutes after he has commenced his sermon.

How is this to be accounted for? "Oh!" says the critical layman, "bad preachers make bad hearers." Now that is, of course, true to a certain extent, though let me enter a caveat against the idea that because a man does not shine in the pulpit he is not to be listened to. Why, you might as well refuse to pay the slightest attention to your doctor, unless he is letter A No. 1 in the profession. But in the face of this saying—"Bad preachers make bad hearers," shall I be excused for expressing a decided opinion that while the average standard of preaching has materially improved of late years, the habit of listening has emphatically deteriorated? The progress of education ought distinctly to encourage and facilitate attention to sermons, inasmuch as it is far easier for an educated person to take in what is said than one who is uneducated. There are, however, other facts and conditions at work which have broken down that theoretical advantage.

These can only be noticed very rapidly. First in order come the ecclesiastical proclivities of the age, which have properly dislodged preaching from its position of pre-eminence above prayer and the sacraments, but which, like most reactions in this frail world of ours, seem to have carried people too far, and persuaded them that there is no particular obligation to listen to sermons. Next, let me name the prodigious development of the public press, gorging and drenching the intellectual appetite during the week, and leaving but scant powers of digestion for what falls from the preacher on the Sunday. Akin to this may be mentioned that feverish love of excitement which finds gratification in all sorts of public and private entertainments, but which fails to meet with sufficient novelty and sensationalism in the utterances of God's ambassadors. But above and beyond these things, and I am disposed to think more powerful than them all, are the jests and gibes with which it seems to be the modern fashion to pelt sermons. No joke is too stupid and common-place to be hurled at them, even by men who would shrink from being considered irreligious. Fathers speak lightly of them in the presence of their sons, and mothers in that of their daughters. The novel of the day, the magazine of the day, the newspaper of the day, vie with one another in their thoughtless



depreciation of the pulpit. People are consequently led to suppose that they are not to be blamed for habits of inattention.

A paper read at a Church Congress may be assumed to be at least as much *ad populum* as *ad clerum*. If all else be forgotten, let this be remembered—don't whet your powers of ridicule upon sermons. You know not what you do in the way of retarding the spiritual growth of those around you. Your children, your servants, your acquaintance, may soon catch your tone, and it may need the eloquence of a S. Chrysostom, ay, even the burning ardour of a S. Paul, to rivet their attention for the future. Preaching is an ordinance of God. The ambassador may discharge his office badly, but reverence for the King from Whom he comes should protect him from carping criticism or unseemly indifference. Besides, it is a terrible mistake to imagine that an ordinary preacher in an ordinary church may not do us good, if only we will submit to have good done to us. Somewhat we may generally learn for the first time; still more we may have brought to our remembrance. It is just our detestable pride and our intolerable self-sufficiency that fights off the benefit. You and I should be much wiser than we are, if we had always listened to sermons. We should be much better than we are, if we had always listened to sermons. We should be much more capable of grappling with the trials and temptations of daily life, if we had always listened to sermons. We have been our own enemies, so far as we have belonged to the crowd of listless or supercilious hearers.

But leaving it to the calm consideration of our lay friends whether the efficacy of preaching in the Church of England is not at least as much dependent upon them as upon their spiritual teachers, I go on to observe that the improvement of the clergy in this duty, although marked, is not, in my opinion, commensurate with the rate of popular progress in other and less essential matters. Men of science, men of literature, men of art, men of mechanical invention, can all point with triumph to the prodigious advance made in their various pursuits and studies during the last half-century. We preachers of the Gospel can scarcely point with the same degree of satisfaction to any proportionate expansion or amelioration in ours. It is true that the cases are not quite identical. In art, science, literature, and mechanism, there would seem to be an almost infinite capacity for development, whereas the Gospel of Christ must always remain the same. But though this is so, there may be methods of proclaiming and enforcing it specially called for by the age in which our lot is cast. Have we discovered these methods? That is the question which the younger generation of clergy have to deal with, and which even many of their elders may yet find time to solve with success.

After this you may perhaps expect some vastly original remarks about preaching and preachers. You will not get them. The vastly original remarks may be made by those who come after me, but I fear my own may be rightly looked upon as commonplace. But observe—

The modern sermon must be short. I know you will endorse my opinion in this, even if you ignore it on all other points. We must recognize the undoubted fact that the people of this generation are far more restive under sermons than their predecessors. It may not be a hopeful sign of the times, but we must bow to what we cannot alter.

The days of turning hour-glasses and starting on afresh are gone for ever. Those last ten minutes of even our most popular preachers often undo the good effects of what has gone before.

The modern sermon must be incisive. In proportion as it is short, it should lose no time in unnecessary detail and expansion. Ideas which our forefathers would have spread over five or ten minutes we must try to express, and to express effectively, in two or three. Let us be pungent, and at times epigrammatic, seeing that we cannot be elaborate or diffusive. If we are unable to hit the head of the nail quite as often as we could wish, the sharper and the harder should be those blows which we have time and opportunity to deliver.

The modern sermon must break free from conventionalism. What it may possibly lose in stateliness it will gain in actual force. Our average style is too stilted. We have traditional mannerisms both in composition and delivery from which we should do well to seek emancipation. By all means let us avail ourselves of a wealthy and honourable past. The echoes of countless good sermons linger in our ears, and he must be a very clever man, or more likely a very conceited one, who dispenses with the efforts of his predecessors. But we are living under fresh conditions. What was natural, or at least considered expedient, when George the Third was King, may be neither natural nor expedient in the latter part of the reign of Victoria. If *The Times* wrote its leading articles after the fashion of the days before the battle of Waterloo, what would become of *The Times*? The great poet who has just passed from among us struck the right note for the age, but it was not the note that had rung out in former ages. The mould in which our fathers and grandfathers cast their thoughts may be worthy of deep respect, but it need not be servilely adopted by their descendants.

The modern sermon must be clear and distinct in its construction. No nervous dread of the old "firstly, secondly, thirdly, and to conclude" should hinder our forming a definite plan, and carrying it out with steadiness and persistency of purpose. A discursive sermon is unprofitable, a jerky sermon is exasperating, a meandering sermon is tedious. Without any hard and fast rules as to exordium, peroration, and so forth, a sermon should be a piece of mechanism which has cost the preacher pains, and every part of which should be made to fit accurately into its place.

The modern sermon must, if possible, be delivered without manuscript. In the sense of being produced on the spur of the moment, very few sermons are, and none ought to be, extemporaneous. But preaching without manuscript does not necessarily imply a lack of preparation. It has formed a very material element in the past success of dissent, even as, long before dissent existed, it secured the popularity of the peripatetic friars. Aye, and I don't suppose that S. Peter or S. Paul, or One greater than either, preached from manuscript. It is true that some clergy read off their sermons so remarkably well that we cannot wish them to alter their practice. If we can resemble a Melvill or a Liddon, or even come near them, by no means let us discard our sermon-books. But, speaking generally, it can scarcely be questioned that the impression of earnestness and reality goes along with spoken discourses rather than with written ones. Now even a poor sermon that carries along with it the impression of earnestness and reality has a

far greater effect upon mixed congregations than a better one that fails to do so.

The modern sermon must not run too much after what are called the difficulties of the day. The difficulties of the day must be met, but not, as a general rule, before audiences nineteen-twentieths of whom have never heard of them. I confess to a horror of sermons which are supposed to be "up to date," especially when the preacher is young and inexperienced. A number of objections are stated, it may be to miracles, it may be to revelation, it may be to the doctrine of the Atonement, which are but feebly and hesitatingly met. The result is disastrous. "Father," says the boy, on his way home, "then is not the Bible true?" "I can see," reflects the young man, "that the only correct tip is to be an agnostic." "Hang that fellow!" cries paterfamilias, "why, he considers himself wiser than Isaiah, and more far-seeing than the Apostle John!" Surely such a preacher, though he may have gratified his own mistaken sense of superiority by attempting to grapple with what calls itself advanced thought, has not done what he was set to do. Let him rouse the careless, let him encourage the penitent, let him teach the ignorant, let him warn the backslider, and let him leave scepticism, or semi-scepticism, to be dealt with at other times and places, and above all, by those who can grapple with them manfully and successfully.

The modern sermon must not shrink, because it is modern, from being dogmatic. The inculcation of morality is imperative. The painting of word-pictures is attractive. The wrapping up half truths in cloudy sentences is easy and popular. But these things will neither satisfy the conscience of the preacher, nor make the "man of God" who sits at his feet "perfect and thoroughly furnished." The age may very properly suggest our style, or alter our method of treatment, but the age must not be allowed to dictate our message. Whatsoever God tells us, or whatsoever we believe that He tells us, that must we speak, neither exaggerating aught nor diminishing aught, but striving to make our utterances an exact reflection of His will. Dogma is a light which scares the purposeless wanderer, and which latitudinarian bigots (for there are no bigots like them) would utterly extinguish; but it shows us the way to heaven, and it is most dangerous, not to say fatal, to attempt the journey without it.

And then, not to exceed my time, or to abuse your attention, it follows from the last point that the modern sermon, like the ancient, must with no faltering voice proclaim Jesus Christ and Him crucified, to some a stumbling-block, and to others foolishness, but to us the power of God and the wisdom of God. From the Incarnation, the Cross, the Resurrection, must still radiate all the doctrine and advice upon which we insist, inasmuch as otherwise they will be weak and invertebrate. I believe that they are as capable of meeting the wants and yearnings of the nineteenth century as they were of the first. We shall both save ourselves and them that hear us.

The Very Rev. WILLIAM LEFROY, D.D., Dean of Norwich.

I ASSUME that the Divine ordinance of preaching refers in our agenda not to the various modes in which the Word of God may become operative, nor to the different senses in which the word may be used, and which are so clearly specialized by Hooker, but to that didactic ministrations of the word to which the Church of England assigns such prominence. In the office of Holy Baptism, she charges sponsors to call upon the baptized "to hear sermons." In the Litany she teaches us to pray "that it may please God to illuminate all bishops, priests, and deacons, with true knowledge and understanding of His word, and that both by their preaching and living they may set it forth and show it accordingly." In the Ordinal, in the Office for the Ordering of Deacons, when the bishop has laid his hands "severally upon the head of every one of them humbly kneeling before him," and after the authorization, "then shall the bishop deliver to every one of them the New Testament, saying, Take thou authority to read the Gospel in the Church of God, and to preach the same, if thou be thereto licensed by the bishop himself." When the deacon is about to be advanced to the second order of the Christian ministry, immediately after the imposition of hands, the Church enjoins: "Then the bishop shall deliver to every one of them kneeling, the Bible into his hand, saying, Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and to minister the Holy Sacraments in the congregation, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto." Likewise, in the Ordinal for the Consecration of Bishops, after the same solemn function has been performed upon the newly consecrated bishop, the Church again directs: "Then the Archbishop shall deliver him the Bible." This ritual is an object lesson. It teaches two truths of primary importance: one the publication of the doctrine, the other, the custody of the record. It is as old as the Apostolic Constitutions. In the section which treats of the election and ordination of bishops, these words are found: "Silence being made, let one of the principal bishops, together with two others, stand near to the altar, the rest of the bishops and presbyters praying silently, and the deacons holding the Divine Gospels open upon the head of him that is to be ordained." This act symbolizes the prominence of the didactic side of ministerial work. The same idea is conveyed by the well-known decree of the Fourth Council of Carthage. Earlier still, we find similar prominence given to preaching in sub-Apostolic times. Clement of Rome describes S. Paul as having preached in the East and in the West, and as winning renown, having taught righteousness unto the whole world. The Apostles are said by the same writer to have preached everywhere, in country and in town. Passages might be cited from the fragments which show us something of the life and work of Ignatius, from accepted documents which place Polycarp before us, from the Apologies of Justin Martyr, and especially in the letter of Irenæus to Florinus, each indicating the high place which thus early was assigned to preaching, and showing us that in this as in other matters, the Church of England is in warm touch with antiquity. And if I say that these times look back upon the Apostles and their inspired literature, and that the men and their work witness to the same truth, I am only saying that the Church of the nineteenth century is in

agreement with that of the second and the first, and all obedient to the command of our ascended Lord. Nor may I omit a cognate fact, which is as saddening as it is certain. If the Use and the Ordinal of the Church of God in these lands agrees with the Use of the same Church in the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic eras, it disagrees, in this particular, with the Ordinal of the Roman schism, and consequently with the office of the Roman priest. In the Roman Ordinal, the candidate priests are anointed, then the vessels which belong to the celebration of the Mass are delivered with the words, "Receive thou power to offer sacrifices to God, and to celebrate masses for the living and the dead." The sacerdotal character of the Roman Ordinal is in marked contrast to the didactic character of the Anglican. The former is novel, unhistorical, unscriptural. The latter is Apostolic, scriptural, historical.

Preaching is, moreover, the subject of inspired prediction. It is anticipated in the Psalter. Its agents, theme, range, and results are revealed in prophecies which are beyond question Messianic. It is hallowed and glorified by the example of our Lord. It is consecrated, by His authority, to be the means by which His Kingdom is to be extended. His holy Apostles, by their example and exhortation, show how they regarded it, and, my persuasion is strong, that, amongst the Divine institutes of Christianity, preaching is of the first order. It is the *magnum opus* of the Christian ministry. If we desired any indication of its importance, we have it in the fact that the early triumphs of the Church are ascribed to it, even though, strangely enough, it is omitted by Gibbon from the causes to which these triumphs are attributed. And to-day it is unwise to ignore the fact, which may be verified in a hundred scenes, that sects which have no history, and the baldest ritual, and in which prayer is rather an address to the Almighty than supplication, and praise is more familiar than spiritual, owe their success, such as it is, to preaching. Men have bare walls, bleak ritual, the Bible, and a living man to expound it, and, in some cases, thousands of persons are attracted, influenced, and consolidated into an earnest and active organization. Yet who can deny that an ordinance which is the unique feature of the religion of Christ, which has achieved such prodigious results in Apostolic, patristic, and reformation times, which holds such a high place in the Church of England, as well as in the worship of the sects, is now, and in a variety of ways, disparaged and decried? Who has not seen, at home and abroad, a considerable number of persons rise and leave the church immediately before the sermon? Who can deny that a large number of those who remain will not tolerate a discourse which exceeds some twelve or fifteen minutes? Who will challenge the fact that there are many who are designated good Churchmen, who yet regard a preacher who occupies half-an-hour in preaching as a sort of clerical criminal.

There are thousands of men who used to attend public worship but who now desert it, who give as the reason for their abstention the duration of the sermon, its abounding platitudes, its sickly transcendentalism, its hollow phrases, its want of sympathy with the age, and with its perplexities, its difficulties, its sorrows, its longings, and its needs? Meanwhile, there is another set of facts which are prominent. There are churches and cathedrals which are not only frequented but filled, and filled mainly by men. Such churches do not represent any

one school of thought. Time was when many influential preachers of the day belonged chiefly to what is known as the Evangelical body. This is no longer true. All schools have now some capable representatives who attract thousands of interested hearers. The Temple; S. Margaret's, Westminster; S. Paul's, Onslow Square; and conspicuously the Abbey and S. Paul's Cathedral, prove that to-day there are diversities of administration, but the same Lord. These, and other churches in the provinces, show that under certain conditions, preaching is still acceptable, influential, and so far as we dare say, successful. But it is equally certain that by thousands of Churchmen preaching is disregarded, and if I say this, it is for the purpose not of acquiescing in what must be considered a low tone of religion, but with the view of indicating some of the causes which contribute to it.

For one thing, he would be a bold man who would deny that much of the defective preaching in the Church of England is due to the absence of adequate training in our theological halls and in our universities. In neither are men taught how to prepare, or how to preach a sermon. Dublin has, in this, as in some other matters, made great advances upon her elder sisters. Homiletics form a part, and a serious part, of the curriculum of the Dublin Divinity School. No man can possess the Dublin Testimonium without having experienced some of the difficulties of this duty, and of the way in which they may be overcome. I believe it to be true that a man may pass through Oxford or Cambridge, and secure the usual certificates, without ever having received in either any special training in what the Church regards as a very high duty. This, I respectfully submit, is not as it should be. The fact is, moreover, admitted very generally. It presses the junior clergy somewhat sorely. Deacons and priests are, in many instances, unable to discharge this duty efficiently, and are painfully conscious of their incompetency. The question presents itself—What should be done? Will the case be met by Episcopal revision of sermons? Our bishops are not always the best judges of sermons. They are very rarely good preachers. They are over-worked, and while they have the highest aim and the most ardent desire to help their younger clergy, they lack the time which the due consideration of this great duty demands. Will the case be met by suggesting, or by permitting, or by encouraging the junior clergy to reproduce the sermons of other men? And one may reasonably ask—Should this be done without the permission of the vicar to whom the deacon is ordained? The truth is, we have to deal with a grave condition. Preaching, in the Church of England, is not the power in the nation which it ought to be. It might become so if the bishops, addressing themselves to this question, appealed to the authorities of the universities and of the theological colleges, and asked them to make this matter the subject of systematic, capable, and sympathetic treatment. Failing this, could not the sacred office of the archdeacon be made a reality, by authorizing him to gather round him the junior clergy to aid them in this important duty?

For another thing, our preaching is ineffective because of inadequate preparation. Sufficient time is not given to the work. This is one of the results of the abounding activity of the Church in this our day. Schools must be visited. Definite and dogmatic religion must be taught. The sick must have constant attention. The manifold and

multiplied duties which are generated by the faithful discharge of the pastoral office ; the ceaseless and even clamorous calls which are made upon the sympathy, the strength, the time of an earnest parish priest ; the interest, ever intensifying, of the people, in such causes as temperance, purity, thrift, and missionary enterprise at home and abroad, these eat into the day, and leave but a few fragments between times, if they do not absorb all, and exhaust the body and mind as well. Who can wonder if the preparation of the sermon is, with the best intention, deferred to Friday, to Saturday, or to the small hours of the Sunday morning ? Who can wonder if then, wearied and worried, men resort to the repetition of old sermons, of which the people may have had enough already, and of which the preacher is himself sick at heart ? My plea is that no duty, save such as is of vital urgency, should be suffered to interfere with that of preparation for the pulpit. Like many of my brethren, for over twenty years my habit has been to select my texts for every Sunday on the Sunday evening preceding, and for the same period, my inflexible rule was to tell my curate never less than a week, frequently a month, and sometimes three months beforehand, of the occasions when he was to occupy the pulpit, and I was equally emphatic about undisturbed preparation. This essential condition is recognized in other departments of mental labour. The barrister will take home his briefs and make up his cases in undisturbed quiet. The medical lecturer does the same. The author, the scientist, the demonstrator, the politician, do likewise. Why should not the minister of Christ have unbroken seclusion for the study and the working out of the theme to which he desires to call the attention of those committed to his charge ? This every vicar may generally secure for himself. He should also demand and arrange it for his curate.

For another thing, our preaching is weak because many of us do not realize its unspeakable importance. We seem to have but the faintest conceptions of the privileges which guard it and of the solemn work to be done. I emphasize both, because they are all too frequently forgotten. The minister of Jesus Christ, when delivering his Master's message, is allowed a privilege which is not shared by any other individual under any other condition. He speaks in a silence which no man may break. He expounds, or appeals, or instructs, amid a stillness which the law of England has safeguarded, and which society respects. The barrister, pleading the noblest of causes before the jury he is endeavouring to persuade, and before the judge whose impartiality is betimes his hope and his fear, may be interrupted. The judge, as he gathers up the evidence, and disentangles the skein of statements tied and twisted by falsehood, by malice, by perjury, may be interrupted. The statesman arguing out the problems upon which the progress and the stability of a nation depends, and appealing to the past and its imperishable records for precedents wherewith to encourage the timid, to decide the wavering, to intensify the enthusiastic, and to justify the procedure upon which he stakes the credit and the honour of his Cabinet, may be interrupted ; ay, and the interruption may be envenomed by vengeance, and expressed with an insolence which is as brutal as it is debased, but the nation which allows and endures this, guards the utterances of the preacher, and imposes a sacred hush within the walls of the humblest mission room no less than in the stateliest

minster, while the ambassador of Heaven tells to his hearers the story of God's love for a lost world. Am I wrong when I say that few of us make the most of this privilege? Nor may we forget one side of the solemn work which the pulpit of the Church of England has to perform. I refer now to the faithful closeness by which divine dogma is to be applied to the individual conscience.

This may be correctly designated searching preaching. The necessity for this is urgent. Time was when this work was done in another way. In the pre-Reformation period it was performed by means of auricular confession. This practice the Church of England has, as a system, deliberately and authoritatively discredited. The Lambeth Conference, when the occasion demanded it, spoke with no hesitating tones on this subject. But this makes the searching character of our preaching all the more imperative and important. The preacher should deal fearlessly, faithfully, and lovingly with particular sins, never forgetting the example of the courageous Apostle who preached of rectitude to a venal judge whose palm itched for the prisoner's gold; of self-control to a guilty pair whose presence was an audacious outrage upon virtue; of judgment to come to those who were enslaved by the glitter of the present, and who were stone dead to the voice and to the memories of the past.

This last consideration leads me to observe that the difficulty of the duty upon which I have just touched suggests a word as to the character of our preaching. We should be prayerfully and painfully studious that we attack no man's person, while we spare no man's sin. And of all the ways in which this maxim may be regarded, I know of no way to be compared with our systematic adoption of expository preaching, commended as it is to us by the fact that it was adopted by the greatest preachers Christianity has ever produced. Polycarp was an expositor. Chrysostom brought Antioch and Constantinople to his feet by exposition. Ambrose of Milan and Augustine of Hippo were equally addicted to the same method. They took a Book of Scripture and expounded verse by verse, applying the lesson thus suggested to life, to character, to condition. Truth thus effects a lodgment in the human heart. It will be reflected in the life. Men will see its effect in conduct, always and everywhere. The pastoral imperative is immortal and is universal. "Preach the word: be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine." The evangelical announcement which closes the second Gospel will be again and again, and yet again, reiterated: "They went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following."

## ADDRESSES.

The Hon. Sir WILLIAM GRANTHAM, Judge of the High Court of Justice.

BELONGING, as I do, to the class alluded to just now by Canon Twells as the cause of all the talk about bad preaching, viz., the laity, who, he says, have become such bad listeners, as compared with their forefathers, that they will not listen to a sermon however good it may be, you can understand my surprise when I, a layman, and one of Her Majesty's judges, was first asked by the Archbishop to speak before the clergy of



the Church of England on this subject of preaching ; but when I remembered what was said to me soon after my first appointment as a judge, I began to suspect why I was thus invited to address you. I was told that if there was one thing that the criminals disliked more than another, it was the being preached at by the judge before sentence was passed upon them. Now, the Archbishop, knowing your desserts as well as your wants, evidently thought it a very good opportunity for punishing you for the various sins you have committed, by ordering you to be preached at by a judge ; but whether I am right or not in the conclusion that I have formed as to the motive of his Grace, I am quite sure you will agree with me when I say that this question is one of the most important that has been brought forward on this occasion. It was by preaching that the Church was founded in England. Preaching destroyed the Church of Rome in England in later years, and it is to preaching that the Non-conformist bodies of this country owe the great power they possess over their congregations at the present time. But what preaching do I allude to ? It is not the sermon that seemed rather suggested by Canon Twells as the proper type of sermon ; one in which you have your firstly, secondly, and thirdly, and very often two or three finally's to wind it up with ; the written sermon, which occupies its accustomed number of minutes, and fills its accustomed number of pages. The preaching which I allude to is the preaching in which the words flow through the eye and from the heart, as well as from the mouth of the preacher, into the heart and mind of the hearer ; preaching, by which the living waters of the Church find their best exemplification in the living words of fire and love, by which the effective extempore preacher will hold his congregation spell-bound ; and although to a highly-educated congregation it may not make so much difference, yet no clergyman can ever be effective to the less-educated class if he reads his sermon off to them. And it is because I think the Church of England has for three centuries and more neglected her duty in the training of her clergy, that I, as a layman, make complaint against her. When Christ preached that beautiful and ever-memorable sermon on the Mount, did He do it by reading from His papyrus, with eyes cast down as He read it out aloud ? or when, again, He denounced the Pharisees, hypocrites (and lawyers of those days !), do you think He did it by a written lecture on their cruelty or rapacity ? When He gave utterance to those blessed Beatitudes, was it not the look of love which accompanied His words that made them melt into the hearts of His hearers ? and when He denounced those Pharisees, did He not double the force of His declamation by the look of wrath by which He pierced the hearts of His hearers, as His words of warning and of love rolled forth ? Again, when S. Paul had to deal with those astute men of Athens on Mars Hill, do you think he riveted their attention by reading a lecture, in the shape of a written sermon, on the comparative value of heathen mythology and the unknown God he was going to preach to them ? No, it was not by writing that he riveted their attention, it was by the forcible, though probably rough and untutored words, that he spoke to them. The whole of the triumphs of our Church have been won by extempore preaching, and all the losses we have sustained have been inflicted on us by such preaching. But do not let me be misunderstood by extempore preaching. I do not mean that which has not been prepared ; I mean sermons which are not read from the manuscript, but sermons well prepared, and delivered, not by note, but with feeling as from the heart. What was it but the soul-stirring words of S. Augustine and the early missionary priests who came over to this country to convert our heathen forefathers, that laid the foundation of this Church of England ? What was it but the fiery eloquence of Luther, of Knox, and our other reformers, that broke down and destroyed the superstitions with which the Church of Rome had smothered all true religion in the Middle Ages ? What was

it that really overthrew the monarchy of this country at the time of the Commonwealth but the power of preaching? No doubt to the eye it was the sword of Cromwell; but where would his power have been but for the powerful preaching which first recruited and then welded his army into one solid phalanx. And in later years, what was it which enabled Wesley to appeal so successfully to the masses of this country—those who had either been driven out of the fold of the Church, or been allowed to stray away from it by the dulness of the sermons and the services of this Church of England, as then conducted? what was it that enabled him to bring back these people, if not within the fold of the Church, at any rate to Christianity, but the power of preaching—that power by which he was enabled, with words of love and sympathy, to make them feel that they were, though it might be the long-lost children, yet that they were still the children of Christ? It may be that some of you think I am blaming entirely the clergy and teaching authorities of the Church of the present day. But it is not so. I blame the system, not the men. It is not the fault of to-day or of yesterday, it is a fault that dates from the days of the Reformation. I do not agree with Canon Twells that it is the fault of the laity, whom, he says, are so much worse listeners to-day than they were years ago. I believe they listen as well, if not better, to-day than they did before, if the sermons are worth listening to. The congregations are better educated, and therefore more likely to attend if the manner or the matter is worth attention. We must go back even to pre-Reformation days, where you will find that as the Church of Rome allowed no liberty of thought or freedom of speech, but bound everyone to look to the priest for his religion, so she was indifferent as to whether the intelligence and feelings of the people were enlisted on the side of religion and the Church; she was content if her priests repeated the same prayers day by day, night by night, and hour by hour in the various ecclesiastical establishments, monastic and otherwise, scattered throughout the land, without ever touching the intellects of the people by religious discourses, and trusting to the occasional pageants of gorgeous ritual to attract or attach the people to their Church. And when our reformers won back the bulk of the people of England from the errors of the Church of Rome, those then at the head of the movement were, unfortunately, so afraid lest the people should revert back to Rome, that they attempted to bind them down by an iron Act of Uniformity, which gave little scope for religious enthusiasm or religious feeling. They thought a form of prayer the only thing of any importance, and when, beautiful and valuable as that form was, it was found necessary to have something in the shape of teaching from the pulpit, or something to vary the monotony of a set form of prayer, then some homilies were prepared which might be read to the people in regular order Sunday after Sunday. Thus was laid the foundation of our Church of England system of preaching; thus it was that preaching the written sermon became the practice and orthodox method of preaching in our churches, and so it has gone on from that day to this. Although, therefore, as I have endeavoured to show you, on the one hand, all the triumphs of our Church have been won by good preaching; and on the other hand, all our losses have been caused by good preaching on the part of those who have attacked us, yet, notwithstanding that fact, our Church never seems to have taken warning, or taken advantage of the lesson taught it—that if you wish to bring the people back to the Church, or maintain and hold them in the Church, you must use the weapons your adversaries have used. You must do it by better and a different kind of preaching. It may be said that it is quite impossible that the vast army of which the clergy of the Church of England is composed, can all be good preachers. Quite true, it may be so; but do you try to make them good preachers, or even attempt to teach them to preach? You might just as well send our troops into action armed with Brown Bess, or with a smooth bore, against the

Martini-Henry or the Winchester repeater, as to send the preacher of the written sermon amongst the working-classes to compete with the Dissenting minister, or one who preaches, or rather speaks to them his sermon. Imagine Mr. Ingram, who delivered that stirring address to us this morning, and who called forth those forbidden cheers because your enthusiasm was so roused by his eloquence—imagine him, when combating the Socialistic or the Atheistic lecturer, rising with a written sermon in his hand, instead of delivering one of those brilliant addresses with which he electrified us this morning. Do you think he would convince a single person to whom he was reading that sermon? Would they not tell him that if he did not know the subject of his address without reading it, he had better stay at home? Although it is impossible to make every clergyman a brilliant preacher, yet, in my opinion, if you would but train them when young, or give them opportunities for practice, you would improve the preaching of the Church generally, and certainly you would find a great number of them develop into really good, if not brilliant preachers. You have in the Church of England at the present time as brilliant preachers as ever she possessed, but they are comparatively few. They have not been made or trained by the Church—they are self-trained. It is of that want of training that I complain. The Church, in her teaching, never attempts to teach her clergy to preach. You teach them theology, but you never teach them to preach theology. What is the good of that which they are taught, if they do not know how to impart it to others in a way that will be acceptable to them. How could a barrister expect to succeed in pleading his cause with a jury unless he studied speaking as well as law. If he did he would punish himself by losing his client with his case, and so he would remedy his defects or give up the profession. A clergyman, on the other hand, who preaches badly, punishes us and keeps in the profession. It may be said, "What opportunities have we?" Opportunities should be made if you have not opportunities. Opportunities should be given at college, and I believe that in those training colleges which have been alluded to, better opportunities might be made; and I venture to suggest another opportunity which the religious work of the last few years has given them, and that is the opportunity afforded by the university missions, college missions, and school missions, which have been invariably established in those districts where they have to deal with the working-classes in their teeming masses, and who cannot be dealt with by the clergy of those districts in the ordinary way. I would suggest that some of our young clergy should learn the art of extempore preaching before these people. Of course, I don't mean that the young clergyman or student is to deliver his address or sermon without first having thought over what he is going to say. He should not only think it out, but he should write it out, and then let the head clergyman of the mission look over the sermon or address, which should be always short, and give him what hints, or make what corrections he thinks necessary, and the young man, in addressing the people, will, you may depend upon it, do it with more confidence, and will win, also, the confidence of those to whom he preaches. Some think that it would be desirable to have a distinct order of preachers by themselves. I doubt very much whether that is necessary or desirable. They would be very valuable, no doubt, in some large districts, but I think if the clergymen were to divide themselves into two orders of preachers, they would find that they would be unable to work our parish system as well as they do now. The great difficulty the clergyman has to deal with is, that in his parish he has to deal with all classes of people—the man of high culture, as well as the man of less intelligent mind—and it is almost impossible that a sermon designed for the one should reach the heart of the other, or, if framed to meet the cases of both, that it should succeed in the accomplishment of that very difficult task. The educated person likes a sermon

he can reason upon ; the uneducated likes one he can feel. An extempore sermon can always be as well reasoned out as the written one, but the written sermon can never be felt like the one that is extempore. Therefore, it seems to me that, at any rate once a day, the clergyman should prepare himself to preach an extempore sermon, for if he wants to win the hearts of the masses he can only do so by extempore preaching ; and if he cannot preach two good sermons in that way, let the written sermon be reserved for the more cultivated congregation. It is not necessary that he should be brilliant. The poor people do not want a brilliant man ; they want one who can enter into the spirit of their lives, one whose words will be so simple that they can understand them—words that make them feel that he is flesh of their flesh, bone of their bone—not one who is always talking of high doctrine that they do not understand. It does not require a brilliant man to do that. It wants an earnest one. The Nonconformist bodies maintain their hold upon their congregations by preaching. Can it be said that the clergy of the Church of England, who come from a more highly-cultivated body, and are more highly-educated than the Nonconformist body, and who mostly have the benefit of university training, are not of the same intelligence, and do not possess the same gifts as those coming from the Nonconformist schools ? Surely they must be at least equal, if not superior ; and if that is the case, it seems to me clear that it is from the want of training by the Church of her young men that their preaching is not so effectual as it might be and ought to be.

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The Very Rev. S. REYNOLDS HOLE, D.D., Dean of  
Rochester.

I HAVE had an experience of many years in many churches, at home and abroad, and my chief conviction is, that the English clergy write the best sermons and are the worst preachers in Christendom. For twenty years I was one of the very worst, and having become a little more capable, I venture the hope that some may profit—as I am thankful to know some have profited—by my experience. Of course the English clergy write better sermons than either the Roman Catholic or Nonconformist ; they preach a purer Gospel than the Roman Catholics preach, and they have, in most cases, a more complete education, to say nothing of the grace of Orders—in which I implicitly believe—than the Nonconformist ; yet they both are better preachers than we are. And it seems to me that an old woman in this neighbourhood had discovered the cause when she came home after church, and said that the gentleman had preached a very nice sermon, but that he had no deliverance. I believe that Dr. Döllinger was right when he wrote to Mr. Gladstone and said, “Believe me, that the English clergy will never succeed in making the Church thoroughly national until they leave off preaching from manuscripts.” I agree with Newman, greatly to be admired as a preacher—though I never could quite see why we should place in one of the barrack-yards of the Church of England the statue of a soldier who had deserted her ranks—I agree with Newman’s words when he said, “I think it no extravagance to say that a very inferior sermon, preached without book, answers the purpose for which all sermons are intended far more efficiently than a sermon of superior merit written and read.” Mr. Simeon was the famous preacher of his day, and being ill, he sent a letter to his friend. “I enclose the best sermon I have ever written, but I cannot preach myself.” The clergyman was a good reader, but the sermon made very little impression. Now I appeal to you, my brothers—is there any one of you who

has begun to preach without book that would ever think of returning to it? Why, it is just the difference between a horse that is held tight by the bearing-rein, and the same animal when *lata per arva ruit*. What is the cause of this defect, not in sermon-writing, but in sermon-preaching? In the first place, as Mr. Justice Grantham has said, there is no preparation. At least, when I was at Oxford there was no preparation. We had a public orator. He only orated once in the year, and then it had such a small impression upon the undergraduates that they really were vulgar in their requests that he "would mind his 'h's' and cut it short." Will you kindly listen to my own little history? Do not think me egotistical, because it is the main part of my argument, and I must be personal if I am to stick to facts. One night, in my church, it became suddenly dark, and when I got into the pulpit I could not read a single word of my sermon. In my terrible amazement and despair I seemed to hear a voice which said, "If you have nothing to say for your Master, you are no true servant of His. Have faith, and it shall be given unto you what you shall say." Then I preached I do not know what. And I should never have repeated this experiment had not my churchwarden said to me a few days afterwards, "Sir, excuse me when I tell you we were very much pleased with the last sermon which you preached." "Well," I said, "you thoroughly surprise me. I thought it was the worst I ever uttered, because I had no book." "Ah," he said, "that's just it; our enemies say, 'your parsons cannot say their lesson without their book; we do not know whose composition it is.' We should never think of going to a barrister who reads his brief, or to a play where the actor reads from the book. We should laugh at the auctioneer who read the praises of his goods." I took the suggestion, and awoke and found myself—I won't say famous—but much less infamous. What are the objections to this preaching instead of reading? "I could not do it. I should forget and break down." The answer is: "How do you know? You have never tried, and if you try and persevere, you will succeed." At all events you are bound to try. There was a Scotch minister who referred to his notes much more frequently than his hearers liked, and they appointed a deputation to wait upon him and to remonstrate. He treated them rather roughly. He said, "My memory is not very good; I want the notes; I shall use them." And then the chief speaker said, "Vera weel, menister, if ye canna remember yer ain discourses, ye'll no blame us for forgetting them." Is it not the immutable law, the Divine law, that in the sweat of thy face thou shalt earn thy bread; aye and in the sweat of thy brain thou shalt preach good sermons? I have heard it said a strong man, a good man, an earnest man, a man with brains, will preach one good sermon a week, a weak-minded man will preach two, and an idiot will preach three. Of course it needs preparation. Preparation means prayer and thought as the foundation; it means a set scheme and purpose. A man must know what he is going to preach about, what is the object of his sermon; he must begin with the scaffolding, and then he must set about making the building as complete as he can; then he must have it photographed on his brain, and so must go and preach. Where is the model, and what is the method? The Greeks had a famous sculptor called Polycletus, who carved the image of a man so exact in its form that the others took it for a model, and called it the rule of Polycletus. You and I must set in the studio of our heart the Perfect Model of the Man Christ Jesus, and we must copy Him as best we can, and by the Holy Spirit as a preacher. A young man went to an old man, and said, "Show me the best sermon you ever read or heard." He took down the New Testament and showed him the "Sermon on the Mount." We must try to preach as He preached—so simply, plainly, that the common people heard Him gladly—so beautifully illustrated by His

parables and by the commonest things around Him. Some clergymen might never know what is going on in the world, never seem to read history, or heed what is occurring among men, never to refer to incidents which are the foremost topics of public discussion. A few months ago I was at Florence, where one of the greatest preachers lived some centuries ago, Savonarola, and in our time, Montefeltro. Such was the power of Savonarola's preaching that high-born ladies sold their jewels and finery in their earnest desire to forsake the vanities of the world. In our own time, thousands have filled the cathedral to listen to Montefeltro. What was the great power of Savonarola? It was this. He succeeded those who had been studying at their theology, and he taught the simple story of Christ crucified. Montefeltro succeeded to those who had been preaching about Papal infallibility and the worship of the Blessed Virgin, and he told them the story of Jesus and His life. As to utterance, why should the clergy preach on the same note? Let us have some light and shade. As to length, you must know when to leave off. A bishop once went with a lady to church to hear her favourite preacher, and when she observed to him, "Oh, what a saint in the pulpit!" he replied, "And oh, what a martyr in the pew!" A Lincolnshire clergyman wrote to me, "I have just had one of those dreary preachers who send everybody to sleep, and a young farmer in my neighbourhood said as he came out of church, that the preacher ought to have put his text at the end of the sermon, 'Awake thou that sleepest!'" One word more. It is in the power of every one in this hall, men and women, to preach a far more beautiful sermon than Lacordaire or Canon Liddon ever preached—I mean the beautiful sermon of a Christian life.

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### The Right Hon. the EARL CRANBROOK.

I COME at the fag end of a discussion, and after the interest that has been excited, especially by the last speaker, as one who speaks from long experience, and not as I do with no experience, I am at a great disadvantage in addressing you on a subject of which I have no peculiar knowledge, and on which I am afraid I can throw but a very commonplace light. Some things have been said in the course of the discussion on which I should like to make some comments. The first paper read alluded to the question of listeners, who, it said, to-day are very different from the listeners of former days. At my time of life I have some experience of former days, and I can recollect very well that the sermon of an hour's duration was a very common occurrence; indeed in most of the churches of the great preachers of London, the sermon of less than an hour's duration was considered to be derogatory to the position of the clergyman. Cowper speaks of the affected clergyman "huddling up his work in just fifteen minutes," which was perhaps the only mitigating circumstance in the proceeding, but proves that length was reckoned of importance in a sermon.

I can well recollect a most eloquent sermon which occupied two and a half hours. I was standing in the crowd, unable to move arms or legs during the whole of that time. Yet I will venture to say that this sermon was of a most attractive character. It was perhaps grounded on a subject difficult of treatment, but still it was a most powerful sermon. I had just left a church in which a clergyman of the Church of England preached an hour, and you will think I had some endurance when, after that, I went through a sermon of two and a half hours without flinching. That might be an excuse for Canon Twells saying they were good listeners in those days, but I think I could point to many an occasion when the audience, though "sitting under" the preacher for a certain time, was certainly not a very attentive one; and the stress that was laid upon sermons in those days led, to a considerable extent, to the neglect

of the other part of the service. I remember being very much struck when I came to London, in seeing that the clergyman of one church never emerged from the vestry until he went into the pulpit. He was never present, so far as I saw, at the early part of the service, but preached his sermon, ably and at great length, which appeared to be the whole of his duty.

I am not here to attack the clergy of the Church of England for their sermons; I do not consider myself in that superior position, described by the Bishop of Manchester yesterday, which will enable me to take the clergy as an inferior race, and vivisect them. I do not intend to try that, but I think I may perhaps say something on points which have been alluded to by others, and on which much stress has been laid, with respect to the effect that the clergy might have by changing their method. We have heard much said by my friend, Judge Grantham, and others, on this subject of extempore preaching, and I am not at all disposed to depreciate it, or to put it in any lower condition than the well-written or well-considered sermon. I do not mean a sermon preached without preparation. I do not suppose anybody thinks that is what is meant by an extempore sermon. What I mean, practically, is a sermon as well prepared as one in a book, and preached without reference to the book. I have had the opportunity of hearing Canon Melvill, who in every case preached from his book, and I believe every one of his sermons had been written out many, and it has been said, no less than nine times by himself or his daughter. His discourses, therefore, were of the most polished character, yet they were addressed to, and valued by not only intellectual men, but all who composed the general congregation assembled; and Canon Melvill always did that which I am sorry to say is too often departed from at this day—he stuck to his text. Let it be in the clergyman's mind sometimes, that by digressions, or by strange interpretations, or by something introduced into the sermon which is a disadvantage to it, he gives rise to those criticisms complained of, and that those criticisms are not upon the character or earnestness of the clergyman, but upon the mistake that he makes in leaving the object of his sermon, by reference to topics which are very dangerous when introduced in a mixed congregation.

I cannot help remembering that some of the best preachers of the present day have preached from the book, but there are a great many who use the book in a way which does not let you know they are doing so. Therefore, the question is not whether they preach from the book, but the manner of their delivery. Anyone who ever heard Cardinal Newman preach when vicar of S. Mary's, Oxford, well knows that in the sermons he there preached he never raised his head off his book, yet every one of his terse sentences came home to his hearers, and was impressed upon their minds. It is not rhetoric that makes its way to the hearts of men. I have heard sentence after sentence of beautiful antitheses, round sentences as they say, "drop-like bullets to the ground; very monotonous, though very round." They do not touch the people's hearts; as they seem to come more from the study than from the heart. And what is required from the preacher, whether with the book or without, is that there should be in the minds of the people the sense that the preacher is a man who believes himself to have a message direct from God, who believes himself to be authorized to deliver that message, and that the people should know that he is living in accordance with what he is preaching. Canon Twells said that you would not quarrel with your doctor because he was not A 1 in his profession. No, you must take the doctor, but the doctor studies his patient's necessities, and applies his remedies accordingly. The sermon must be characterized by suitableness and appropriateness to the needs of the people to whom the preacher intends to address himself, and he must think only how he can win these people to salvation. Much has been

said of what was done in the early days. Reference has been made by the Dean of Rochester to the Sermon on the Mount, and to other discourses of our Saviour Himself. What was the result? If you are to judge the Church of England clergy, or the Dissenting minister, or the Roman Catholic priests, or the missionaries, by the results, who knows the results upon others? Who knows what words have been stealing into men's minds and hearts? After the Sermon on the Mount and many another discourse, after our Saviour's work of three years, how many were found in that upper room? Only one hundred and twenty. That was the result, and if you are to judge only by results, what is to be said? Then again, if you speak of the preaching of the Apostles, no doubt there was a steady progress, but there was only one great instance of what we may call an enormous conversion; and if you come to these questions of circumstance and remarkable conversions, I am not going to disparage those sermons which are of a different character, which are, as it were, to convict men who are not Christians, and to make them Christians.

But the clergyman has a good deal to do besides. He has to edify and to build up in the Faith. And I was so glad to hear that which I think is one of the great wants in the pulpit of this country urged by the Dean of Norwich—exposition and explanation. Thousands of people come into your churches who would receive the exposition of teaching if carefully and lovingly given to them. But there is a great deal to be done from the foundation. That brings me to the point which I want to touch upon, viz., that any clergyman who neglects the religious elementary education of the young in his parish is preparing for himself and his successors audiences to whom his sermons will be uselessly delivered. What is the use, if you have not trained the children in the way they should go, of expecting them to receive sermons into their hearts with meek reverence? It is of no use. You must begin at the beginning, and that is the only way in which you can prepare yourself and your successors with congregations that will understand you. As I have a short time at my disposal, let me say something about listeners. We have many thoughts to distract us, and unless there is something telling in the sermon we are apt to be led away by our thoughts, and to forget that which is going on. I am afraid it was so in the old time; I am afraid it will be so in all time. I quite admit that we ought to go to church with the honest and good heart ready for reception, and then, however poorly the sower may scatter his seed, if there is the honest and good heart, then, perhaps one grain of wheat in the bushel of chaff will find its way into that honest and good soil, and will bear fruit abundantly. I am quite ready to take my share of the blame of the laity in not sufficiently co-operating with the clergy, by showing that they are influenced by the sermons in their conduct in life. If the educated portion do not do so, it is very natural that others should be negligent. But if the laity and clergy co-operate, I still believe that the foundation of a good, religious education lies in the clear exposition of the Bible, and of the Prayer-book, in showing that you are teaching a religion which can be defended, and one which is, or ought to be, the foundation of a holy and Christian life. By addressing yourselves in that way to the hearts of the people, by steadily working to reach them, can you alone accomplish the great end which is to be desired, but mere surface results in good listeners are not really the tests of good preaching.

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The Rev. CLAUDE BOSANQUET, Vicar of Christ Church,  
Folkestone.

MANY a layman thinks that it is the easiest thing in the world to produce a sermon. Our answer is, Let him try it. It may be he will manage one; but how about those that are to follow? Ask the candidate for Orders what he thinks about the duty of



preaching. Ask the deacon whether his first sermon did not occasion much anxiety. And those of us who have had so much preaching to do that we have nearly come to complete the fourth thousand, will tell you that the sermon is still the subject uppermost in our thoughts. A country squire, who was in the habit of addressing his workpeople every week, once said to me, "I marvel more and more how you clergy are able to go on preaching year after year;" and John Bright is reported to have said something to the same effect. It is a difficult matter to prepare a sermon; beyond our ability, it may be, ever to accomplish a good one. But we would not have it otherwise. For difficulty inspires energy; the work of God should make demands upon all the faculties or talents He may have given us; difficulty sends us to our knees; casts us upon God; calls for faith in the grace of Ordination; and we would not set before our people, still less would we offer to the Master, that which has cost us nothing.

And here I would address myself to two questions. I.—How many sermons ought we to be expected to produce? I say emphatically only one a week. For, though a paper comes to us every year with this question, "How many services have you on Sunday? Is a sermon or lecture given at each?" yet you will observe that the Prayer-book only seems to require one on the Sunday and one on a Holy Day. I, like most of my brethren in the ministry, am expected to do much more. Consequently I may often have twaddled, perhaps seldom preached. One a week is about as much as most of us are good for. The present Bishop of Winchester once wrote to me that he could not help me in Lent, for, as vicar of S. Pancras, five original sermons were required of him every week. A man possessing his remarkable gifts may be equal to this; but we, whose powers are not above the average, who, not being clever, have what is next best to it, the consciousness that we are not, we cannot attempt anything like it. So, if the people will have two sermons rather than one, I counsel the taking of one subject and dividing it into two parts, giving the first half in the morning and the second in the evening. And then it may be, alas, it is but a possibility, that some will deny themselves to the extent of dining early on Sunday and attending the evening service. Or, why should not a written discourse be carefully delivered in the morning, and the same repeated in a more popular form in the evening? I say that people cannot digest more than one sermon; and if, after the prayers, there were an interval of a few minutes, those might leave the church who had been present in the morning, and some outsiders might come in.

II.—What should be the length of sermons? I know that it is the fashion to demand that they should be shorter. A man like the late Mr. Vaughan, of Brighton, may be able to put into a fifteen minutes' sermon what another could not say in thirty, and he had an eclectic congregation. Many of those who ask for shorter sermons would not be ill-pleased if there were none. These are the people, some of them, at least, whom the preacher sees leaving the church as he ascends the pulpit. To say nothing of what they may thus lose in the way of godly counsel and admonition, I hold this to be bad form, certainly most discouraging to the preacher, while they can scarcely escape the suspicion of wishing to evade the offertory. When speeches in Parliament are shorter; when a charge to the jury is delivered in fifteen minutes, then we may begin to listen to such as plead for sermons of a quarter of an hour. Only once a week have we precious souls before us, and, as the ambassadors of the King of Kings, we may not forget that we bring the Bread of Life to the hungry, that someone is probably asking for help, for guidance, or comfort, and we dare not curtail our message. What, then, is necessary to the production of a fairly good sermon? Among the many requisites that I might mention I will only allude

to four. (1) Selection ; and the laity may not know that the choosing of the text is often a matter of great anxiety. As far as possible this should be done *early*. Thomas Scott, the commentator, always chose his text on the previous Sunday night. It was said of the late Bishop Wigram that he preached a good sermon when he had three months in which to think of it ; and many of Mr. Moody's addresses occupied him six months in their production. Where shall the text be found ? Of course, in the first place, in the appointed lessons of the Church. But many a text is to be found in parochial visiting, at the sick bed, in conversation with a doubter or an enquirer. If "The house-going priest makes a church-going people," it is also true that the house-going pastor will be the sympathetic preacher. And at times I have found a sermon most useful, both to myself and my hearers, when one of my parishioners has asked me to preach upon some particular passage. Our minds naturally run in a groove ; we are all too apt to repeat ourselves ; and such a suggested text may compel us to look at Christian truth from an entirely new standpoint. And I am sure my brethren of the clergy will agree with me that we have often been happiest in preaching when we have given to our people that which has been made a blessing to our own souls—some precious view of truth which has come to us as we studied God's word in the closet.

(2) Preparation. Some evangelists tell us they never think of their addresses beforehand. They trust to the inspiration of the moment. If a minister acted on this rule he would soon be preaching to empty benches, and serve him right. Richard Cecil said, "I am not inspired, therefore I prepare." Let us never forget Bacon's aphorism that "writing makes the correct man ; speaking makes the ready man ; reading makes the full man." I plead for the study of works written by men of all schools of thought in the Church. More than that, I think we ought to acquaint ourselves with the writings of men outside her pale. When I cease to be a learner, then I must cease to teach. And valuable help I acknowledge to have received when consulting the Commentary of Dr. Gill the Baptist, and Adam Clarke the Wesleyan, as well as from the devout and beautiful meditations of Isaac Williams. Then it is an excellent plan to take the subject of the coming sermon as the basis of instruction in the sick room. Many a sweet thought upon it will thus occur to us. And oh ! the joy of preparation, of digging deep beneath the surface of God's Word, for this is the Word of the Holy Ghost. Often I wish that I could spend my life in my study ; and I like to think that one of the joys of heaven will be the study of God's Holy Word. And here, as in the selection of the text, the people have a work of preparation to do. When on their knees, let them remember the minister in his study ; let them ask that the right word may be given him ; then, if they have to find fault with him, they will assuredly do so in all gentleness. Criticism is so easy ; intercession is so difficult.

(3) Adaptation. By this I mean the polishing of the rough material, the sharpening of the King's arrows. I often wonder at the long words which some preachers use in addresses to children. Speaking as one who has had some experience in this matter, I say that a sermon to children demands at least as much study and careful preparation as a sermon to adults. And here I would mention the seizing and making use of that which is at the moment occupying men's thoughts—as Mr. Spurgeon once preached upon election when a general election was imminent. Apt allusion to something in the newspapers may be very timely. People like to know that their pastor is not a recluse ; that he interests himself in the affairs of men ; and explanation to simple folk is often much needed. A great man, not the less great because little known, had a singular gift in this matter. Speaking of a shield, he said—"Many of you have no idea what it is, having never seen one ; but

if you will take the lid off the pot and will put your arm through the handle, you will have something very like a shield."

(4) Proclamation. The best sermons in every age have been written. But how much depends upon delivery. The sermons of Wesley seem dry and uninteresting, yet when delivered by him produced a marvellous impression. Dr. Pusey once preached a sermon on the Judgment, and as he spoke, women fell into hysterics, or were carried fainting out of church. Yet those who read it now wonder that it was so. Whether a sermon be written or not, let it be spoken rather than read. It would never do for the barrister to read his address to the jury. If we speak as naturally as in a room, as solemnly as in a death room; if we speak as those who stand in the presence of the Lord of Hosts, *men*, and not only women, will listen. And oh! the joy of preaching when the sermon has been steeped in prayer; when we go from the presence chamber of the King with the burden of the Lord; when we preach because we feel. Those who remember the late Mr. Vores, of Hastings; those who have seen in the pulpit one who has spoken at many of these gatherings, but whom, I fear, we are not again to listen to at a Church Congress—these will testify that since the days of S. Stephen the faces of some have been seen as the face of an angel.

And when all is over, and the sermon that has cost so much thought and study has been preached, what is it? It is probably a very poor production. If a man thinks otherwise, let him look at it ten years hence, and if, generally, he is not ashamed of it, I shall think little of him. Do not imagine that we are satisfied with our sermons. God is our witness. We go into the pulpit with an awful sense of responsibility, and we come back with the humbling consciousness of having how feebly discharged it. Some probably will be ready with praise, will say it was a beautiful sermon. But remember that only one in a hundred knows what a good sermon ought to be, and that with many manner does instead of matter; and, as sometimes even in a Church Congress, declamation passes for argument. Speaking on quite another subject, a writer of fiction has said, "Four-fifths of your work will be indifferent, but it is worth doing for the sake of the one-fifth that will be good." And whether our sermons be good or bad, as your Grace once wrote to a dear friend of mine, who, looking at his pastoral work, mourned over shortcomings and small results, "We can but do our best and leave it with Christ."

## DISCUSSION.

The Rev. G. S. REANEY, Bickley, Kent.

It has been said that preaching has made Nonconformity the power that it is in England to-day. What sort of preaching? All sorts. Some of the greatest of Nonconformist preachers read their sermons, and read them closely. Jonathan Edwards, the great American preacher, read his sermon as closely as Canon Twells did his address, and Edwards moved his congregation with the most wonderful power to the expression of the most profound penitence. How is it that Nonconformist ministers are, in the average, better preachers than the clergy? They must preach, and if they cannot preach, they go! What the Nonconformists do, with many less advantages, the clergy ought to do, and must. But let it not be forgotten that the clergy are not only preachers, they are priests and pastors. Let the younger clergy be as earnest and diligent to become as good preachers as they are priests, and they will succeed. In both preaching and education the clergy have the advantage over Nonconformists. The strain upon the clergy is much less than the strain of a Nonconformist pastorate. If the clergyman has to make bricks without straw, the Nonconformist has often to make bricks without clay. What preaching has done for

Nonconformity it may do for the Church, and more. Now, the Nonconformist preachers do not cross our paths either as priests or pastors. In that respect the clergy stand in a splendid solitude. They, the Nonconformist preachers, run us very hard as preachers. They, I know, have formed a deep determination to win over this land to practical and spiritual Nonconformity. What if they succeed? Will they destroy the Church? No; but they will set such a limit to your priesthood and pastorate as shall make it as if for tens of thousands there shall be no Church of the Living God. We must be preachers as well as priests and pastors. But two factors go to make the preacher. There is the man with his message, and there are the hearers. The Nonconformist congregation are better hearers than Church people. I have heard more than one clergyman say, "We don't make much of the sermon here," and more than once I have been told by a courteous vicar or churchwarden to "cut it short." Some congregations are haunted by the gentleman with a somewhat vacant and vacuous face, ornamented with an irritating eyeglass, who, so soon as the text is announced, consults his watch, and continues so to meet the preacher until the ascription is pronounced, and then he drops his eyeglass and puts his watch in his pocket. The preacher who comes into the pulpit with honest labour and by the secret ways of prayer, and who dares humbly to stand up in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, owes it to himself, to his office, and to God, to treat that sort of person with supreme contempt.

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LEWIS T. DIBDIN, Esq., Chancellor of the Dioceses of Durham  
Exeter, and Rochester.

THERE has been a great deal of criticism which I think is so far just that it reflects a feeling, which is very prevalent among Churchmen generally, that there is something wrong in the condition of preaching. But there is one consolation which my clerical friends may lay to their own souls—if their preaching is defective, lay preaching is a great deal worse. Laymen, like the organist of San Francisco, of whom we heard yesterday, I dare say do their best, but they stand quite as much in need of sympathetic consideration as that unfortunate gentleman. There are certain difficulties which the clergy have to contend with which are due to the laity themselves. In the first place, we have been told that sermons are too frequent, and so they are. But why is it impossible to have fewer sermons? Because the laity will not have it. Clergymen will tell you that it is impossible to drop one sermon on the Sunday. Their parishioners will not have it. Again, have you ever noticed how unencouraging, I do not want to say stolid, people look in church? Even our nearest and dearest, if I may venture to say so, do not look their best in church, and if that is so with the narrow horizon of a single pew, what must it be from the pulpit, when you look out on a whole churchful? A good deal has been said against written sermons. I quite admit that most people prefer to listen, and find it easier to listen, to a spoken sermon rather than a read one, but there is another side of the question. A spoken sermon, to be properly done, requires a great deal more preparation than a written sermon. There must come times in the history of every clergyman when he cannot give the detachment of thought which is necessary for the preparation of a spoken sermon. That is the time when it seems to me written sermons are in their right place, and I venture to say, particularly to young clergymen, that it is not a wise thing to get out of the habit of writing sermons. If you write a sermon, you must take a certain amount of pains, but men can easily get into the habit of mere talking without any thought at all. Such talking is valueless. There is no reason why written sermons need be dull. I notice two things. As to manner, although a man does preach a written sermon, it does not at all follow that he should behave "Like a crow in a gutter," as an Irish bishop once said of his own clergy. Well, then, as to matter. I have nothing to do with theology, and it would be presumptuous of me to say anything about it. But what I want to say is that sermons ought to be made informing. We do not hear enough of facts. Surely it is not too much to ask the clergy to inform themselves, and to keep themselves in the forefront of knowledge. It may be presumptuous, but you will forgive me for saying that the danger before the clergy at the present moment is lest the reading and knowledge of the average English clergyman should sink below those of the average educated layman.

**The Rev. E. C. S. GIBSON, Principal of the Theological College, Wells, and Prebendary of Wells.**

ONE of our greatest preachers, of whom death has lately robbed us—the late Archbishop Magee—used to divide preachers into three classes—the man you cannot listen to, the man you can listen to, and the man you cannot help listening to. We cannot all get into the highest class, but we might all strive to get out of the lowest. I only rose to speak because, from what has fallen from some of the previous speakers, I thought the meeting might carry away the impression that the Church of England is doing nothing to get out of this lowest class. There are hundreds of Oxford men who will own a deep debt of gratitude to the Chair of Pastoral Theology, and to the lectures of the Bishop of Lincoln on preaching. Not only did he lecture himself on the subject, but he provided instruction in the delivery of sermons. His work was ably carried on by his successor in the same chair, the present Dean of Christ Church. The same kind of work has been done at Cambridge, and at every one of the theological colleges. These are all doing what they can to train men in the work of preaching. As to extempore preaching, we ought to recollect that there are sermons and sermons. While in some places, and for some classes of audiences, there can be no question that extempore preaching is absolutely necessary, there are other kinds of audiences who, I think, would be in favour of written sermons. It seems to me that every clergyman ought to be capable of extempore preaching. Whether he should always preach extempore is another matter. For mission rooms, and for occasions of that character, extempore preaching of course is better. The working-classes will hardly listen to a man who cannot “talk.” They like extempore preaching. But there are certainly others who prefer a written sermon. I am thankful for the testimony that some of the laity have borne to this fact this afternoon; and surely we should never forget that England’s greatest preacher, who for twenty years held those vast congregations spellbound under the dome of St. Paul’s, where his audience included men and women of all classes, spoke straight from his heart, but always from the manuscript. The real cause of bad preaching, it seems to me, is that the clergy are overworked, by reason of the short addresses they have to give here and there, exclusive of the two carefully prepared sermons they have to get ready for Sunday. If we had fewer sermons it would be far better. I often think of that saying attributed to the great Bishop Andrewes, who, as a writer remarked, knew as much about it as most men, “He that preacheth twice a day, prayeth at least once.”

**The Rev. J. H. LESTER, Rector of Lexden, Colchester; Prebendary of Lichfield.**

I THINK we shall go away from this Congress with the impression that the discussion this afternoon has been one of the most interesting and profitable we have had. I wish to make two suggestions on what we have heard. When I spoke the other day, it was with reference to the enormous difficulty there is, owing to the demands made upon a clergyman’s time, which prevents his finding the leisure absolutely necessary to a man who undertakes the solemn responsibility of preaching. The secret of speaking is, after all, to have something to say, and surely we must be able to draw out of our treasure “things new and old.” I know nothing more helpful to one who desires to be an acceptable preacher as systematic study and devotional reading. I would say, let us by all means preach once on Sunday, and then, instead of preaching on other occasions, we may engage in what is a most delightful occupation to the clergyman himself, namely, to give a simple exposition of Scripture. I believe there is a deep longing in the hearts of people for simple exposition of the Word of God—for less exhortation and more instruction. I believe at the present day there is a serious demand on the preaching power of the Church of England in a certain direction, and that is to lay before the people the great and deep mysteries of the Gospel in simple language and according to “the proportion of faith.” There is a beauty in every individual truth of the Christian faith that belongs to itself. There is a beauty also in the relationship of one truth to another—what an artist would probably call the composition of his picture. To be able to unfold these in a manner that will win the hearer’s attention can only be gained by wide and

systematic study. It is well worth our while to give time, pains, and effort to this task, but we need to choose between various possible occupations, not bestowing an undue proportion of time upon the discharge of small duties to the neglect of those which are really great. Preachers, especially mission preachers, require some knowledge of what is called psychology, as well as a deeper knowledge of theology. Sermons which penetrate the hearer do so by two avenues, the mind and the heart, and it may often be necessary to alternate between the two. When the appeal to the reason begins to fail in effect, interest may be recalled by touching the heart. Lastly, I believe a mistake, a great mistake, has been made in recent years by indiscriminately depreciating sermons. There is room for improving them, and every motive for doing so, for they are a mighty instrument in our hands.

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### The Rev. ARCHIBALD WHITE.

IT has been my privilege for over twenty-one years to hold a chaplaincy on the Continent in the southern part of Germany called Baden-Baden. As you may well imagine, I have attentively observed the customs of the German clergy around me in this matter of preaching, not only the Protestant clergy, but also those belonging to the Old Catholic body. Now and then, though very seldom, I have had an opportunity of hearing the Roman Catholic priests. In every instance I have found them deliver their sermons in a splendid manner, entirely without manuscripts or notes, as far as I have been able to perceive. Not only so, but the German clergy are ready on every needful occasion to give a really good lecture without manuscript or notes. In my own career, I sometimes use written sermons and sometimes spoken. I firmly believe that in the course of years, the manuscript system in the Church of England will die out gradually. Surely the instances quoted of our Blessed Lord preaching upon the Mount and denouncing the Pharisees and Scribes, and of Paul preaching on Mars Hill and in the synagogue, and of S. Peter's famous sermon on the Pentecostal Day, and of S. John the Baptist's marvellous preaching on the advent of the Saviour, are instances to us that if a man is to move the hearts and minds of the people, he must speak to them heart to heart and soul to soul. I remember a country clergyman who held a valuable living, who prepared a course of sermons which he delivered year by year. The congregation knew them by heart. The New Year's Day sermon commenced, "Our little annual circle is again complete, and we are at the commencement of another year." The congregation as they went to church would speak to each other jokingly, and would say, "This morning is 'our little annual circle,' is it not?" Surely in a revived life of the Church of England, the manuscript sermon, which has been liable to such great abuse in the past, will gradually die out in the future.

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## EXHIBITION THEATRE.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 7TH, 1892.

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The Right Rev. the BISHOP of DOVER in the Chair.

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## THE CHURCH'S WORK AT THE SEASIDE AMONG

(1) RESIDENTS.

(2) VISITORS.

## PAPERS.

The Very Rev. P. F. ELIOT, D.D., Dean of Windsor.

IN one sense the work of the Church must be always and invariably the same. In whatever circumstances she may be placed—to whatever region of the world she may reach—her great work can never change. Always and everywhere she has the same message to deliver, always and everywhere the same holiness to train and cherish. No circumstances can be conceived in which the Church, if she is true to her vocation, could ever cease to proclaim the Gospel of the love of God to sinful man, or in which she could ever cease to supply those means of grace by which men are helped to grow into “the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.” In this respect, the work of the Church at the seaside must exactly resemble the work of the Church anywhere else—be it in the quiet villages or the crowded cities of our own land, or in the far-off places of the earth to which the missionary has found his way. She was founded and equipped and sent forth, on purpose that she might preach the Gospel to the sons of men, and persuade them and help them to live as “children of God.” But she is not tied down to any one set of methods for doing her work. It is conceivable that the varied peculiarities of different ages, or different races or characters of men, or different localities, might require perfectly different methods of action. And, accordingly, the Church, whose great work is the same everywhere, might, with infinite adaptability to time and circumstances, exhibit every variety of method in doing her great work.

What we are now invited to consider is whether in seaside places any special methods are called for in order that the work of the Church may be done efficiently and successfully.

I.—There are certainly *special difficulties* which Church work has to encounter at the seaside. At most seaside places (except such as are mere villages or great ports) there is a constantly-changing population. Places of this kind lay themselves out to attract visitors. Their climate is advertised as the softest or the most bracing on the whole coast—they are English Mentones or Switzerland at home. Captivating pictures, with sea and sky of the deepest blue, display themselves at the railway stations. One place offers to drive away the last twinge of gout or rheumatism, another offers roses to the palest

cheek and covering to the barest bones. The result is that, whether for health or for amusement, there is a constant flow of different people to these seaside places. They come and they go; and then others come and go.

Hence arises one of the difficulties of Church work at the seaside. The residents, who may be expected to form the regular congregation at the churches, are supplemented Sunday after Sunday by the influx of visitors, so that a considerable portion of the congregation changes from Sunday to Sunday. The difficulty that arises is two-fold. There is the material difficulty of finding places for the succession of visitors. "No difficulty at all," some will say, who probably have not had the experience; "let the church be free and open, and first come first served." But this plan will only increase the difficulty. The result would be almost to prevent the existence of any regular congregation at all, and to kill all that sense of spiritual kinship between those who in the same parish worship in the same church, and kneel at the same altar from week to week. The difficulty is best met—if the advocates of free and open churches everywhere will let me say so—by the letting of seats to be reserved up till the time when the service commences, when every unoccupied seat should become free to anyone. This plan secures a regular congregation, which may be made the instrument of countless religious and charitable agencies, whilst at the same time it provides, as far as possible, for the chance visitors. From a personal experience of upwards of twenty years in a large and populous seaside town, I can vouch for the success of this plan.

The other difficulty arising from this constant change of a large portion of the congregation is a spiritual one. It is impossible for the clergyman to become really acquainted with all who thus become his parishioners for longer or shorter periods. They are "birds of passage," to whom he can and to whom he is bound to offer the privilege of public ministrations, frequent Communion, and frequent services; but to whom he can hardly be a pastor.

There is, however, a consideration to be set against this difficulty, to which I will call attention presently.

Another great difficulty with which the Church has to contend in seaside places is the vehemence of *party spirit*. For some reason or other a town at the seaside seems to offer special facilities for the growth and vigour of this evil thing. Whether it is that many of the residents and visitors at these seaside places have much time upon their hands, and are, therefore, ready, as idle people always are, to do mischief, or whether it is that there is something peculiar in the atmosphere of the seaside, I cannot say; but, from whatever cause, the bacillus of party spirit seems to find a congenial home in these places. If you want to find a thorough-going, down-right, red-hot bigot, man or woman, who is absolutely intolerant of every difference of opinion, and who, in other days, would have readily burnt all who did not agree with him, you had better look for him at a fashionable leisurely town at the seaside. It is usually at the seaside where the differences between High Churchmen and Low Churchmen and Broad Churchmen are specially exaggerated and widened. And this is a real hindrance to the true work of the Church. People get to think that the Kingdom of God is denunciation and avoidance of their High



Church, or Low Church, or Broad Church brethren, instead of being "Righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." I am sure that many seaside clergy have deeply lamented this state of things, and I hold that every clergyman at the seaside is bound to set his face against it. He must refuse to allow himself to be made, what so many will want to make him, the mouthpiece and the head of a party. He must refuse to waste his spiritual force in attacking his brethren. Seaside clergy must show, if I may venture to say so, as having been one of the number for so many years, that, while they differ in opinion, as men of independent minds and freedom of thought must differ, yet that they can and do love as brethren, and that the love of Christ binds them more together than differences of ritual, or even of doctrine, keep them apart.

There is another difficulty in the way of the work of the Church at the seaside. A watering-place is the favourite haunt of what is known as *unsectarianism*. There is something very attractive in the idea of unsectarianism. "Let us forget all our differences, and work together simply as Christians," has a pleasant sound about it. Let the Churchman forget the Threefold Ministry and the Sacraments, and many a precious doctrine of the Faith; let the Baptist forget his conscientious objection to infant baptism; let the Congregationalist forget his peculiar ideas of Church government; let the Wesleyan forget his Arminianism, and the Calvinist his Calvinism; let the Plymouth Brother forget his objection to the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and the Christian Ministry; let the Quaker forget his rejection of the Sacraments of the Gospel; let everybody forget everything that everybody else objects to, and let all stand together on the platform of a common Christianity. It all sounds brotherly and catholic, and is meant to be so. No doubt good is done. There must always be fruit where there are earnest wills and praying hearts. But the whole tendency of this movement is towards Dissent and away from the Church; or else the disciples of unsectarianism gradually and unconsciously drift into a separate sect themselves, without a Creed, without a Ministry, and without Sacraments. Many of our earnest Churchpeople, especially those of the middle classes and of the class of servants, are drawn away from church to the unsectarian hall, and gradually become unsettled in their attachment to the Church.

How is the Church to deal with this seaside difficulty? It must, of course, be dealt with in the spirit of gentleness, forbearance, and love. No hot or bitter or unkind word must ever be said against the movement. But I am persuaded that the true way to meet it is for the clergy to teach their people, plainly and lovingly, what their exceeding privileges are as Churchpeople, to throw the warmth of true spiritual fire into all their services and sermons, to foster such a spiritual attraction to the Church that shall be proof against any counter-attraction, from whatever quarter it may come.

There is a difficulty of quite another kind, to which I may be allowed to advert for one moment. In most seaside places of any size there is a large number of lodging-houses. The lodging-house keepers and their servants make up a considerable portion of the population, and these people are very hard-worked, on Sundays as well as on weekdays, and the servants especially find it extremely difficult to attend Church

services, and are consequently in danger of gradually drifting into habits of indifference. I would suggest the formation in seaside parishes of guilds or associations of lodging-house keepers, with simple rules and a sensible president, providing especially for opportunities for servants to attend Holy Communion and other services. I would also suggest the establishment of a servants' Bible class, at some convenient hour, to which lodging-house servants, as well as other servants, might be invited to come, and to which their masters and mistresses might be exhorted to let them come. I had myself a large class of this kind for many years at Bournemouth, out of which were drawn many candidates for Confirmation, and many earnest and steadfast Communicants.

II.—But if there are certain special difficulties connected with the work of the Church at the seaside, there are also, undoubtedly, certain special opportunities.

A great number of people come and go at these places; and accordingly a preacher preaches to a far larger number of people at the seaside than in most other places. This fact is to be set against the disadvantage of the impossibility of pastoral relations with those who thus come and go. A clergyman in a large seaside town has the opportunity of preaching to a great variety of people from all parts of the country. It is a great opportunity, to be eagerly seized. The seaside preacher should give a large portion of his time and efforts and prayers to his sermons. It is not eloquence or learning which are chiefly wanted—though learning and eloquence, and anything else which can help to make a way for the great message into men's souls, are to be greatly valued—but a definite and earnest setting forth of the great truths of redeeming love, and the infinite application of those truths to the needs of men's souls, and the endless variety of men's lives, this—together with constant and careful exposition of Holy Scripture—is the great opportunity of the seaside clergyman. As the man who preaches to a full congregation in S. Paul's Cathedral has access to many more souls than he who preaches to a handful in a country church, so the preacher at the seaside has a wider ocean into which to throw the Gospel net than most of his brethren.

Then the Church has a great opportunity at the seaside for reaching the young. A great many young people are brought to the seaside for their holidays in the summer. All honour to those who endeavour, by attractive gatherings and addresses on the sands, to reach the hearts of young people. But why should the Church leave this most important work to be done by others? Has she no methods of her own, or can she devise none for the doing of this work? Surely, at any rate, a Sunday Afternoon Children's Service in Church should form a part of the Church's work in every seaside parish; only it must be a children's service of the right sort. Ordinary Evening Prayer, or the Litany, with a dull address or a few dry questions afterwards, would prove the opposite of attractive. On the other hand, rollicking hymns, and a rollicking address might, perhaps, be attractive, but could hardly be beneficial. A proper children's service, with plenty of response and plenty of singing, followed by a bright, loving address which they could understand, or by a well-prepared and skilful catechising, would go far to reach and influence their young hearts. It is a great opportunity, which the seaside clergy should not miss.

There is another class of persons who specially claim the Church's care at the seaside. I mean the sick and the convalescent. A great many sick persons are sent to the seaside, and a great many who are just recovering from sickness. In both cases, the ministrations of the clergyman are, as a rule, cordially welcomed. Seaside clergy should be diligent visitors of the sick, and they may be able to associate with themselves in this work some godly laymen and laywomen. It is difficult work; it is wearing work; it draws largely on our sympathy and our wisdom; it requires all our spiritual force—but it has its great rewards in awakened consciences, in renewed lives, in comforted hearts. Nowhere, except perhaps in our large hospitals, is there so large a scope for the Church's care for the sick as in many of our seaside parishes.

I must say one word, in conclusion, with respect to those places by the sea in which seamen live or to which seamen come in large numbers. For the seamen, as for all other people and classes, the Church has a work to do. There are two societies which have been formed for the special purpose of carrying the ministrations of the Church to seamen. There is The Seamen's Mission Society and the S. Andrew's Waterside Mission. Both of these societies are doing admirable work, and deserve warm support; indeed, without them, the Church would be quite unable to reach that large part of our population who "go down to the sea in ships." May I venture to ask that members of Congress, meeting as they do at this seaside place, and being thus reminded of our great seafaring population, will give their support to these societies?

May God bless all the work of the Church at the seaside! May He give her an increase of zeal and wisdom and love, that in all our seaside parishes the Cross of His Son Jesus Christ may be continually exalted, that His kingdom may be extended, that His Fatherly love may be more widely welcomed, and that His children may be more fashioned into His image and likeness.

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The Rev. J. EUSTACE BRENNAN, Vicar of S. Emmanuel,  
Clifton.

AT the close of last century our seaside watering places had already entered into competition with the more ancient and inland places of similar resort, such as Bath, Tunbridge Wells, Epsom, Buxton, Cheltenham, and others, and as the size and wealth of our manufacturing towns increased, life under such conditions became more exacting and intense, and with it the desire for some periodic season of rest, and especially for a seaside holiday. And, as every decade has passed, this feeling has become more and more general, until it has reached the great masses of the people, so that now the tradesman, the artisan, and even the labourer, with his family, look forward to the annual outing as an almost indispensable element in their lives. The consequence has been that a large number of the little hamlets and fishing villages on our coasts have grown with amazing rapidity. Now, while the importance of the Church's work in the great centres of industry has long been recognized, in the English seaside watering places (if we

except those of the front rank) it has been of a much slower growth, probably from narrow views as to the limits of the Church's responsibility, and certainly from the difficulty of providing church accommodation and church privileges, not merely for the residents, but for visitors. In the manufacturing town the staple industry of the place produces accumulating stores of wealth, but in the watering place, and especially in those resorted to by the humbler classes, there is nothing of the kind. There are usually no wealthy residents, and the influx of visitors in the summer months scarcely feel that they should be called upon to give, not simply for the maintenance, but for the actual creation of the material fabric of the church and its accessories. Accordingly, in such cases, it has only been by long, persistent, and self-denying labour on the part of the clergy, and of the more spiritually-minded and thoughtful of the laity, that these things have been ultimately provided. I think, therefore, that the inference is only just, that a well-ordered seaside parish under such conditions is deserving of special and emphatic commendation.

The influence which such a parish must exercise upon the visitors is simply incalculable; they are drawn, we should remember, from varied classes and a wide area, and during their brief stay they are freed, in some measure, at least, from those distracting temporal cares which so often crowd out the things of God, and, in the enforced leisure which ensues, opportunities occur for quietly reviewing the conditions of their lives. The fresh presentation of truth also, by clergy who are comparative strangers, often arrests attention, and leads to solemn penitential enquiry. The incrustations of years are broken, and the careless man or woman is won for Christ, and returns home to diffuse the light and power of a Christian life, and, if this be so, surely the clergy who have been called to occupy such positions ought not, as they sometimes do, to let their vicarages and go away for the season, but rather endeavour to realize their mission to the visitor, and be found constantly at their post as watchmen and workmen, ready to take advantage of the many opportunities which are sure to occur. Speaking from an experience which extends over eighteen years at Ramsgate, it is no exaggeration to say that there was not a season during that period in which, as vicar, I did not receive numerous visits from those who by attending the services of the church had been awakened to anxiety about spiritual things. Letters, too, constantly reached me from London and other places expressing grateful thanks for benefits received, and not a year passed without my being brought into personal contact with cases of exceptional interest—cases which have left an indelible impression upon the mind. Each summer as it came round brought with it innumerable opportunities of working for the Master, and the fact that the congregations were constantly changing almost every week, introducing hundreds of new faces, was in itself enough to stimulate spiritual sympathy to the utmost, and when brought by visiting into still closer contact with this changing stream, the interest was, if possible, intensified. It was as if you were placing your finger upon the pulse of religious thought and feeling in the country. Its differing phases unfolded themselves before you, and the many forms in which scepticism asserts itself were continually forced upon the attention; and, in regard to this latter, it was very instructive to note how, with almost unvarying certainty, the mode of life influenced the conclusions drawn.

Amongst doctors and men of science materialistic forms of thought usually prevailed ; amongst barristers and men given to literary pursuits the critical, the analytic, and the contemptuous were often sadly conspicuous ; and amongst business men a practical indifference, based upon an unconscious epicureanism, which was the product, not of any sustained intellectual effort, but in the main of a luxurious life. The growth of sceptic thought amongst ladies also was very apparent, and the influence of certain modern writers of fiction strikingly manifest. To be spiritually useful in such cases, I need hardly say that reading and thought are indispensably necessary. The season in such a parish is in many respects a parochial mission of the best kind, because it is undertaken by the parochial clergy in the ordinary exercise of their ministry (assuming, of course, that they are personally fitted for the work). It is true there cannot be that systematic preparation on which so much of the success of a mission depends, but there may be, and there should be, much care and forethought, both of a ministerial and parochial nature. The lodging-house keepers and proprietors of boarding-houses and hotels should be previously called upon, and their help solicited. They should be asked to give the clergy a hint of any cases requiring special visitation. Cards should be hung up in every such house, giving the hours of Divine service, and, as far as possible, on the mantel-piece of each sitting room there should be a short address of hearty welcome to the visitors, the product of a meeting of such proprietors previously held, and signed by the vicar in their behalf, expressing their willingness to do all in their power to make them comfortable, and at the same time suggesting gently that the visitors, on their side, should remember Sunday, and by a little consideration make it possible for the servants to attend some, at least, of the services at their parish church. A box for the reception of the cards and addresses of visitors who may wish for a call from the clergy should be placed in the church porch ; from time to time attention should be called to its existence, and once a week the cards should be collected, and the desired visits paid. The residents also of the parish who may remain for the season should be induced to assist, by showing attention to strangers coming to church, and providing them, as far as possible, with seats and hymn books. In a word, everything should be done to make the visitors feel that, though absent from home, they are still under the loving care of God's Church. If the vicar has a good house and garden, he may do much good by inviting from time to time some of the visitors for a little social intercourse. This they will, as a general rule, greatly appreciate, and it will enable him to bring spiritual help to many who would otherwise be lost sight of. I know that there are some of the clergy at the seaside who look upon the periodic influx of strangers as an unwelcome intrusion, which interferes injuriously with the rights and privileges of the parishioners ; but surely whatever vestige of truth there may be in the allegation, such a view, in its narrow exclusiveness, is utterly unworthy of the minister of God. As Churchmen, we ought to feel it a happy privilege to provide for the spiritual needs of our brethren who may come to us from a distance. The blood that beats strongly at the great nervous centres of the body ought to be felt at the extremities, and the sparkling waters which in those bright summer months so gently break upon the shores of our country, and in which the masses of our people

take such evident delight, ought to be a symbol to us of the importance of providing also for them, as far as in us lies, an abundant supply of that living water, the "streams whereof" make glad the City of God.

It is clear that the advent of crowds must entail increased responsibility. Special and additional services should be provided according to the need of the people, and these should be short, bright, and attractive. The several services in the Book of Common Prayer should not be piled upon each other, but separated as far as authority will allow, and the teaching from the pulpit, and specially on Sunday evening, should, as a general rule, embody, at least to some extent, the elements of a mission address. The fundamental verities on which the very life of the soul depends should be constantly inculcated, and pressed vigorously home upon the consciences of the hearers.

But even this is not enough. In every watering place there are masses of people who never come to church, and who apparently do not go to any place of worship, and enquiry seems to show that the proportion of such persons is on the increase, especially in the lower and upper ranks of society. Now, if the Church is to do her duty, it is clear that some effort must be made to reach them, but what that effort should be in all cases it is difficult to say. With regard to the upper class, I fear they can only be effectively dealt with by the individual attention and influence of the parish clergy where they permanently reside, but for the middle and lower classes services of a suitable character should be provided. In years gone by I have tried open-air services of all kinds, and in some instances they have been very effective. On such occasions a strong choir and plenty of music is an indispensable adjunct. But, under the most favourable circumstances, to conduct an open-air service efficiently is exceedingly difficult. The moving character of the congregation prevents that reverence and attention which is so needful if any deep impression is to be produced. There is also the possibility that at any moment the thread of your discourse may be interrupted by the remarks of a Socialist or Freethinker in the audience. If the fitting reply is forthcoming, such an interruption tends rather to increase than to diminish the interest. But the fitting reply is, under such conditions, not always forthcoming. On the whole, a tent, or some building near the place where the greatest crowd assembles, is much the more preferable. For the past eight years I have conducted services in a tent holding from seven hundred to eight hundred, and on Sunday evenings, after the services in the church were over, it was usually filled to overflowing, so much so that the side awnings were constantly let down, and a vast crowd beyond its limits would form part of the audience. The services consisted of a selection from the Book of Common Prayer, a Psalm or two, a lesson, several hymns, and an address, and if at the close the people were not inclined to go, which was often the case, I usually delivered a second short address, and always appointed a time and place where those who were spiritually anxious might see the clergy. This individual dealing and patient following up of the impressions made is of vital importance. The whole was quietly and reverently conducted, and the results have been of the most encouraging character. I admit it is hard work after the evening service in the parish church, with a crowded congregation, to commence another, and to deliver often two consecutive

addresses, but it is well worth any amount of labour. At the close of each season we received a large number of communications indicating the spiritual help and blessing which had been experienced, and in these letters might be found the reiterated confession that these services had led the writers to the church which for years previously they had habitually neglected. But that these services may be a real success, it is all important—(1) that the position of the tent be as near as possible to the place where the largest crowd collects on Sunday evening; (2) that the services must be freer than the fuller and more orderly services of the parish church; and (3) that the clergyman who conducts them be fitted for the work. I am well aware that there are many watering places where no suitable position for a tent can possibly be obtained, nor is there any room available which could be conveniently adapted for the purpose. Under such conditions it seems to me that the open-air service is the only alternative; but, if it is attempted, it should be done reverently and well, for failure in these respects is not merely negatively harmless, but often positively injurious.

There is another class of visitors which make their periodic appearance, at least in some of our watering-places. I mean the fishermen, of whom there are 124,000 in the United Kingdom, exclusive of a vastly larger number of sailors and boatmen. In Ramsgate, during the mackerel and herring seasons, we had very considerable contingents of these men, who came from Brighton, Shoreham, Cornwall, and the French coast. Their simple habits of life rendered them comparatively easy of access; a few social gatherings, such as a tea or supper at the Sailors' or Trawler Boys' Homes, would break the ice, and put us at once in touch with the men. They would listen attentively to suitable addresses, and would come to the services at our Sailors' Church. But to enter upon such a theme, however tempting, would lead me too far. Suffice it to say that the Church has much noble, self-sacrificing work yet to undertake amongst our fishermen and seafaring population, and I am glad that she is becoming increasingly alive to her responsibilities in this respect. From these considerations, then, I think we may fairly conclude that there are few positions in the Church where the clergy in this country may exercise a wider influence for good than amongst the visitors at our seaside parishes; and the spiritual blessing which very many of them receive, they will carry with them to their homes, and, if true to their principles and privileges, that blessing will grow and fructify, and so the Church of God in this land will become an increasing power for good amongst the people.

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The Rev. M. WOODWARD, Vicar of Folkestone.

THE experience of upwards of forty-one years in a seaside parish such as this, is, I presume, the reason for my being invited to take part in the discussion of this subject. I purpose to confine myself to the consideration of the Church's work in a seaside parish among *visitors*, although, of course, much that I shall say will be equally applicable to residents.

It has been calculated that about thirty thousand strangers, from all parts of England, visit this place every year in the summer months, and stay at an average from six to eight weeks in our midst. For the time being they become to all intents and purposes parishioners, and have a claim, a moral claim at least, upon the ministrations of the parish priest, both in public and private. Just when the clergy of inland parishes are taking their holiday, their congregations having to a considerable extent migrated to the seaside, the clergy of such parishes as this necessarily find their labours and responsibilities vastly increased; and it has always seemed to me a paramount duty of a seaside rector or vicar to remain at his post during what is termed the "season."

The work of the Church at such a time partakes to a certain extent of a mission character, and naturally subdivides itself into—public ministrations in the house of God, and private ministrations to individual souls needing spiritual aid.

In regard to the former of these, the case is rendered the more peculiar from the fact that the resident population to a large extent vacate their houses in favour of the new-comers, so that the parish church, which should always be free and open, becomes filled with a congregation chiefly composed of strangers. And here allow me to say that whilst cordially approving of the general principle of free and open churches, there are, I must admit, counteracting disadvantages in a seaside place, to which one cannot but feel anxious at times that some remedy should be applied. For example, where the services are hearty and inspiring, and the music good, young persons for the most part, who have plenty of time on their hands, choose the more popular of the services, and no sooner are the doors opened than the greater part of the church is occupied, and all the most prominent sittings, and the best for hearing and seeing, are immediately filled. I do not know how it is in other places, but certainly here, where the church accommodation is by no means meagre in proportion to the population, many persons, especially in the season, come abnormally early, whilst others, especially men, who do not care to wait twenty or thirty minutes for the service to begin, are obliged to stand in the gangways, or turn away from the church altogether.

One remedy for this state of things, but only a very partial one, is the multiplication of services, and their adaptation to the conditions and requirements of different classes of persons. For example, I think there should be an early celebration of Holy Communion every Sunday at seven o'clock, to meet the needs of governesses, servants, and others; then a second celebration should follow at eight, and then again, a space should be found, if possible, for a special children's service before the eleven o'clock mattins, which is generally the popular service of the day.

I have tried such an extra service during the season for several years past, with more or less success; but I have found it difficult to persuade many of our visitors to send their children to such a separate and earlier service. Another remedial measure, suggested to me by a gentleman who had once or twice, I believe, been turned from the church doors for want of room, has only had a few weeks' trial; but I have reason to believe that it will be found effectual for good. It is the setting apart a portion of the body of the church, and reserving it for *men only*, until the service



begins. We are all, of course, anxious to see a due proportion of men at church; but when they find that all the sittings are occupied long before the service commences, it is scarcely to be wondered at if they turn away from the church door and find an excuse for non-attendance.

If the mattins service, followed by a short sermon, begins at a quarter before eleven, the choral celebration of Holy Communion, which is of course the great service of the day, may commence as a distinct service punctually at twelve o'clock. This will prove a great advantage to many persons to whom punctuality is of importance, as it will enable them to reach home soon after one o'clock. It will also meet the requirements of those who are not strong enough to attend the combined services of mattins, sermon, and Holy Communion, and it will remove an obstacle out of the way of a large number of devout persons, in whom there is a growing appreciation of the Holy Eucharist as the one divinely instituted service of thanksgiving and praise.

I would suggest that the Litany should be used as a separate service in the afternoon, say at three o'clock, and then should come at half-past three or four o'clock the special service for children. I need scarcely say that this service should be made as bright and attractive as it is possible to make it, by well-chosen hymns and taking tunes, and a carefully-prepared and animated catechetical instruction. If the Sunday school children attend this service, as I think they ought to do, special seats should be reserved for the children of visitors; and the parents and governesses of such children should be invited to attend the weekly teachers' meeting, in order that the little strangers may enjoy the same advantages in the way of preparation as the other children. If this plan is adopted, and the service and catechizing are what they ought to be, it is pretty certain that the children's service will become very popular, and be attended by a large proportion of adults, who should be encouraged to be present, ostensibly to hear their children instructed, but also in order that their own defective religious knowledge may be supplemented.

As to the particular form of service to be used, I will only say that I think it is to be regretted that a Committee of Convocation should not be appointed to draw up a special service for children, and thus give to such a service the *imprimatur* of the Church's authority. In lieu of this, it must of course be left to the parish priest, with the approval of the bishop, and with due regard to the latitude now generally recognized as permissible, to select such hymns, canticles and prayers as seem to him best adapted to the requirements of his children. The importance of such a special means of imparting religious instruction can scarcely be exaggerated. The children's service at the seaside affords exceptional opportunities of supplementing the unsatisfactory religious instruction too prevalent in many private schools, and in parishes where the Church's direction to the parish priest to instruct the children of his parish in their faith and duty, "openly in the church," is not obeyed. The seaside rector or vicar gathers around him, Sunday after Sunday, everyone's children, so to speak, and everyone's young parishioners, and finds in them a very attentive and impressionable auditory; the more so perhaps, because the children's service is new to them. The opportunity thus afforded of definite Church teaching and pressing home upon the little ones the practical duties of religion is a grand one. A

few years ago a stranger stopped me in the street, and asked me to pay a short visit to her children before they left the place. I did so, and when I had given them my blessing, and they had left the room, the mother handed me a cheque for £25, a thank-offering, she said, for the lesson of ready and willing obedience which her children had learned at the children's services, and which they had put into immediate practice. The change in their conduct was so marked that she asked her eldest little girl what had given rise to it, and the child's shy reply was, "The children's service." The baptism of the church is now tiled with that thank-offering.

At the evening service, at half-past six or seven o'clock, another great opportunity is afforded of teaching and publicly ministering to persons from every sort of parish and church and congregation. And if it be a disadvantage not to know anything of the special wants of those upon whom the preacher is endeavouring to enforce his message from God, there is a counterbalancing advantage in the consciousness which will often be experienced by the listener, that the penetrating arrow of conviction has come forth from a bow drawn at a venture, and can only, therefore, have been directed by the Holy Spirit of God.

The weekday services of the church should be, if possible, all which the Church expressly directs or suggests—viz., daily celebration of Holy Communion, mattins, and evensong. In the case of our parish church here, the daily services are all remarkably well attended, not only in the season, but throughout the year; and as regards occasional visitors, there will always be those who are glad to avail themselves of such opportunities. When asked, therefore, by the Committee, what extra services were proposed for the Congress week, I was obliged to say that I could add little or nothing to the existing ones; for a seaside parish such as this is a continual Congress, or gathering together of Church people from all parts, and all the year round.

Before bringing this part of my subject to a close, I venture to say a word or two on the interior arrangements of the church, and its appropriate adornment. Our great poet who has just passed from amongst us says in one of his poems, that "things seen are mightier than things heard." We all know how true this is, and how indelible are impressions received through the eye. This being so, I would make the church, in its internal adornment, and by pictorial illustration, a tacit but not less real teacher of the great truths of the Gospel. The most prominent object should of course be the sacred sign by which we were marked at our baptism, as indicating the very central truth of our religion, from which all other truths radiate. Entering such a church, "the wayfaring man, though a fool," could not err as to its meaning and high purpose. Some years ago I took my Sunday schools, for a treat, to a place some distance from here. The church, as cold and bare as whitewash could make it, was opened for our inspection, and I afterwards regretted that it was. The rough high seats were turned hither and thither, whilst a small table at the east end, entirely devoid of ornament, and backed up by a bare wall, was covered with a sheet of brown holland. When the person who was showing us over went jauntily within the rails and placed his hat upon the Lord's Table, one of the parents of the children quietly stepped up to my curate, and asked, "Is this the same religion as ours, sir?"

I know that there are some good people who think that religious art

is unspiritual, and tends to hide from view the truths which it purports to illustrate. I can only say—if such be the case—if, that is, the artistic delineation of scenes in the life and passion of our Blessed Lord, on walls and in windows, serves to turn away our thoughts from our deep need and His redeeming work, then away with religious art; let us have in our churches an unbroken monotony of plaster and whitewash. But if, on the other hand, religious art does exercise a solemnizing influence upon all who enter the House of God, enchaining the thoughts and fixing them upon things above; if it serves to deepen our religious impressions, and moves us to fervour and devotion, then let the seaside church be, what we have aimed at making the Parish Church of Folkestone—a model for others to copy.

Such a church, I venture to say, should be always open, so as to afford an opportunity to all who may desire it of private devotion and retirement. Among our visitors there will be many, living in hotels and boarding houses, to whom such an opportunity will be a real boon. It is now some twenty years ago since, in passing through the church yard, I found a lady trying the door, which was then locked, as most English churches still are. I afterwards became acquainted with her, and found that she had lost several children, and had gone through great trouble, and that she found consolation in going up to the House of the Lord, and spreading the letter of her sorrow, so to speak, before God. From that time forth the parish church here has been open from the eight o'clock service in the morning till Evensong. The fear of loss, or injury to property is in my opinion entirely groundless. Let the churches, not only in our watering places, but throughout the land, be always open, as they are across the water, and depend upon it people will learn to treat them with reverence, and use them as they ought to be used. A mission chapel attaching to our parish church is located in the very poorest part of this place. Its internal fittings are beautiful. The cross, candlesticks, silk hangings, poor box, etc., are not without their pecuniary value; but though open all day, nothing is ever touched or injured. The poor people living around have learned to esteem and reverence it as the House of the Lord. The same may be said of S. Peter's, S. Saviour's, and S. Michael's, Folkestone. An amusing story reached me the other day of an English lady who had crossed over to Boulogne. Ascending the steps of one of the churches, she timidly pushed open the door, and met a gentleman coming out. "May I look inside?" she asked. I must leave you to imagine the tone of astonishment in which he instantly replied, "*C'est une église, madame; c'est une église.*"

I must now turn for a few moments to the consideration of the more personal and individual work of the Church in a seaside parish. In all parochial missions conducted by the clergy, of whatever school of thought, it is undoubtedly the great aim of the missionary to come into personal contact with individual souls, and prescribe his remedy upon a thorough diagnosis of the case with which he has to deal; for it will be at once evident that the analogy between physical and moral disease is a very close one. The services and the sermons no more meet the case, or satisfy the spiritual cravings of some oppressed and anxious souls, than the general advice lately published by the Royal College of

Physicians will satisfy those in whom the much dreaded disease has already been developed. In regard to such a case the further direction is added—"Send at once for a medical man." Is not this precisely the line taken by the Church in her exhortation to Holy Communion which the priest is directed to read. Before reception of that blessed sacrament we must get rid of the foul stain of sin, and so "come holy and clean to such a heavenly feast." Then comes the general advice and prescription, and "the way and means thereto" is detailed in what follows. But there are cases which these general directions do not satisfy. There are those who require "further comfort and counsel." The earnest pressing home of the need of repentance has aroused their consciences, and intensified their sense of their deep need of pardon through the Precious Blood. Nay, the public reading perhaps of that very exhortation, in the church which they have left behind them, may have awakened in them a desire to avail themselves of the help proffered in the very next clause, "If there be any of you who by this means cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me." But how, and when, and where? No reasonable opportunity is afforded, no time appointed, no place specified where they may obtain this longed-for spiritual aid. What shall they do? Shall they go and ring the bell of the rectory or vicarage, and say they are in trouble, and need ghostly counsel and advice? Few, I fear, will have the courage to do this. Or, if they should venture to seek out the clergyman in his own home, and are fortunate enough to find him disengaged, and tell him that they have come to "open their grief" that they may obtain the benefit of "absolution," how, think you, in many instances, would their request be received? The clergy of seaside places who are ready and willing to minister to the spiritual necessities of souls committed, for however short a period, to their care, know how many persons there are who do not find their deepest spiritual wants supplied in their own parishes. They know how thankful such persons are to find that, in the place of their temporary sojourn, time and place are appointed where they may, without unnecessary obstacles being cast in their way, find "some other discreet and learned minister of God's Word," to whom they may open their grief, sometimes a very real and deep one, as our experience can testify. On the notice board, therefore, setting forth the hours of the services, the times should also be indicated when the parish priest may be found in his church. The subject is not one upon which it is fitting that examples should be given of evils, fearful evils, averted, of peace restored, and a new life entered upon through the use of such means of grace; but the numerous letters which no doubt many of my brethren in common with myself receive from time to time, abundantly testify to the gratitude which such help has evoked. I can point to more than one costly gift to the parish church here, as the outcome of thankfulness to God for spiritual help. Witness the beautiful reredos, the windows of the baptistery, and the large painted window in the north transept, which bears the inscription "To the Glory of God, and in grateful recognition of spiritual benefits received through the ministrations of the parish church of S. Mary and S. Eanswythe, Folkestone, some visitors have placed this window."

From what I have said it will be evident that the work of the Church

in a seaside parish, amongst visitors, is not only one of great interest, but also one of the greatest importance from its far-reaching consequences. Resorted to, as such places are, by clergy and laity from all parts of the kingdom, I need not say how desirable it is that the Church, her services, and her ministrations should be as perfect as it is possible to make them, consistently with true devotion. In a place like this, if anywhere, the Church should be ready to call into exercise all those supernatural gifts and powers with which her Lord has endowed her, for the healing of spiritual disease and the salvation of the souls for whom He bled and died. Many will go away—priests and laity, either to be warned by our deficiencies, or stimulated to fresh exertions, and to the imitation of what they see good in us. Others, again, who have been brought up outside the pale of the Church, will often throw aside their prejudices when they leave home for a time, and attending the Church's ministrations and imbibing her teaching, will "fall down," as the Apostle expresses it "on their faces, and report that God is in us of a truth"; and then returning home, will no longer be satisfied without those spiritual privileges and blessings which the Holy Catholic Church alone has power and authority to dispense.

It will be evident from what I have said that it is of the utmost importance, from every point of view, that the Church at the seaside should be presented in her most attractive attire; that her fabrics should be models of all that an English Church should be; that her public services should be rendered with every accessory which will tend to deepen devotion; and that her clergy should be ready to minister to the wants of souls both publicly and, if need be, in private also. All this of course implies, on the part of the priests of such parishes, responsibilities more than ordinary, and labours more abundant. Let those who are called to such a work find their reward in the exceeding great privilege of being called to minister for God to hundreds and thousands of their fellow-men, whom perhaps they have never seen before, and whom they will probably never see again until they stand together, to give up their account, before the judgment seat of Christ.

## ADDRESS.

The Rev. H. BICKERSTETH OTTLEY, Vicar of Eastbourne.

AT first sight our subject appears to be one of exceedingly limited interest, of a very special kind; one which, however important to the clergy of our seaside parishes, is yet so distinctly "local" as to be quite devoid of importance to the Church Congress as representing the Church of England as a whole. More than one of our Congress visitors has hinted this to me: the readers and the speakers of this afternoon have been kindly commiserated upon the exceedingly restricted and "specialized" character of the subject we are discussing. But I think that, after the important papers we have listened to, this narrower view of our subject will not be shared by those who are present here to-day.

The object of our Church's work is what? Is it not to bring Christ into the hearts and into the lives, into the homes and into the characters, of *all* our people? Is it not to bring the hand of the Good Shepherd into close and loving touch with all the

flock? And if so, the Church's work at the seaside is as wide as are our seaside populations; as many-sided, as comprehensive, as are those various interests which, in one way or another, at one time or another, are represented in the lives of our seaside "residents and visitors," whether those residents are the smacksmen of Yarmouth, or the pilchard-fishers of Mevagissey, or the generous and leisurely inmates of those pleasant and comfortable homes, whose hospitality we Folkestone Congress visitors are enjoying here to-day. In this view of the subject before us, our discussion might well prove an unwieldy and impracticable one, so that it will be wiser to assume that, in placing this topic upon the Folkestone Church Congress list, the Subjects Committee had one special class of seaside parishes in view, namely, our seaside health and pleasure resorts, places of which Folkestone itself offers us such a very attractive and charming illustration. Possibly I am not fully justified in assuming this special limitation of our subject to have been intended by the Committee, and if so, I can only ask your indulgence in confining my own remarks to this particular aspect of our Church's work at the seaside.

In what respects, then, do the conditions of our Church's work in seaside pleasure and health resorts differ from the conditions of Church work elsewhere? It is clear that whatever difference is found to exist between those conditions must arise from what must be called the local or geographical circumstances of the Church's work in seaside places. Those places are, first and foremost, health resorts: places which by reason of their natural advantages of localities and climate, are chosen for residence—whether for a longer or a shorter space of time—by people who resort to them for the sake of those advantages. They are, in short, holiday places, whether treated as such by occasional visitors from other parts, or used as places for a permanent home by those who can afford to do so.

From this general character, which, in a greater or less degree, is common to all those seaside places of which alone I am now speaking, it follows that the Church's work under such surroundings will be of a somewhat special character in respect to two classes of people, who make up no small part of our seaside populations, and who are not met with to a similar extent in most inland places. There is, first, the influx of occasional visitors to be taken into account; the crowds of people who, gathered from every class of the community, settle like an invading host upon the hotels, lodging-houses, and private residences, which they find awaiting their arrival at the seaside. These people are, as I have said, of all conceivable sorts and conditions, from the "cheap tripper and his missus" on their bank holiday, to the titled invalid or the wealthy stockbroker. Then, secondly, there is, in nearly every sea-side health resort, a more or less considerable residential population; I mean a large percentage of those much-to-be-pitied individuals who are stated to be "of no occupation," but who are, nevertheless, in the enjoyment of all the resources which leisure and culture, and, to some degree, wealth, can and do supply.

(1) Now in regard to the influx of visitors, it is important, I think, to remember that the Church's attitude must be one of genuine and honest *sympathy*. It forms no part of her mission to throw a wet blanket over their holiday; they are there, let us not forget, for health-seeking, for refreshment, for recreation—very largely for amusement; our seaside times are "pleasure" times. There is, I think, some risk of this fact being forgotten. We are apt to forget that the Church's influence is meant to touch every phase of our social order; not only to provide Church services, but to inspire and influence the whole range of the popular life. Our seaside visitors do not go to the seaside for the purpose of being "evangelized" in any technical sense, but they go there quite ready to be influenced for good by anyone, clergyman or layman, who can, directly or indirectly, help them to spend a happy holiday.

I would venture here to offer a word of very earnest appeal to those who are responsible for the amusements, more especially the theatrical amusements, provided for our seaside visitors. The days have past when it could be supposed that it forms any part of the mission of a Church Congress to speak in wholesale and puritanical condemnation of our popular amusements, but what I think the Church Congress has a right to do is, to "lift up a standard for the people" in regard to those amusements.

I am not here to-day to draw hard and fast lines between one kind of amusement or another. I certainly do not speak as a squeamish puritan, I express no opinion one way or another upon the question, more especially of theatrical amusements, how far, if at all, they may receive the countenance and encouragement of the clergy. I will only say that, whether the Church approves or disapproves, the drama will continue in the future to be a mighty, a potent force in every nation's life. My point just now is to claim that the legitimate drama, even in its most popular forms, does not really necessitate the accompaniment of vicious innuendo, temptation, and suggestion; and in strict connection with the duty of the Church to our seaside visitors, I protest that no theatrical manager in London or elsewhere has any moral right to placard the walls of a seaside, or, for that matter, any other town, with certain forms of pictorial advertisement, which I do not scruple to denounce as being a more or less direct incentive to vice, and utterly unworthy of any manager who is not entirely lost to a sense of his responsibility as a Christian and God-fearing man.

And, alas! in connection with this subject it is necessary to add that the vices and the follies, as well as the fashions and the amusements of the town, find their way to the seaside, so that I fear there are but few seaside watering-places where the kindly and loving vigilance of our rescue and preventive workers is not needed. That, certainly, is an aspect of our seaside work to which we dare not and cannot close our eyes. Then, as regards the Church's work among the visitors in the matter of providing accommodation for them at the week-day and Sunday services of the Church, we have already heard of the great difficulties experienced by many of our seaside clergy in finding accommodation for the promiscuous multitude of the visitors during the popular "season" of the summer holidays.

Those difficulties cannot, I think, always be met by the same methods; very much must depend, for instance, upon the capacity, not only of the various parish and district-parish churches, but still more upon the "capacity" of the various clergy to adapt their churches and their services to the exceptional pressure of the "season" visitors. I think also that, in many cases, the experiment might be tried which has succeeded so well in certain populous districts in London—and I believe elsewhere—of carefully organizing a series of thoroughly popular services, to be held either under canvas, or, perhaps better, in some large central public building, Town Hall, Assembly Room, or Theatre, to which the visitors might be invited to resort. The details of this suggestion, as regards, I mean, the various matters that would have to be settled upon the question of time and place, expense, order of service, the preacher, etc.—these might be entrusted, under the bishop's direction, to a committee of the local clergy and laity.

Much, however, even apart from this exceptional arrangement, may be done, even under existing circumstances, to supply what the visitors require; and upon one point more particularly I confess that I think we should do well to look somewhat closely into the present conditions. I refer to the matter of our preaching. I do not in the least undervalue the importance of a well ordered and reverent liturgical service, and of the due celebration of the "Holy Mysteries" of our faith, if I venture to say that there is through the ministry of preaching—through the power

of God the Holy Ghost in the "gift of prophesying"—that the hearts of not a few among the casual visitors at our seaside watering places may be most effectively reached. Here, surely, is one splendid opportunity for Church work at the seaside, at any rate, among the visitors. Many of those visitors are open to be impressed in a way that makes the opportunity precious indeed. They have broken for a time with the monotonies of their work-a-day life; they have escaped from the strife of tongues; from their buying and selling; from the dry routine of the office and the counting-house; the man has come for a "holiday"; it is the one green spot in the dry desert of his life in London; and if, with his wife and children, he can find a message of refreshment and inspiration in the preacher's voice, as well as in the soothing influences of a solemn and familiar liturgy, then will the desert in that man's life be made fertile; indeed, for him, too, the wilderness shall break forth and blossom as the rose. He will have been refreshed, not only in body by the crisp and bracing fragrance of the sea, but by the healthgiving Breath of the Living God, moving upon the too stagnant waters of a weary soul.

This is not the language of mere fancy; it is a great and most encouraging fact in the experience of many a seaside clergyman. And if we could bear witness to the gratitude of some who have thus been cheered and strengthened by the poor preacher's all unconscious message, we must not forget that on the *pastoral* side of our ministry we have duties to our visitors.

It is, of course, impossible for us to pay a pastoral visit to even a very small percentage of those who resort to our seaside parishes for a few weeks or for a month or two in the year, but it seems to me that something at least is possible in the way of ministering to those, at any rate, who come as invalids to our seaside parishes. And here I will venture to appeal to our brethren in other parts of England to make more general use of letters of commendation to the clergy at the seaside. Just a line—a post card—asking us to call at any given address, this is all we ask. It may be the means of lifting the burden of loneliness from many a suffering life that is wearing itself out in the solitudes of a seaside lodging-house.

In connection with Church work among the visitors, I may refer, in passing, to a widely known evangelistic movement called the "Children's Special Service Mission," which has long been established in certain well-known seaside towns. Whatever may be felt as to the objections or dangers to which these services are liable, I certainly think that the large measure of apparent success attending this movement should encourage the clergy in any special work that they may initiate in the way of special classes and services for the children of the visitors, as well as for the visitors themselves.

(2) Turning to our work among the residents, I can only indicate in the very briefest way some directions in which the conditions of that work seem to call for special recognition in our pastoral organization. (a) I would first refer to the importance of our seaside parishes as centres of *education*. The numerous middle and upper class schools in many of our seaside towns have, I think, a very special claim upon the sympathy and the active ministrations of the parochial clergy. As an instance of this kind of work, may I mention that at Eastbourne Parish Church we have established during the school terms two regular Sunday services, called the "School and College Services," and held in the intervals between the ordinary services (namely, at half-past nine in the morning and at a quarter before five in the evening). At these services, which were established at my suggestion for the special benefit of one of our largest and most important



colleges, not only does the college furnish the choir and organist from the ranks of its scholars and the masters, one of whom reads the lessons, but by the liberal enterprise of the directors the sum of £100 annually has been guaranteed by them towards the stipend of a curate-chaplain, and the sum of from £3 to £5 or more has been added weekly to the ordinary offertories of the church. It would, I think, be hard to over-estimate the importance of these special services as affording the opportunity of reaching the young lives which are thus brought into close touch with the Church at a time when they are most open to be impressed by those ideals of faith and duty which are the true end of all education worthy of the name. A similar opportunity of a somewhat different kind is offered in the readiness with which the head teachers in the various schools and colleges at a sea-side town will welcome the ministrations of the clergy in connection with occasional religious instructions, and with preparation for Confirmation. The far-reaching importance of such priceless opportunities will be obvious to this meeting without further illustration.

(b) Another direction in which our seaside population offers special opportunities to the parochial clergy lies in the fact that (as I have already said) so many of our seaside residents are people of leisure, of social culture, and, more or less, of comparative wealth and comfort in point of income, and of what is vaguely called "position." In this respect, it is true, very exaggerated opinions are held by those who are not aware of the true facts; but, when all is said and done, and when all due allowance has been made for misleading appearances—as, for instance, by the grand and imposing aspect of a "sea front," largely consisting of heavily rented lodging-houses—still there can be no doubt that the average residential seaside place does comprise a large number of persons who, from their social and domestic advantages, ought certainly to be able to contribute, in no inconsiderable degree, to those various works of mercy, charity, and evangelistic movement which are so abundantly found in the innumerable mission and charitable societies and institutions of the English Church. This is, I think, a point which my brother vicars along the coast will, I fear, hardly thank me for mentioning at a Church Congress. I suspect that the vicars of Folkestone or of Brighton could testify that our seaside residential places are already over-taxed with appeals of every sort, kind, and description, and that a great deal more is expected from our unfortunate parishioners than they can possibly accomplish in the way of pecuniary response to all these innumerable and incessant claims. Still, as having had the high privilege of working under the Bishop of Bedford in a North-East London parish, and as knowing from experience there and elsewhere how great are the privileges and advantages enjoyed by so many residents in our beautiful seaside health resorts, I cannot but feel that the very least we seaside clergymen can do is to link our work in every possible direction with that which the Church is doing in districts less favoured in point of their natural surroundings. This may be done in many ways. In nearly every town along the coast there are not only the smarter and more fashionable quarters where luxury and wealth abound, but districts where perhaps the population consists entirely of wage-earning people, and where the clergy are often in the greatest stress for funds wherewith to maintain their various institutions and societies. In such a case it is surely only brotherly and fair that we should bear each others' burdens, and that the Church in the "fashionable" quarter should extend the strong arm of its sympathy and succour to its more poverty-stricken sisters. This, I am thankful to say, has long been done in one of our south coast towns (which I prefer not to name), where, by the courtesy and sympathy of the various district incumbents,

the more prosperous congregations are brought into constant touch with the needs of the poorer districts of the town.

Beyond these nearer claims are those of our great populations in East or South London, or other centres of congested human life. How wide—nay, how limitless—is the prospect thus opened up I need not pause to point out. Then there are such objects as the Seaside Camp for London Boys, the Children's Country Holiday Fund, the support of homes or hostels for convalescents, or for our over-worked clergy or other church workers, all of which seem to possess exceptional claims on the residents at the seaside. Then, again, where, may I ask, should our Royal National Life Boat Society, or our Shipwrecked Mariners' Society, our Church Missions to Seamen, and kindred institutions connected with sea-faring populations, where, if not to our seaside health resorts, should such institutions look for support and sympathy?

(c) May I indicate one other speciality of Church work among our coast population, which I think might well claim special attention from the clergy? I refer to the various opportunities afforded for sympathy with our special classes for fisher-lads, men, sailors, stokers, etc., young men and lads in connection with those physical recreations which belong specially and almost exclusively to a seaside parish—I mean the local boating and swimming clubs. Almost every town along the coast has its regatta, and the clergyman who was known to have rowed in his college eight will not find himself altogether "out of his element"—a "fish out of water"—and may perhaps contribute more than he is aware of to his influence in far more important things if he can find time to "look in" occasionally at his regatta committee meetings, or take an interest in the swimming championship among the lads of the town.

## DISCUSSION.

The Rev. JAMES BURKITT, Superintendent of the Missions to Seamen, 11, Buckingham Street, W.C.

I AM going to say a few words about a large and important class of visitors at the seaside, namely, seamen. Surely they ought not to be forgotten by the National Church of this country, which our recently-deceased Poet Laureate has correctly termed—

"The mightiest ocean power on earth,  
Our own fair isle, the lord of every sea."

These words of the late Lord Tennyson apply not only to our unrivalled Royal Navy, but no less to the extraordinary predominance which God has given to our Merchant Navy. The tonnage of the merchant ships of England—and pray remember that tonnage represents living men as well as vessels and cargoes—amounts to 10,409,000 tons, against 7,859,000 tons for the merchant ships of all the other nations of Europe put together. In speaking to-day of the work of the Church among seamen, I shall leave out roadstead work—the most effective, in my opinion, of all work among seamen—because I am to be followed by Mr. Treanor, Chaplain of the Downs, that great roadstead on the east of Kent which lies so near us here. I shall confine myself to the case of our seamen when they are either in lodgings or on board ships in dock in our seaport towns as visitors at a distance from their homes. I would call the attention of the Congress to the fact that while other visitors to the seaside come from settled parishes, where they have clergy and regular services, and are impelled by the force of habit to attend seaside churches, our seamen and seaboys arrive from the spiritual wilderness of the ocean where, in some 40,000 British merchant ships, there is not one clergyman appointed to minister to them at sea, and where only about in one ship in every hundred have they the privilege of united worship o

any kind. It is to be noted, also, that while other visitors usually bring their families with them, these men and lads—though they arrive in crews—yet come in lonely fashion without relatives, and usually know no one in the place. It appears to me that our numerous seamen, when thus strangers in our seaport towns, *in* our parishes but not *of* our parishes, require, in the first place, a seamen's chaplain—with a Scripture-reader under him—with his whole mind and interest and time devoted to them, and to them alone, who will watch for and search them out on their arrival, and care for them during their short and uncertain stay, and who will enter into their temptations and perils and mode of life; who will gather them around him by the power of Christian sympathy, and will put the truths of the Gospel before them in the way most suited to their peculiar needs, and to their habits of thought. In the second place, there should be a seamen's church and institute, either under one roof or adjoining one another, and under one management. No one, who has not had experience of seamen, can understand the great necessity for such an arrangement. A sailor finds it very difficult to steer himself when he is ashore, but if we teach him the way to the institute, and accustom him to resort thither, we shall also have him in the church, provided it be in the same building. These sailor-visitors at the seaside require entertainment as well as spiritual privileges and instruction; they require a place whither they can resort when at leisure, and spend their time agreeably. They need bright and comfortable and commodious rooms where they can write letters, read books, newspapers, and periodicals, play chess or draughts, and have magic-lanterns, lectures, singing, and social and pleasant entertainments. All this tends to keep these lonely seafarers from resorting to places where they would be tempted into drunkenness and still worse forms of sin. The seamen who come into seaport-towns, where they are to be paid off at the end of a voyage with large sums of money due to them, need special and instant care to save them from the crimps and their accomplices of both sexes. The aim of the Church-worker should be to get such men out of the seaport and away to their homes as quickly as possible, for their accumulated wages is a loadstone which draws about them the whole crimping community. The transmission of wages system—which enables the Board of Trade in the United Kingdom to send seamen from their port of discharge at once, without waiting for the pay-day, to their distant homes, and transmitting their wages after them—has been an immense benefit to our seamen and their families. From the time when this came into operation in February, 1878, till March 31st, 1892, no less than 205,070 British seamen have, at their own request, been thus sent home, and £2,151,289 4s. 7d. of their wages were transmitted after them to their homes, where they were safe from the crimps, and in the midst of their families. These figures would have been much larger but that for the first two years the operation of this beneficial provision was confined to the port of London, and was only gradually afterwards extended to other leading seaports in the United Kingdom. If it were further extended to the principal seaports in the north of Europe, where many British merchant ships are now paid off, the result would be still larger and more beneficial. But there are large numbers of British seamen who cannot thus leave our seaport towns, but are detained there by duty, and live either in lodgings or on board ships in dock for days and weeks at a time. Over these a careful watch must be kept, and they must be continually visited and gathered into seamen's institutes and churches, and protected from their many tempters. They include not only men before the mast, but also a large number of officers. The captains and other married officers are usually joined in our seaports by their wives, and are comparatively safe and comfortable; but the young unmarried officers thus detained at a distance from home demand very special attention. They are very numerous, and include not only midshipmen and apprentices in sailing ships, but also the junior officers, both sailors and engineers, in our great steamships. No less than 300 such young officers belong to two of the great steamship companies which sail from the port of Southampton. They are gentlemen; many of them sons of clergymen. They are the future captains and leaders and the educated brain power of our vast mercantile marine. What are such young men to do with themselves when thus detained and in comparative leisure in our seaport towns? Are they to be left with no resorts except theatres and drinking bars, and still worse places, and no female society except women of a low class? They will not frequent our reading-rooms along with the common sailors, their subordinates on board ship. Their case has difficulties, but, thank God, not insuperable ones. They should be visited by the seamen's chaplain, and invited, not only to church, but, when practicable, to the chaplain's house, and welcomed by his family, and introduced into suitable society. These things are done, and, in addition,

the following plan (originated by Mr. Melliss, the experienced chaplain of Southampton water) is being tried with much promise of success. A sea-officers' club, with a nominal subscription, is opened in the Seamen's Institute. Reception-rooms are suitably furnished with sofas, easy chairs, pianos, etc., and the young officers are welcomed to them as to a place of their own. They are introduced to the ladies and gentlemen, who sing and otherwise help the chaplain and his wife, and social evenings are arranged for their special benefit. Thus many of them will, I trust, be saved from vicious companions and low alliances and degrading habits, and will be brought under the best influences, will be blessed of God in their own hearts and lives, and become a world-wide blessing. I hope you will not forget in prayer and in Christian effort—

“The bright and blue-eyed sailor, who comes and goes at will,  
Robust in soul and sinew, but tender-hearted still,  
Who wears, with careless courage, his life upon the foam,  
Who leaves his best affections fast anchored in his home.”

### The Right Hon. the Earl NELSON, Trafalgar, Wilts.

I SENT in my card because I thought it right that lay visitors should have something to say upon this question. I was, in general, very much pleased with the noble paper of the Dean of Windsor. I am sorry he has gone, because there was one point of his about free and open churches concerning which I would have wished to say something in his presence. One of the matters he complained of was—that if there was one thing more than another to be found in a seaside place it was party spirit. This must not be confined to the seaside. You must also go to watering places, such as Cheltenham and Bath, if you want to search out the homes of fads. I believe there are two reasons for this. One is the amount of leisure which the retired people who go to these places have, and the other is past neglect. I believe that party spirit in watering places has arisen very much because in time past the Church neglected the glorious field for mission work that these places afforded. This neglect has led to the formation of different churches to meet different views, and the foundation of places of worship for various sects of Nonconformists. If the Church had, from the first, met these people, had held services of different sorts and on different occasions to meet all views, and if the churches had been free and open, the Church of England would have won these people round. After the very able papers we have had from those now resident at seaside places, I have reason to be very thankful to know that, though it is too late in the day to save many places, the necessity for regarding the visitors as a glorious field for mission work on the part of the Church is not forgotten. I shall never be too thankful for the very able papers that we have listened to to-day from the three incumbents of watering places, which show that they are alive to the importance of this necessary duty on the part of the Church. Not less important is it that services at seaside churches should be conducted in the true catholic spirit. I have myself had the experience of being obliged to attend at a new seaside resort a church where you had to listen always to a one-sided address, which separated the congregation into the saved and the lost. In another place, an old-fashioned Churchman might find himself at a place where there was nothing but high ritual, and I say that the failure to conduct services in a broad, catholic spirit leads to the establishment of party churches and the fostering of party views. I am not talking of impossibilities when I allude to the necessity at seaside places for multiplication of services; there are always many stray clergy whose services could be utilized. There is one little parish at Parkstone, near Poole, where the poorly-paid incumbent, by appealing to clergymen and visitors, is able to have five or six ministrations of the early communion on a Sunday, and to hold special services all through the day suitable to men of different views, and I think that if the seaside incumbents appealed to lay and clerical visitors at our seaside resorts to consider this question, and to help in some scheme of services, a good deal might be done, and so you would get rid of the evil of the influx of visitors depriving the ordinary congregation of the ministrations of their incumbent. As a matter of fact, as things are at present, so far as my experience goes, unless the visitor happens to know the clergyman, the clergyman does nothing to know anything about the visitor. Notices are posted up telling visitors where to go, but no appeal is made by the clergyman for help to carry on extra services for the visitors still to

come. Wherever a seaside place is growing up, there an opportunity is offered to the Church, which ought not to be ruthlessly thrown aside. If you treated the visitors in the same way that you treat a special parochial mission, you would be able to act up to this new responsibility that is put upon you. I think there is a good deal in Mr. Woodward's proposal to reserve seats for the deaf and infirm, or even for men of the regular congregation; there should be no hard and fast lines. Whatever the difficulties of the free and open church system may be, it is necessary, if you are to give a missionary character to your work, to make your churches free and open.

### The Rev. J. S. TREANOR, Missions to Seamen, Beechwood, Deal.

I HAVE been much impressed by the repeated statement of the previous speaker, Lord Nelson, as to the glorious opportunity for Church work to be found among the residents and visitors at the seaside. The time at my disposal prevents me doing more than allude to an important and interesting class of residents at the seaside, I mean the fishermen and brave boatmen, who man the lifeboats all round this stormy island of England. But as chaplain of the Missions to Seamen, I may say that these men of heroic mould, and so well worth the winning, are by our efforts, as part of the diocesan machinery in each diocese, "allured to brighter worlds, and shown the way." But it is for the seaside visitors, the sailor hosts who visit our ports and roadsteads, that I would bespeak the special attention of the Church. Close to where we stand there is a great roadstead, where ships mass in hundreds, and men in nations; and this roadstead which you can almost see from Folkestone Lees, to and from which the ships come and go before your eyes, as the "doves to their windows," is only one of twelve such roadsteads around the British Isles. So numerous, so important, so forlorn are the men in these countless vessels, thus grouped for shelter in these British roadsteads, that to speak of this subject without allusion to them would indeed be the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. These sailor men sorely need Christian effort, and true Church work, and though I have been requested to speak here as one of the Missions to Seamen chaplains, yet I appeal to you for sympathy and support as members of the Church of England, which would, and ought to undertake this work, if no society existed such as ours, as the handmaid of the Church in this land. These men I have seen sometimes when outward bound from some great home port, in sad and evil case in the fore-castle of their ships; I have seen their limbs and hands trembling on the very edge of *delirium tremens*, and Satan's handiwork written in their faces; and I have said to myself, "Is there no balm in Gilead—is there no Physician there?" And these same men who are often sent to their account by fall from aloft or other accident, by drowning or by deadly disease in foreign climes, have no one to point them to Jesus outside the special organization of which I speak. Unlike the visitors who leave Folkestone to go home with recruited health, and to find the means of grace richly around them in their inland parishes and homes, these men often go to their last voyage and to their graves in the lone sea, without a voice or a finger to point them to the Lamb of God. Hence Church work among them is sorely needed, and with the Church's message, which is Jesus, we reach them. We reach them, of course, by boat, and in much simplicity—being untroubled in our costume of oilskins and sou'-westers, our pastoral staff being a boat-hook, by the directions of the ornaments rubric. On deck, aloft, and below, we bring the men the message of salvation. Did I not set before you what that message is, in definite and unmistakable words, I should not, I feel, be true to myself or to you—to these sailor hosts. (i.) Our message is of Christ, our ransom, and of His atoning blood, made available for them by appropriating faith, "that through faith in His blood, they, and all His whole Church may obtain remission of their sins, and all other benefits of His passion." (ii.) Our message is of Christ our only Mediator and Advocate, who sitteth at the right hand of God, our great High Priest.

"Beyond the clouds, within the veil,  
Is the fit Priest for me,  
He came from Heaven to save my soul,  
He died on Calvary."

He, and He alone, speaks the gracious words I want, "Ego absolvo te!" (iii.) Our message is of Christ, the heart-searching God, coming again in glory to summons

them, and all men to the bar of His judgment seat. These men, numbering about 300,000, are found in 32,000 vessels of the English mercantile marine. They mass for shelter in baffling winds, as the swallows muster before their flight, under the headlands, and in the roadsteads I have spoken of. We know of results. We know of 100,000 sailors enrolled as total abstainers in ten years, and we know that they struggle to stand fast, and that some of them conquer in the fight with besetting sin. Their reception of us is wonderful. There are no rebuffs, but there are some interesting incidents and even mistakes—providentially overruled on some occasions to the furtherance of the Gospel. Not long ago we shot round the stern of a Welsh schooner. The captain said, "Come on board and help me to get my anchor." We sprang up, manned his windlass, and helped to set his sails, and then went aft to the captain, who said, "There's a shilling for you." To which I said, "I won't take it; I'm a parson." "Church of England?" said he. "Yes." And the poor fellow literally gaped at me with extended mouth as I said, "Put it in your pocket, and the next time you hear of those fellows in Wales kicking up a row about the tithes, remember that parson in the Downs who helped you one tough day." Amongst these simple men there is a great and effectual door opened to us, and I plead in God's name for more effort and sympathy on the part of the Church. A preceding speaker has spoken of the Lifeboat Institution; no men are more ready to risk their lives to save others than sailors. Let us man the Gospel lifeboat to save them. They cry to us for help. Let there arise in response to that cry from all our hearts, in the name of Jesus, and in memory of His fishermen Apostles, "Save the men!"

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The Rev. E. HAMILTON BLYTH, Rector of Saltwood, Hythe.

I HAVE only one claim to say a word or two this afternoon, and that is that for eight years I was vicar of a great seaside place—Margate. We have listened this afternoon to some very useful and excellent papers, and had some very useful information given us as to what the clergy are doing and what they ought to do in the various seaside parishes about us, but the subject is also what the Church is doing among the residents in the seaside places, and surely it has been said often enough that the Church does not mean the clergy. The class I want specially to plead for is the poor lodging-house keepers. Many of you go down to our seaside resorts, and there you find a large number of these lodging-house keepers, who gain their livelihood by receiving you and doing the best they can for your advantage and your comfort, and I want to put it to you how important it is to have more compassion and more consideration for these lodging-house keepers. I will tell you what happened in my old parish of Margate on one occasion. A family went to a lodging-house, and the man who was at the head of the family was no doubt a very excellent Christian, though, I believe, on a very narrow basis. He, at all events, did the thing that was very right. He had the lodging-house keeper in and he said, "I am accustomed to have prayers for my own family, and I very much wish that you and your servant should come in every morning to prayers with us." This was duly arranged, and he read a chapter and prayed. Very good indeed; but when Sunday morning came, and this excellent man had had his family prayers as usual, the landlady, after she got out of the room, shook her fist at the door and said to herself, "You arrant old hypocrite! You have come in here, and you have asked me to family prayers; yet you have ordered a hot supper to be got ready for you after church, which you know very well will prevent my going to church this evening." A little consideration it is that I plead for—consideration of a kind which was wanting in the case to which I have just referred. Most excellent, hard-working people many of these lodging-house keepers are, with stories to tell, that must go to the heart, of the sufferings they have had to go through, and the little they have been able to save, and so on. But it is in the power of those who go to the lodging-houses to set an example to these people. A great deal of good might be done, and the work of the clergy made lighter, if only those who go to the lodging-houses would set a right and true example for others to follow. People flock down in enormous numbers to these seaside places. We were very vulgar at Margate, but nevertheless the people there were very well behaved upon the whole. The ordinary population of Margate was always doubled about the month of August. I have actually known instances where, in Bank Holiday week, people have slept in bathing machines, and I have known of another person who paid six shillings a night for leave to sleep in a bath chair. That of course means an immense pressure. And what are the clergy to

do? They must come to *you* as representing the Church of England, and ask you to help. If they are to create and maintain all the extra services that are needed, you must find them the means to do it. Help liberally, as far as you can, those additional clergy funds which supply those additional services which are wanted for seaside visitors. Do your best also to attend the services. Set an example as real, earnest Christian men and women. Do not consider, as some do, that you may take life at the seaside very differently from what you do at home. Think that there is a power in every Christian life to shed its blessed influence around, and possibly some day the fruit of your life and example will create an effect greater than many a sermon which a parish priest in a seaside place has preached to his people.

### The Rev. E. A. SALMON, Prebendary of Wells, Rector of Weston-super-Mare.

A GREAT deal of what I intended to say has been anticipated. The Vicar of Folkestone has spoken of the 30,000 visitors who come and swell the population of his parish. I come from a parish which, fifty years ago, was only a small village. In those fifty years it has increased ten fold, and is now the second town in the county. I have listened with the greatest attention to the addresses we have received on the duty of the incumbents of these seaside places to provide additional services for the visitors, and I endorse every word that has been said upon this subject. But I am painfully conscious when I think of this matter that more general help is needed from the Church at large. I know that we who have seaside parishes have a wonderful opportunity of speaking to the hearts of visitors. In former years, when I was incumbent of a large country parish, I used to have a delight in taking foreign chaplaincy work, and it brought me in contact from time to time with a great variety of characters, and I hope and believe that I was the means of helping some of the incumbents by the conversations I had with their people. Very similar work goes on in our seaside places. I do try all I possibly can to come in contact with the visitors, and very often we may be enabled to say a word which perhaps the parish priest at home may not be able to say, or at all events we may be able to enforce his teaching. But I maintain that the Church at large ought to give us more help in providing accommodation, and a sufficient staff for the working of these seaside towns, especially those places which have suddenly sprung into repute in recent years. I think it is very often the case that those who come to us as visitors little consider how very difficult it is for those seaside places to provide further church accommodation, or for the available staff to carry on the services. In my own parish I can say that there are very few, if any, such people. We have not that influx of fashionable visitors which Folkestone has. The place where I live has come to the front lately through the fame of its wonderfully bracing air, but perhaps at present we do not attract the highest class of visitors, who would help sufficiently by the offertories and otherwise to keep up a staff, and buildings, and all appliances necessary to suitably and efficiently carry on public worship. Let me appeal to the Church, then, to help places of this sort. Let me appeal to the Church to provide accommodation; and let me appeal to my brethren amongst the clergy to be more ready to help during the season in this work, instead of always taking foreign chaplaincies. If some of our brethren who take such chaplaincies could put themselves in contact with some of the struggling vicars and rectors at our seaside resorts, they would be doing a great and good work. At all events, they might help a little more than they do, and they would be helping the Church at large. Let us also exhort those who come to us as visitors to set an example to the residents of these places. It is very painful to us very often to see how loosely the Lord's Day is observed by some of the visitors, and how poor an example they set to those around them. A good deal has been said about lodging-house keepers. I know their struggles and difficulties—and the unreasonableness of some of those who come to stay with them is sad indeed. I think those who come amongst us as visitors might help to lift up the spiritual tone of lodging-house keepers, give them sometimes a word in season, and try all they possibly can to give them, even in the height of the season, some opportunity of attending worship. I hope in all our seaside places, year by year, celebrations of the Holy Communion, and all kinds of services, will be multiplied abundantly; but if we are to provide in these places of mushroom growth for the Church's work, we must appeal to the Church at large. I hope and trust the time is coming when we shall

feel more and more, year by year, the power of the Communion of Saints, and more and more every year that each of these seaside parishes is part of a great whole, and that the influence and work of these parishes goes far and wide throughout the length and breadth of the land. As people spend their holiday, very often the influence for good which they get during that holiday permeates far and wide throughout the country, and I hope and trust that we shall be thus enabled to more and more increase the tone of the true religion of the Church, and spread it abroad amongst those who frequent our watering places, being assisted yet further by those who come amongst us and are qualified to give us their counsel and help. The vicar of this parish has told us of the noble offerings he has received for his church. I hope the same spirit will pervade those who go to other watering places, so that in time we may say that there is not a health resort in England which is not provided with every means of grace for those who want them.

## *THE WINTER GARDENS, PAVILION HOTEL.*

FRIDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 7TH, 1892.

### THE CONVERSAZIONE.

THE usual Congress Conversazione was held in the Winter Gardens of the Pavilion Hotel, where his Grace the President and the members of Congress, to the number of about 2,000, were the guests of Sir Edward Watkin, Bart., M.P., and Lady Watkin.

#### The Right Hon. the EARL NELSON.

A VERY important resolution has been entrusted to me. I think it was well for the Congress to be held under the standard of the Archbishop. When we approached his Grace he was most willing to undertake the office, and all who have attended the meetings of this Congress will be sensible of the fact that a great deal of its success has been due to the manner in which his Grace has thrown himself into the work, attending all the meetings, and ruling the Congress in a kind manner, and with a fatherly spirit. I can only further say, when we read the Report of this Congress, and the many able papers and addresses that have been delivered, the address of our beloved Primate will stand well to the front. It has been the keynote of all our meetings, and those who have to read the utterances from him who so worthily fills the most important post in the Church, cannot fail to be benefited thereby. With the greatest pleasure I will move that the thanks of the Congress be given to his Grace for his fatherly kindness and management in the chair. And I am sure all you good people who are privileged to live in his Province, and also all those good people who come from the Northern Province, will acknowledge with thankfulness the noble way in which, in God's providence, he has been enabled to perform, not only in the Congress, but the general government of the Church, the high duties entrusted to him. I beg to move:—"That our most respectful and hearty thanks be tendered to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury for his fatherly presidency on the occasion of this thirty-second Church Congress."

#### The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT.

YOU will not expect me to say much upon this resolution, which Archdeacon Emery informs me commands no seconder. I thank you for the kindness with which you have received the resolution. I also thank you as a Congress for the magnificent obedience which you have shown at all times, even when I have been compelled, in the discharge of duty, to be a little rude. That, I hope, will be forgiven. I thank



you, also, for the memorable way in which every member of the Congress has contributed to its success, and I also thank the father of congresses—Archdeacon Emery—for his invaluable assistance at all times. There is no time to cast back upon the speeches and addresses of the past week. Indeed, I could not do it. They all, no doubt, are closed up in your minds very much as a telescope is shut up in its case, perfectly useless for the moment, but ready to be drawn out when needed. Many who have heard the arguments of the past week will have gained in clearness of view; many have had a light cast on principles which will not pass away. There may be clouds before us, but things spoken in this Congress will assure doubtful hearts that courage and strength will be given by God to work and guide the ship of the Church into what would, without Him, be a dark and unknown future. I have now a very agreeable duty to perform, viz., to move that our best thanks be tendered to Sir Edward and Lady Watkin for their kindness to the members of Congress and for the great courtesy and hospitality they have shown us. The Congress is also greatly indebted to the General Committee, to Archdeacon Emery, and to the contractor, who has kept us—very nearly—dry under the two inches of rain which have fallen in twenty-four hours. But my point is to move, in respect of much that we have enjoyed before, and in respect of our full gathering this evening, “That the sincerest thanks be tendered to Sir Edward and Lady Watkin for their generous hospitality to the Congress.”

Sir EDWARD WATKIN, Bart., M.P.

LADY WATKIN and I are very grateful to His Grace and to you all, but we consider that this is a resolution which does not deserve to be seconded, because of the honour we have had conferred upon us by the attendance here to-night of so many members of the Congress who, during the week, have done a service in reference to the Church which will never be obliterated from the hearts of this community. For the great honour you have conferred upon us this evening, we thank you most cordially.

The Right Rev. G. R. EDEN, D.D., Bishop Suffragan of Dover.

It is my privilege to propose a resolution of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation of Folkestone, and to all the kind friends in the town and neighbourhood who have contributed in various ways to promote the successful issue of the Congress. I am sure that only those who, like myself, have had reason to be very frequently at Folkestone lately, can fully appreciate the kindness and unselfishness of the Mayor and Corporation of Folkestone, in all the arrangements which were necessary to make this Congress a success. I believe it was the present Mayor who, three years ago, first sent the invitation to the Congress to come to Folkestone, and he has had that object in view ever since. The Mayor has been present at almost every one of our committee meetings, and that fact alone may convey to you a sense of the great help he has been able to give us in this work. We have also the Corporation to thank for what they have done, and, I may mention, that one of the members of the Corporation stood aside in order to let our present Mayor, as a Churchman, welcome the Congress to Folkestone. But besides this, we are indebted to many kind friends in the neighbourhood for that which has become one of the features of the Church Congress, and contributes so largely to its value as well as its pleasantness, I mean the hospitality which is so freely offered, not by Church people only, but also by Nonconformists, to those attending the Congress from a distance. Nothing brings more home to us the sense of the real brotherhood of the Church than this opening of friendly houses to Churchmen from all parts of the country. The hospitality which has been evoked not only in Folkestone and Sandgate, but at Hythe and the old cathedral city of Canterbury, has been most encouraging and remarkable. I have to move:—“That the best thanks be given to the Worshipful the Mayor and the Corporation of Folkestone, and to all the kind friends in the town and neighbourhood who have contributed in various ways to promote the successful issue of the Congress.”

The Worshipful Lieut.-Col. PENFOLD, Mayor of Folkestone.

MY Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, my Lord Bishop of Dover, my lords, ladies, and gentlemen:—I beg to return you my best thanks on behalf of the Corporation and inhabitants of this borough for the honour which has been conferred on us this

evening. I determined, when it was decided the Church Congress was to be held at Folkestone, that as a staunch Churchman no effort should be wanting on my part to make it a success, and if any stimulus was required it was in the fact that his Grace was to be the President. I can only regret that the weather has been so unpropitious. I trust that the result of the Congress will be that the religious life of the borough will be strengthened, and that all those who are engaged in good works will find their hands strengthened, and prove that the National Church is fully alive to her responsibilities, and prepared to co-operate with all in promoting the moral and social welfare of the people.

The Right Rev. A. G. EDWARDS, D.D., Lord Bishop of  
S. Asaph.

I HAVE been asked to move:—"That the cordial thanks of the Congress be tendered to the Readers and Speakers for their valuable assistance." Speaking from my experience of the work of Church Congresses, I may say that a very great debt of gratitude is due on our part to all those who have taken part in the proceedings of this Congress, by reading papers and delivering addresses; and I beg to move a very cordial and hearty vote of thanks to those who have undertaken this duty at the Folkestone Church Congress.

The Rt. Rev. the Hon. A. LEGGE, D.D., Lord Bishop of  
Lichfield.

It appears to me that I have been chosen to reply to this resolution by a *lucus a non lucendo* process, for I have neither read a paper nor been one of the selected speakers, but I think, after the magnificent address which we listened to from his Grace the President, and the splendid oratory which has fallen on our ears, the best thing we can do is, by adopting this resolution, to tender our most hearty thanks to the Readers and Speakers who have addressed us in the course of the week. On the part of the Readers and Speakers I beg most heartily to thank you for this resolution which has been passed so unanimously.

The Right Rev. C. A. SMYTHIES, D.D.

I HAVE to move—"That this Congress desires to gratefully acknowledge the excellent arrangements which have been made by the local Committee, the Hon. Secretaries, and their helpers." I am sure we must all notice that there must be a great deal of hard work and a great deal of anxiety beforehand on the part of those to whom are entrusted the important duties of making arrangements for the Congress. On the present occasion I need hardly say those arrangements have been carried out to the entire satisfaction of all concerned. Therefore, we may be quite certain that unless a large number of gentlemen had given their earnest and devoted services to the work beforehand, things would not have gone so smoothly, and we should not have had the benefit of all the excellent and comfortable arrangements which have been made for this Congress, and which have helped to raise it to so high a level of success amongst the Congresses that are held year by year. I can only say, if all of you have enjoyed this Congress as much as I have done, you will feel real gratitude to all who have helped to make it so successful. Take, for instance, the arrangement by which the halls were grouped together almost under one roof. What would have been the result, with the weather we have had, if the halls had been separated by any distance from one another, as has sometimes been the case. But, owing to the forethought and determination of the committee and their helpers, we have had the best possible arrangements which under the circumstances we could have expected. Things are going on very fast just now, and I hope we shall yet be able to welcome the Church Congress at the capital of East Africa—Zanzibar. It took only seventeen days to come from Zanzibar to London this year, and in these go-ahead days possibly this time may be indefinitely shortened in the future. I hope when that auspicious day for East Africa dawns, you may find the Church in Zanzibar and her people making as excellent arrangements for your comfort and convenience as we have had on this occasion. At any rate we can invite you to come in a month of the year when we can ensure that the weather will be more propitious than it has been during the present week.

**Major-General SANDHAM.**

I HAVE to thank you very much for the way in which you have received this resolution. I have, on behalf of my brother Secretaries and myself, to thank all who have helped us in our work. This has been, I may say, an exceptional Congress, and has been attended with great success. The only drawback has been the weather, but in other respects we have every reason to be satisfied with our efforts. The whole Committee and all the Secretaries have worked very hard. I should like to thank the Bishop of Dover especially for his kind attendance at our meetings. We should also thank the clergy of Folkestone very much for their assistance, and in this connection I would desire to mention the name of the Rev. M. Woodward, who has rendered us most valuable service. We should also thank those who have put their churches at our command for overflow meetings.

**The Worshipful the MAYOR.**

I HAVE been asked to move :—"That the thanks of the Congress be tendered to the Chairman and Directors of the South Eastern Railway, and of the London, Chatham and Dover Railway, for the liberal facilities which they have so kindly afforded during the present week." I think it is only right on our part that we should thank the heads of the South Eastern Railway Company for the excellent arrangements they have made, which have contributed so much, not only to the success of the Congress, but to the comfort and convenience of the many hundreds of ladies and gentlemen who have attended it. I myself have had the honour of an interview with Sir Myles Fenton, through whom the arrangements have been made, and his kindness and courtesy have been such as to entitle him to our sincerest thanks.

**The Ven. WILLIAM EMERY, Archdeacon and Canon of Ely ;  
Permanent Secretary of the Church Congress.**

THE only thing now left to be done is for me in the name, and by desire of the Mayor and Municipal Authorities, as well as the Clergy of Birmingham, to invite the Church Congress there in 1893. I would only take the liberty further of thanking Sir Edward Watkin for his kindness this evening, and his Grace the Archbishop for having accepted the office of President, and performed its duties in so fatherly and loving a manner.

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## CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

SATURDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 8TH, 1892.

## THE CLOSING SERVICE.

IN accordance with precedent, not, however, always carried out, a closing service was held this year on the Saturday in Congress week at Canterbury Cathedral. The choir was full, and a large number sat in the transepts, it being estimated that there were about 1,500 people present. The Archbishop was attended by his chaplains, the Rev. L. J. White-Thomson carrying the Archiepiscopal cross, Sir John Hassard (Principal Registrar) and Sir John Hanham (Apparitor-General) being in attendance. His Grace occupied the Archiepiscopal throne. Precentor Helmore intoned the service, which consisted of matins. The proper Psalm was the 147th. Canon Duncan read the Lessons. The *Te Deum* and *Benedictus* were sung to Lloyd in E flat, and the anthem was a portion of Goss's "Praise the Lord," beginning with the quartett, "O Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem," which was, however, taken by eight voices. The hymn before the sermon was, "Now thank we all our God."

## THE LATE LORD TENNYSON.

The Right Rev. A. G. EDWARDS, D.D., Lord Bishop of S. Asaph.

BEFORE I begin my sermon, may I pause to pay a tribute of sincerest respect to the memory of the great poet who, this week, has fallen on sleep. We admire his splendid gifts, the matchless beauty of form in which his poetry was cast; but, here and to-day, as we look back upon his long life, our thoughts dwell rather upon the teacher than the poet. We remember with gratitude, as our eyes wander over the long list of books which he wrote, that not one is passed by with pain or silence. No work of his excited or contained thoughts base or unworthy. If I may note one distinctive characteristic of his teaching, may I not say that he has taught this generation with an eloquence few could surpass or equal, the beauty and the strength of purity. The poet who could sing,

"My strength is as the strength of ten  
Because my heart is pure,"

has exercised upon this generation an influence which is especially needed. To-day we thank God for his influence as a teacher as well as a poet.

## CLOSING SERMON.

"In your patience possess ye your souls."—*S. Luke xxi. 19.*

THESE words—recorded only by S. Luke—occur in that discourse of the last things, of which the four moral keynotes are described as "Beware," "Watch," "Endure," "Pray," and amid the clouds and darkness of the great prophecy they shine forth in part promise, in part command. "In your patience ye shall win your souls," for that is the rendering of the text in the Revised Version. In and by your patience ye shall gain, each his soul, his truest life.

The setting and the influence of patience in the crown of Christian virtues is clearly put before us in the New Testament. S. Paul says, "Knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope." And in the Revelation of John the Divine we read, "Your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom, and patience of Jesus Christ." Patience is founded upon obedience and faith. "Here is the patience of the saints; here are they that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus." When, for our own practice and conduct, we endeavour to bring this virtue into a more close and concrete relation and reality to ourselves, there rises before the mind the image of a goal to be reached, a way to be traversed, a burden to be borne—the goal dim and distant, the way dark and perplexing, the burden heavy and trying. To the wayfarer, Christianity preaches patience. What does the precept mean? Does it tell him to stand still, passive, indifferent, despairing. That were mere indolence or callousness, but patience means the intensest effort and forbearance. The life of Him "who went about doing good" was one of unceasing toil, and yet what patience! Who ever endured such contradiction, sneers, buffetings, misunderstandings? Nor is patience indifference. The goal seems far and doubtful, and at times zeal cools and courage flags. At such moments patience, grounded in obedience and faith, whispers watchfulness over all thoughts, temperance in all pleasures, perseverance in all toils. There are difficulties and obstacles in the way, and the removal or surmounting of these depends much upon the temper in which they are approached.

In the face of these perplexities, human nature is beset by the temptation to seek relief in a dogmatism that would still questionings by claiming infallibility, or to lapse into a scepticism which, failing to explain everything, believes nothing. Patience rejects the dilemma of infallibility or despair, and is content to work on in obedience to the revealed will of God and in faith in a Divine Lord and Master.

Men sometimes face and bear hardships in the sullen despair of iron necessity; sometimes with a certain tenacity of will that makes yielding more painful than enduring. Then there is the pathetic patience of the poor in their mute inglorious martyrdom. It would be untrue to say that in all these cases patience is grounded upon obedience and faith, but in the patient suffering of the poor let us remember that there is often an element of true religion. They do, as it has been said, believe that God's providence rules the world, that He helps them, and that their sufferings are His will and must be borne with resignation, and

that there is a heaven, and that justice will somehow be done, although for them the world is sadly out of joint. The mutual kindness and the patient endurance of the poor are a proof that consciously or unconsciously God is near to them.

Where does Christianity come in in all this? It does not offer to take away pain, but it does show how pain may lose its sting, and how it is possible with S. Paul even to rejoice in tribulation. Joy in tribulation! What a paradox, and yet what a truth! To the world, pain and suffering are a curse, and men seek to fly from them by luxury or oblivion; but Christianity has transfigured the curse into a blessing, and in this patient discipline all that is highest in us—self-knowledge, true power, all that dignifies human nature—is called forth and developed. "Per crucem ad lucem."

"The path of sorrow, and that path alone,  
Leads to the land where sorrow is unknown."

It is good for us to be called upon to endure in order that, like the Psalmist, "we may learn Thy statutes." Tribulation worketh patience, and patience worketh experience—that is, insight into the deeper mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Ages, it has been said, like individuals, have their besetting sins, and prominent among those of the present day is faithlessness. Do we not here reach the root of that restlessness which those who merely mark results ascribe almost as a perpetual epithet to our generation. Surely, then, at such a time, we may fruitfully dwell upon the virtue of patience.

Nature and the student of Nature take up the parable for us. In the material universe vast results are brought about by causes which are insignificant and almost imperceptible at any one moment of their operation, and when we contemplate these causes operating silently and persistently through the ages without haste or break or change, we marvel not less at the vastness of their effect than at the wisdom and patience of their guide and source.

Only to the patient observer and student does nature reveal her secrets. What a lesson in patience was the life of the great naturalist who lived in this county! Who can read his works—from the "Voyage of the *Beagle*" to his last published book, where he describes, to use his own words, "those lowly-organized creatures concerning whom it may be doubted whether there are many other animals which have played so important a part in the history of the world"—without feeling how, animated by a love of truth, he was content patiently to accumulate facts, and patiently to wait until the facts themselves established conclusions which he was so little eager himself prematurely to read into the results of his study. His insight into the truths of nature was gained by patient work.

Shall we not do well to carry into our own life and action that virtue of patience taught in the Book of God's words and in the Book of God's works.

At present the zeal for social reform is intense and contagious, and in proportion to the very intensity of the zeal shown in these problems is the difficulty of preserving the patient temper. An evil seems great, and in the very fervour of their zeal in attacking it men do not pause to distinguish between what may be wisely retained and what well removed.

They forget that abuses are often such only by use, and not in origin and intention ; and that the duty of the true reformer is to amend and not to destroy ; to preserve the good of the original, and yet to remove the accretions of evil. The zeal which impatiently misconceives the true object of its efforts errs not less often in choice of methods and weapons. What are many of the host of new-forged schemes of social regeneration but the products of an impatience that cannot bear the strain of making proof of old and tried methods before rushing off to some new project, advertised with brazen trumpets and professing to compass objects so vast that the wisdom and sincerity of the profession are open to reasonable suspicion. The recurring failure of these things preaches patience to the social reformer. Following up the stream of social reform into the upper and narrower reaches of parochial work, we may well apply the lesson of patience. It is easy to let loose in a parish an array of guilds and leagues, unions and associations, and to look for parochial betterment to this crowd of confused and jostling interests. But let us all, laity and clergy alike, be quite honest and plain-spoken with ourselves in this matter. If we compute the number of societies now started in the various fields of Church work, and then endeavour to compare their actual results with their number, are we not constrained to confess that many of them overlap, and are unnecessary ? It would be foolish to condemn all new societies ; it would be unjust to deny that many of them are necessary and are doing good work ; but there is room for discrimination ; there is need to remind ourselves that multiplicity of organization is an evidence of activity, but not necessarily of effective work. "A house-going parson makes a church-going people," but house-going does not mean committee-going, and yet how much of the time of a parish priest, even in comparatively small parishes, is taken up in attending committees. Is there not in these things, sometimes, evidence of a restless and impatient energy, rather than of quiet, solid work. At any rate, we shall all do well to remember that it is no great thing to start new schemes and new societies ; but it requires great qualities to work away patiently and steadily on at old methods, and not to give them up until we are quite sure that they have failed. Patience means labour, but it also means economy of labour : for patience worketh experience—that is, insight into and a better understanding of the problems before us. And this will save us on the one hand from unavailing experiments, and on the other will guide to the quarter from which light may be expected.

And is not all this equally true in the intellectual life. "Let no man," to quote Lord Bacon, "out of a weak conceit of sobriety, or an ill-applied moderation, think or maintain that a man can search too far or be too well studied in the Book of God's Word, or the Book of God's works." The faithful student will fix no limits to research, and exempt no region from inquiry ; but in proportion to his faithfulness will be his patience. He will not rashly accept or lightly be alarmed by any new criticism. He will be careful to distinguish between hypothesis and established fact. Not only the different theories of different critics, but the different theories at different times of the same critic, certainly impress upon our minds the necessity of patience.

If we look in another direction, there seems something noble in the

impatience that chafes at our unhappy divisions. But the patience by which we must win the truth warns us against the danger of sacrificing vital truths in an atmosphere of compliment and compromise. Let me give a home illustration of the need of caution in these matters. In Wales, the leading Nonconformist body separated only eighty-one years ago from the Church, and this separation—the result of two difficulties, trivial, preventable, and regrettable—was based on no difference in doctrine, worship, or discipline. On the contrary, in the Rules the Welsh Methodists adopted and published at the beginning of this century occur these words, “We do not designedly dissent or look upon ourselves as dissenters from the Established Church. In doctrine we exactly agree with the Articles of the Church of England, and preach no other doctrines but what are contained or expressed in them.” In the year 1834, at the annual association of the Welsh Methodists held at Bala, when 500 preachers and elders were present from various parts of Wales, the following resolution was moved by one of their founders, John Elias, and unanimously agreed to:—“That we deeply lament the nature of that agitation now so prevalent in this kingdom, and which avowedly has for its object the severing of the National Church from the State, and other changes in ecclesiastical affairs. We therefore are of opinion that it pertains not unto us to interfere in such matters, and we strenuously enjoin upon every member of our connexion to meddle not with them that are given to change; but, on the contrary, to pray for the King and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceful life in all godliness and honesty.”

During the half century that has since elapsed, the Methodists have entirely drifted away from the teaching, the tenets, and the spirit of their founders; and when I see what is taking place among them to-day, I do not hesitate to say that the central doctrine of Christianity, so far as they are concerned, is in precarious hands. It is our bounden duty to note these facts and tendencies, and to temper zeal for reunion with patience and experience.

May I plead the claims of patience in a different sphere—although the transition is not so abrupt as it seems—I mean the sphere of politics. Patience is hardly the temper and mind in which political questions are now discussed and dealt with. Our age, it is said, is one of indiscriminate sympathy, when our reason, as it might seem, is beginning to feel, and our passions to think. An age of anæsthetics dreads pain, and feels the sight of it. But there is more than this in the secret sympathy—“The silver link, the silken tie”—that binds heart to heart and mind to mind. For true sympathy is not only feeling but action—“He went about doing good”—and action based upon knowledge. The sympathy of the true Physician was not only a fellowship in feeling, but also a fellowship in suffering. “For we have not an high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities,” that is, who cannot suffer with, *undergo with us*, our infirmities. The tried sympathy that comes from patience and insight is helpful and healing, and is different from that indiscriminate sympathy which bestows itself upon the most contradictory convictions. Allied to this latter sentiment, seems to be the tendency in the political world to treat symptoms rather than to search for causes, to be content to serve the times rather than to save the times. But the opportunist is always open



to one grave danger. Symptoms are easily misread ; more than this, they can be simulated. People, especially if imaginative, can be talked and agitated into an imaginary grievance as into an imaginary sickness. A few years ago an agitation arose in Wales, which seemed evidence of a grave disorder and deep-seated discontent. Just and firm treatment have proved beyond question that the whole movement was artificial and superficial. The entire collapse of the tithe agitation in Wales is an object lesson to the opportunist. It has its warning for the present. I say it in no unkindly spirit, but it is well that you, our English brethren, should know that there are political leaders in Wales who prosper in agitation and turmoil, and resemble those political leaders described by Aristophanes, who cannot catch their prey unless they trouble and foul the waters.

I have ventured, my brethren, to speak to you upon the virtue and grace of patience in various spheres of life. Has not the subject a special fitness for us here to-day. If the best fruits of a Church Congress are to be harvested, must it not be by a faithful patience in sifting and weighing the mass of views, opinions, and facts brought forth by its discussions. What is true of the whole, is true of each of its members.

Solid and abiding work can only be done in this spirit and temper. Above all, that personal character, which is the strongest and most constant influence for Christ in the world, just as it is the most unassailable evidence of the truth of the religion of Christ, must be formed and built up by patient continuance in well-doing.

APPENDIX A (*see page 504*).

## FOREIGN MISSIONS.

The Right Rev. JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D., Lord Bishop  
of Salisbury.\*

It does us stay-at-home English Bishops good, I think, to have to speak on the same platform with the heroes of the mission field whom you have just heard. It makes us feel small. I feel something like a poor spider sitting in his web going to and fro over the same ground, while they seem to look like great eagles soaring in the very heavens above us. Nevertheless, there is a work for us all. I would not even disparage such academic assemblies as that to which Bishop Selwyn referred. I confess that my opinion of its usefulness, at any rate, was considerably raised by what I heard. I do believe that the coming together of Christians who are really in earnest, to listen, even though they may make mistakes in their way of coming together, is an unmitigated good. I want to draw your attention to a work which is, in a certain sense, an academic work. You have heard of the Archbishop's work in Assyria that has called forth a very interesting expression of opinion by a sister Church. The Armenian nation has long been divided into two great centres—one in the north, which is under the rule of the Russian Government, and one in the south, which is under the religious centre of Cis, near Tarsus. The Catholicos has lately written to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the strength of His Grace's action in the neighbouring Church of Assyria, and has asked him to send out English teachers to do some similar work in his own patriarchate. The Archbishop has been—I do not know whether I ought to say good enough, but, at any rate, he has thought fit to make me the chairman of the committee which has been formed for carrying on this work. I want to try to attract the attention of those here to this kind of work. It is a humble sort of work, but it is surely a work in which the Hebrew prophets would have taken a great interest. It is the rebuilding of the waste places where Christianity was honoured in the first centuries after Christ—the places which S. Paul himself naturally visited almost directly after his being sent forth as an Apostle. These places are to be not won back altogether to Christ, but to be rebuilt and strengthened on the old lines. Our Armenian and Cilician principles are exactly the same as those of His Grace in Assyria. We wish to strengthen, not to proselytize. The people are strong and very intelligent, and there is no doubt that with a proper education their Church, which is, in many respects, very closely akin to our own, might become a very strong and important factor in the Christianity of the future. I want to interest you in the collegiate mission which we are hoping to send out to that Church next January. Speak of it to your friends, pray for it, think of it when you meet a young man wanting a vocation. This is a very real and important opening, such as does not come every day to the Church of God. But the difficulties are enormous, principally political difficulties. The Armenian people, of course, are at present very uneducated in their own home, but that is not the real difficulty. They are intelligent people, and they will respond to education; but the political difficulties are very great indeed. You have heard how the Foreign Office, of course, does not help these things more than it ought. Therefore I must ask you to do what you can to let the Church itself help.

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\* This speech was accidentally mislaid, and, owing to pressure of time, is published unrevised by author.

## ERRATUM.

On page 63, Mr. Henry Philipps is described as Alderman of the County of London. It should read, Alderman of West Ham.

## List of Church Congresses.

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DATE.	TOWN.	PRESIDENT.
1861—	Cambridge ..	Archdeacon of Ely (Dr. France).
1862—	Oxford ..	Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Wilberforce).
1863—	Manchester ..	Bishop of Manchester (Dr. Prince Lee).
1864—	Bristol ..	Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Ellicott).
1865—	Norwich ..	Bishop of Norwich (Hon. Dr. Pelham).
1866—	York ..	Archbishop of York (Dr. Thomson).
1867—	Wolverhampton..	Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Lonsdale).
1868—	Dublin ..	Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Trench).
1869—	Liverpool ..	Bishop of Chester (Dr. Jacobson).
1870—	Southampton ..	Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Wilberforce).
1871—	Nottingham ..	Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Wordsworth).
1872—	Leeds ..	Bishop of Ripon (Dr. Bickersteth).
1873—	Bath ..	Bishop of Bath and Wells (Lord Arthur Hervey).
1874—	Brighton ..	Bishop of Chichester (Dr. Durnford).
1875—	Stoke ..	Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Selwyn).
1876—	Plymouth ..	Bishop of Exeter (Dr. Temple).
1877—	Croydon ..	Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait).
1878—	Sheffield ..	Archbishop of York (Dr. Thomson).
1879—	Swansea ..	Bishop of S. David's (Dr. Jones).
1880—	Leicester ..	Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Magee).
1881—	Newcastle ..	Bishop of Durham (Dr. Lightfoot).
1882—	Derby ..	Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Maclagan).
1883—	Reading ..	Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Mackarness).
1884—	Carlisle ..	Bishop of Carlisle (Dr. Harvey Goodwin).
1885—	Portsmouth ..	Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Harold Browne).
1886—	Wakefield ..	Bishop of Ripon (Dr. Boyd-Carpenter).
1887—	Wolverhampton..	Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Maclagan).
1888—	Manchester ..	Bishop of Manchester (Dr. Moorhouse).
1889—	Cardiff ..	Bishop of Llandaff (Dr. Richard Lewis).
1890—	Hull ..	Bishop of Durham (Dr. Westcott).
1891—	Rhyl ..	Bishop of S. Asaph (Dr. Alfred George Edwards).
1892—	Folkestone ..	Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson).
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